THE AKBAR NĀMĀ

OF

ABU-L-FAZL

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

by

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA.

P. 4, Notes wrongly numbered. In line 8 the note should be 2, No. 8 refers to Kalānūr, 4 to "screens," and 5 to last line of poetry.

P. 37, l. 19. For Ali read Abū.

P. 72, No. 1, for Hātch read Hata. Five lines from foot insert 2 after Hājī K., and also prefix to note n. For Annotations in, read Annotations on, and for Rai Kaapatar read Rai Kalapatar.

P. 73, three lines from foot, no. 2 should be 1, No. 2 refers to last line, and 3 belongs to p. 74.

P. 81, n. 2, second sentence belongs to p. 82 and refers to Shāh Qandahārī.

P. 82, n. 1, belongs to p. 81.

P. 87, l. 17, Backotī read Bachgotī.

P. 97, n. 4, should be 3, and 3 should be 4, and n. 3 is continued on p. 98.

P. 98, n. 1, refers to Chagānīān. The Pāsha n. belongs to p. 97.

P. 99, add to note about Selīma's age. "The B. M. copy, Or. 171, of Kāmgār Ḥusainī's Jahāngīrnāma, p. 72a, has a note stating that Selīma was 76 at her death. See also B. M. MS. of T. Muḥammadī, Or. 1824, p. 140, and note in A.S.B.J. for December, 1906, p. 509.

P. 103—Insert Sayid Maḥmūd Bārha before Shāh Qulī. n. 1, for "wooden" read "woollen."

P. 129, n, 2. See R.A.S.J. for 1905, pp. 131 and 364, and do. for 1909, p. 165.

P. 180, l. 9, for capre, read cap.

P. 185, l. 9, for Bahlūl read Ghauṡ, do. n. for Ghans read

P. 186, l. 16, several MSS. read Mubāriz, and this is right. Darbār

P. 143, l. 21, for Missron read summon.

P. 208, l. 16, for Habib Quli read Habib 'Ali.
P. 325, for Amân read Aman.
P. 344, for Ranad read Ranûd.
P. 352, for Nâlcha read N'alcha.
P. 362, top line, dele "and."
P. 377, for Nîmkhar read Nîmkâr.
P. 381, dele dot in Mahapattar.
P. 386, n. 2, for Ahū-i-karan read Ahū-i-ḥaram.
P. 415, n. 1, for 42 read 424.
P. 436, l. 3, line of text omitted here, insert after Yâr 'Alî "and Khūshḥâl Beg who for a time was in Humâyūn's body-guard"
P. 455, ten lines from foot, for "farmed" read "famed."



AKBARNĀMA.



CHAPTER I.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE.

The chain of arrangements in Creation's work-shop, which is a truth-showing exhibition of evidences, and an illustration of self-existent power, needs to be linked to the sway of a lofty soul which may, by help of the Divine arm, sustain the burden of the universe, and can, by the strength of its perfect intelligence, supply both substance and system to the work of the terrene and terrestrials. The splendour of glory streams from his fortune's forehead; the lightning of sublimity shines from the tablet of his actions; the beam of justice's balance is steadied by his potent arm; the institutes of sovereignty's forum receive lustre and currency from his care and consideration. Ingots of fine gold, which are the coins of heaven's treasury, receive their perfect assay from his true die, and night-gleaming jewels, which are polished stellar orbs, behold greatness by being set in his tiara. The parterres of the Caliphate are watered by the stream of his scimitar, and the hexagonal earth irradiated by his banner's Crescent. The echo of his dread drums o'erpowers the roar of the world's calamities; the gleaming ensign of his greatness lightens up the dark, dust-stained world. He lays the dust of discord by the water[1] of his world-opening sword, and quenches calamity's lightning by the cloud of his sphere-shading umbrella. The portico of his gate is the compass of the wanderers in the desert of longing, and his threshold becomes the prostration-precinct of the goal of the stiff-

[1] Āb, i.e., the wave-markings on a Damascene blade.

necked ones of pride's antechambers. His genius was compressed for the repair of the ruined abode of hearts; his nature was formed from birth for the knitting together of the community of souls Love for him hath its home in the innermost chambers of the hearts of one and all; invocations to him repose on the tongues of high and low Nay, the orders of plants, which are stationary shewers-forth of glory were made verdant and juicy from the fountains of his bounty, and received growth from the vernal breezes of his liberality. Even the genera of inorganic substances, which remain steadfast in one place received abundant favour from the impress of his justice, and attained to noble destinies from his grace.

Verse.

Not only do living beings attain peace, pleasure, and glory,
From the faith and the justice of the crowned,
By justice's Spring, grass grows out of stone,
Grass becomes a sprout, and the sprout a fruit-bearing tree
The glory of justice gives such an impress on earth
That dust turns stone, and stone turns silver and gold

As the sacred personality of this nursling of fortune's parterre was a shining and a glorious proof of this, and claimed as of right the sublime dignity, and as the good news of dominion and auspiciousness shone forth from the beginning of the morn of his birth, and as musky, world cheering perfumes reached the olfactory nerves of the wise of heart from his opening years, and world-ruling greatness streamed from the tablet of his brow, and the glory of world conquest shot from his far-seeing eyes, and the note of enthronement appeared in his mode of sitting, and the writings on the seal of sovereignty were read in the lines of his hand, and as the moment of time arrived which the heavens had been expecting for so many cycles, and as the revolution, which the stars had sought during so many conjunctions, became manifest, the marshallers of the world's progress raised a shout of joy, and the messengers of good tidings to celestials and terrestrials loosed the tongue of ecstasy with the news of peace and safety.

[1] *Maqṣūr Maqṣūd* might seem more appropriate, but all the MSS have *Maqṣūr* The word means shortened or restricted.

Verse

Fortune's jewel is on thy signet
Thine is the world's imperial cycle,
Heaven's ear opens to the beat of thy drum,
The throne is thy foot-kissing follower,
Thy sublime crown rests on the head of hearts,
Proclaim [1] thine own khutba, for thine is the Caliphate

The Sultan of the spheres (the sun) had reached the auspicious House of Pisces, and had bent his sublime aspect towards his House of Exaltation, in order that he might make the four pillared throne of Aries radiant with the auspicious Accession, and might refresh the dust stained denizens of earth s domain by universal plenty A canopy of trees threw a shade over the parterre which made the throne chamber, and King Rose (*Khusrau-i-Gul*) sat on an emerald throne, wearing a diadem composed of the hundred leaved rose, set with jacinths and rubies, and sweet voiced birds, like the heralds of an imperial accession, with scarves of long feathers (*shahpar*) on their bodies, and ermine robes on their bosoms, raised high the khutba of joy from many pillared arboreal pulpits The cypress and pine, who stood in respect's antechamber, bowed their heads in reverence, and the box tree and juniper, who were feeble and needy seniors put on the dress and the airs of youth Glorious tulips and aromatic plants donned parti-coloured robes, and the young tulips and dog roses could not for joy contain themselves in their vestments The sound of the drums of thunder, set upon the heads of elephant-clouds, made uproar throughout the seven climes, and the pearl dropping voice of early spring emitted a general invitation to the four quarters [2] of the universe The winds of enduring bounty began to issue from the blow holes of benevolence, and the flower gardens of the Divine Caliphate blossomed anew Meanwhile

[1] Meaning that as the Caliph was the head of the Church as well as of the State so Akbar as the Caliph of the age might read his own Corona ... on sermon. He did once try to do this in imitation of Timur and Ulugh Beg Badauni, Lowe, 276.

[2] *Cdr rukn-i-aalam* Car rukn is stated in the dict onaries to mean the four elements, but this can hardly be the meaning here, and certainly is not the mean ng at page 7 of text, line seven from foot.

he moon was bending the brow of supplication in adoration and thanksgiving, and was gathering light by the hand [1] of Cassiopeia, and the Polestar was anointing the two eyes of the Calves [2] with white antimony from a pencil of golden rays. Astronomical observers, and heaven-conjoined interpreters of the Almagest, who watched the influential constellations with the astrolabe of science, cast the horoscope of world-sway from the pages of celestial tables. Assuredly there was help of glorious grace, and union of the hosts of fortune and dominion.

Hemistich.

In an hour adored by the heavens.
In the Idgāh of heart-expanding Kalānūr.

Hemistich.

May it ever be the goal of Fortune.

A great feast and great assemblage, such as might move the envy of celestial writers, were organised.

Masnavī.

A heart-delighting feast was prepared
'Twas decked both without and within
In front of that verdant kiosk
They spread a carpet wide as a parade-ground,
Screens [3] tipped with ornaments
Were drawn round the banquet hall.
The covering of the ground from end to end
Was silk of Tartary and Chinese brocade.
From the number of gold-threaded awnings
The air was like a screen inlaid with gold.
They inclosed the sky in pure gold
For a blue [4] veil becometh not a feast.

---

[1] *Kaff-al-Khaẓīb.* The painted, i.e., henna-stained hand, and the Arabian name for Cassiopeia.

Farkhadīn. Two stars near the Pole.

[2] Badaunī says, text II. 8, that the Accession was celebrated in the garden of Kalānūr, and that the garden had been tended and kept in order up to the time of his writing.

[3] The poles of the screen (*sarapardah*) were ornamented with brass knobs. Blochmann 46.

[4] The blue sky was excluded, as blue is the colour of mourning.

The fumes of the banquet's far-reaching scents
Made heaven like a ball of musk.
The palace-grandees rose up.
They dressed a throne in bridal fashion
For now would the virgin of empire
Be wed to the Shah, the Prince Fortunatus;
Two worlds were conjoined
And made fast by an eternal bond,
Time thus sang strain upon strain,
"O Fortune[1] dally with dominion's throne
A king seats himself thereon
From whom the throne shall gain fixity
He sitteth in the royal seat
With whom Fortune will take shelter.

At that place, in a felicitous hour *(darsā'at faiz aṯẖā'at)*, to wit, near noon of Friday, which was according to visibility[2] the second of Rabī'-as-sani 963 of the lunar year (14th February, 1556), but by calculation, the middle of the third (15th February), 10 Isfandarmaz of the Jalālī year 477, 15 Tīr of the Yazdajirdī year 925, 14 Shabāt of the Rūmī (Syro-Macedonian), year 1867, that glory of his lofty lineage put on his person a golden robe, and on his head a dark (mashkīn) tiara, and sate with good auspices and prestige on the dais of sovereignty and the throne of the Caliphate. Congratulatory shouts arose from the six sides of the world, and the heaven-resembling pulpit was exalted by the proclamation (*khutba*) of fortune, and the stairs[3] of exaltation were made venerable by praises and sublimities.

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[1] There is a play on the words *bakht* and *takht*. The text put *takht* first but I adopt the I.O MSS reading.

[2] *Ruyit.* I suppose that this refers to the beginning of the month being determined by the seeing of the new moon. But *ruyit* may also mean opinion or consideration Mut'amid Khān follows A F in the second part of his Iqbālnāma, and makes 3 Rabī'-as-sānī the date of the accession, and so does the Ghīāsu-l-loghāt S V., fasl, Newal Kishore ed., p 324. But Friday appears to have been the second day of the month, and most authorities give the second as the day of accession. The text has an 'izafat after *b'amr*, but I do not understand the expression *b'amr-i-ausaf*. I take the words to be "*ba mar*" "by calculation."

[3] The stairs are the pulpit steps. It seems that the preacher descends

Verse

God now placed on the head of the world's *Khedive*
A burden heretofore laid on the top of heaven
On him whose nature had such might,
The burden of two worlds could be laid.
When the world's burden reaches a world-king
He lays it on his head with thankfulness

Though to outward sense the preacher was descending step by step, in reality he was ascending by gradations When his speech became ear-enchaining by the holy titles, and his tongue grew pearl-strewing by the glorious name, gratulatory shouts arose from right and left, and there were cries of unlimited submission and surrender. The dressers belonging to the royal manufactories threw a golden robe over the preacher's shoulders and enveloped him in gold The treasurers of the Court of the Caliphate scattered gold and jewels right and left

Verse

They flung on one side gold, and on the other, jewels,
They scattered jewels in trays, and gold in bucklers

On the same day the rescript of sovereignty was exalted by the titles of H M the Shāhinshah, and a world pervading proclamation was adorned by the signet of the Lord of the Earth All that world-enlightening day, which in truth was New Year's day for the spring time of realm and religion, the coinage of sovereignty was being impressed by the noble name in fortune's Mint[1] and the various denominations of coins attained perfection by his just assayment

Quatrain.

When the coin was adorned with the Shah's name
The moon's worth was lessened in the eyes of the stars

---

from the pulpit before he recites the second part of the Khutba, which is that dealing with the titles of the sovereign. There is a note in the Lucknow edition to this effect. See also Hughes Dict. of Islam, S V Khutba Lane's Modern Egyptians and Lane's dictionary, 763 a.

[1] Kalānūr was one of Akbar's mints, but latterly it only coined copper. Blochmann 31 and 32.

The *dīnār*[1] was lighted up by a rosy face
The *dirham* was adorned by a white one.

From time to time they poured from trays silver and gold into the lap of the world's hope, and cast varied presents into the bosom of the universe. The blare of the trumpets of joy and gladness burst forth, the drums of rejoicing beat high. Sovereignty laid the foundations of her dwelling-place. The Caliphate reached the goal of safety. The quadrangular throne of the assembly received elevation. The tiara was exalted by everlasting ascendancy. The signet-ring received a glorious motto. The o'ershadowing umbrella of dominion was opened out over the horizons. The refulgent standard received a lofty light. The lucky ball[2] of the *Kaukaba* came into the crook of the *Caugān*. The sword reposed in the closet of the sheath The dagger rested from brandishing. The bow was relieved from the world's tension. The arrow was respited from the transfixing of (*lit.*, the sewing-up) the livers of foes. Loftily seated Reason, which in its ascendancy had o'erpassed the sky, thus spake to the preacher[3] of sovereignty's pulpit.

Verse.

I hold the khutba-adorning roll of his praises
I've searched high and low for a reading-desk
My priceless jewel is fit for a king's treasury
But not a jewel which can be bought for gold.

The world, a deer which had o'erleapt the snares of mighty hunters of the forest (*i.e.*, former kings), became his Fortune's prey and exultingly sang—

Verse.

When my star has tied me to his Fortune's saddle-straps
How can any think me worthless game.

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[1] Blochmann 35, 37.

[2] See illustration of *Kaukaba* in Blochmann Plate IX. The *Caugān* is the polo stick, but it is also the curved staff or crook from which hangs the ball of the *Kaukaba*.

[3] Perhaps Jupiter is meant for he is called *Khatīb-i-falk*. Cf the verse in Khāfī Khān I. 128. Bib Ind. ed. The quatrain is not clear, but apparently Reason is represented as saying that, though he held the roll of Akbar's praises, he could not find any pulpit lofty enough for the enunciation of them.

Fortune, sovereignty's potent generalissimo gratefully recited her honours.

Verse.

Taken up from earth (*Khāk*) I am grown a great *Khāqān*.
Drawn above the sky I'm a great ruler (Dārā-i-Akbar)
By his presence I am revered in public and in private.
And am strong inwardly and outwardly by his prestige,
From his bounty is this my rose-garden irrigated,
From his banquet is this my brimming bowl.

Dominion the variegated one of the world's picture-gallery became all of one colour (*i.e.*, harmonious or unanimous) and spake thus:

Verse.

My cheek is freed from the stain of particolour,
I'm a white diamond and a red ruby,
The beauteous garden of the king is my carpet
The ātr of his holy spirit is the smoke in my censer
Whilst my speech's jewel is heaven's earring
I'll laud his throne and invoke his diadem.

The sky girt with a baldric of stars came dancing and cried!

Verse.

I wear the girdle of service and the torque of slavery,
In his presence let me not have other gem or jewel
My troops are victorious o'er hosts of foes
Because I'm of the clan of the slaves of the conquering Lord.

Felicity (*S'aādat*), the wellwisher of sovereignty's mansion described himself thus:

Verse.[1]

Each morn his threshold is my altar
From joy in the glorious sun I face eastwards

[1] These lines are difficult, but the Lucknow editor has a note which explains matters somewhat. The expression *aftāb-i-sharf* in the second line may mean the glorious sun, as I have rendered it, or it may mean the sun on the brink, *i.e.*, on the point of rising, see Lane 1537 col. 3. *Sharf* has also the technical meaning of culmination, but this can hardly, I think, be the meaning here. The third and fourth lines seem to mean that fell-

Perchance the key of grace may reach my pocket
With chain on foot I'm as a door on the threshold

All the Signors and Sirdars *(sirān u sirdārān)*, all the generals and generalissimos *(sipahkashān u sipahsālārān)*, and the other pillars of empire and eyes of sovereignty, gave their allegiance to that lofty-lineaged one from the bottom of their hearts and with a sincere conscience, and ratified the compact and loyalty by an oath to God.

Bairām Khān Khān-khānan I'tizād-i-daulat qāhira (the stay of victorious dominion), became by sublime favour Vakīl-as-saltanat. The binding and loosing of the affairs of the Caliphate, the gathering and despatching of the armies of victory, were committed to his plenteous science and the strong hand of his fidelity. The other territory-adorning officers and grandees of Caghatai lineage, whether those who had the bliss of serving in the Presence, or were stationed in the provinces or on the borders to hold territories or to subdue them, received, one and all, special marks of attention in addition to their being distinguished by royal favours, in accordance with their position and merits.

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city stands chained at Akbar's threshold as if he was a door with a chain on it. The chain is represented as fastened to his foot, and he hopes that a key may be applied to the lock.

CHAPTER II.

6 Scheme of the horoscope of the auspicious accession of H.M. t King of Kings.

It is now proper to construct the figure of the horoscope of t sacred accession with truthful compasses and righteous pen, so th awakened hearts may gain increased light and that the short-sight may get length of vision; nay, that life may be given to the inai mate, and world-describing life to the animate.[1]

Verse.

This is the kingly horoscope,
This is the roll of Divine mysteries.
Rays of might, and tablet of success
Sum of wisdom and list of equity
'Tis the star of the star *(kaukaba-i-kaukab)* of glory an
greatness
'Tis tidings of joy to the universe
Open the eye on this eternal tablet
Rejoice for ever over both worlds.

(For Table see next page.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHEME OF THE HOROSCOPE OF THE ACCESSION OF H.M. THE KING OF KINGS.

Various delightful points arise from the consideration of th *auspicious horoscope.* The first is that in the tenth Angle, which the house of sovereignty, the sun is showing increase of light. No the main point for consideration with regard to the hour of an Acce sion is the propitiousness of the tenth house, viz, that there shoul be a propitiousness befitting the approach of a world-adorne

[1] The word ارس aras in the first House is a mistake for راس *Rás* as the table of Errata shows It means the Dragon's head or the ascendin node.

FIGURE

2 Second House Cancer / 3 Third House Leo	1 First House 1 Dragon's Head Gemini	12 Twelfth House Taurus / 11 Eleventh House Aries Saturn Moon
4 Fourth House Virgo		10 Tenth House Sun, Venus Mars Pisces
5 Fifth House Libra / 6 Sixth House Scorpio	7 Seventh House Jupiter Dragon's Tail Sagittarius	9 Ninth House Mercury Aquarius / 8 Eighth House Capricorn

Imam Abū-l-Muhammad of Ghazni, who was one of the great masters of astronomical prognostication, has laid it down that it is good to have the Ascendant in Scorpio so that the tenth Angle may be Leo, the house of the sun God be praised! Here we have the sun come of his own accord into the tenth house and diffusing the rays of auspiciousness and fortune!

Verse.

A Shah who was the fulfiller of hope,
His heart shone with eternal light,
How can his ray not brighten the world
Who has the sun for a guardian?

The second house which is that of property, is Cancer, and the Moon, which is the Regent of the house, has attained in the eleventh house, which is that of hope, the position of *fauq al arz* (ascension above the earth) This is a proof that the keys of earth's treasures will without difficulty or effort come into the hands of the treasurers of his fortune

The third house, which is that of kinsmen and connexions, is Leo, and its dominant, the Sun, is in the tenth angle. All the relatives will be obedient to orders and submissive to the commands of the Shāhinshah

The fourth house is Virgo, which is called the terrestrial angle, and is conversant with the final results of actions and with possessions The dominant (Mercury) is in the ninth house which is that of travel This is a proof of excellent eventualities and of the stability of conquests

The fifth house is Libra, which is that of children, and enjoyment and presents Its Regent is Venus who is in Pisces, which is her house of exaltation This proves that auspicious children will be near to the king by affection and favour, and will grow up in the shadow of dominion and grace that the cup of social joy will brim over, and that caravans of gifts from the four quarters of the world will unload at his threshold

The sixth house is Scorpio, which is that of slaves and servants, and of diseases Its Regent, Mars, is in the house of sovereignty (the tenth) This indicates equability of temperament, numerous faithful slaves and devoted servants Though Jupiter is in Sagittarius, yet, by virtue of equal distribution [1] of houses, he is imparting blessings to the sixth house

The seventh house, Sagittarius, is the western[2] angle, and the Nadir *(Nazir)* of the ascendant. It is the house of enemies As by *the equal distribution of houses it is void of* an auspicious star, there is strong evidence that the enemies of the State will be overcome

The eighth house is Capricorn which is conversant with heritage; As its dominant (Saturn) is in the eleventh house, this is a proof that

[1] See page 73 n 1 of this translation

[2] I read غارب *gharib* instead of the *ghārī* of the text See D T T II 1452 This is also known as the seventh angle

hereditary blessings will be attached to the perfect condition of his personality.

The ninth house is Aquarius and has to do with knowledge, faith and travel. Mercury who is the lord of the Ascendant (as Regent of Gemini) is there. He has a kind aspect to the Ascendant and causes the acquisition of the lights of wisdom. He tells of sincere inquiry into the affairs of realm and religion, soundness of plan in matters of travel, and conduciveness thereof *to the confirmation of dominion.*

Verse[1]

A king whom, for his wisdom, we call *Zū fanūn* (Master of *sciences*)
We call him a guide of the road to God
Though kings be God's shadows
He is God's light, how then call him a shadow?

The tenth house Pisces, is called the tenth angle, and is the house of sovereignty and of mothers. The Sun, Venus, and Mars are there. *The days of sovereignty will always pass pleasantly, and the owner* of the horoscope will have daily increasing sources of splendour and glory. Mothers of high rank will attain their desires through his good fortune.

The eleventh house, Aries, is associated with hopes and with sincere friends. It is the Sun's house of exaltation, and the swiftly moving Moon is waxing there. Every hope that arises in the holy soul will be fulfilled quickly and thoroughly, and friends will become successful from being associated with his great fortune.

The twelfth house *is* Taurus, and is the house of enemies. *It is* void of stars, and Mars is in aspect from the tenth house. The enemies of realm and religion will *drink blood from the sharp sword of* Mars. The Moon is in Aries the Sun's house of exaltation. The great men of this science have declared that *in accession horoscopes,* the Moon, which is the intermediary for conveying light from the superior heavenly bodies to the inferior, should be *in Aries*. They have considered this to be a circumstance greatly to be relied upon. The Sun is in conjunction with Jupiter. The regent of the tenth (Jupiter) is *in the seventh house*. The house of the ascendant is

[1] The quatrain is Faizi's. Blochmann 561 and Āīn text II 241

aerial[1] These things indicate that the victorious troops will be well disciplined, and that there will be increase of the royal splendour and glory The part of Good Fortune is strong, for it is situate in Leo which is the Sun's house, and its *regent is in the tenth house* Jupiter, *who is a strong evidence of loyalty, is in the seventh in his own house* (Sagittarius), *and is most auspicious* The *regent of the tenth is ascending* The affairs of the State shall daily advance and prosper And a portion of the house of the ascendant is rising in the mansion of the Moon (?) *Mercury has a friendly aspect to the Moon* All these are clear indications that things will turn out for the best, that *fortune* will increase, and *desires be attained* The interpretation of the good points in this horoscope, and the wonders of it, are beyond the power of description Acute scrutineers of celestial tables and conners of degrees on the surfaces of astrolabes know by the schedule of thought and the calendar of intelligence how few of such great and greatness conferring hours, in which so many ever lasting blessings are *unfolded*, have occurred since the time of the first motions of the heavens and the constellations and since the conduct of the world of mankind, which is the quintessence of creation, has been in the charge of the heavenly bodies

One of the poets has said with respect to the chronogram of the glorious accession

Verse

The pulpit was exalted by the king's *khutba*
And by a just mintage deeds became golden,
By Akbar Shāh's sitting on sovereignty's throne
There came the accession chronogram *Nasr-i-Akbar* (great
victory, 963)

And the hemistich "The accession of the world protecting lord" also points to the year ending in bliss And the words *Kām bakhsh* also give the date of this time which is twinned with auspiciousness and were written by the dedicatory pen of Maulana Nuru d din Tarkhān

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[1] *Hawāīl* I do not understand the expression Vullers p 1483 col a gives splendour as a meaning of *hawal* and perhaps this is the meaning here

[2] An unintelligible sentence The Lucknow ed has a *dar* before Khāna The preposition also occurs in I O MS 235 MSS and is probably right

CHAPTER III

ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW AND DIVINE ERA FROM THE ACCESSION OF H M THE SHĀHINSHĀH

It is not hidden from the minds of the inwardly lucid and right thinking that the pen of Providence in making entries in the world's records proceeds upon the principle that the successive arrangements of the universe cannot attain coherence without regard being paid to times and to the determination of dates The fixation of events and elucidation of occurrences receive precision and certitude from the dates of months and years, and so the eternal decree has gone forth that after the elapse of a space of time some great event shall be made the commencement of an era, and that commands and transactions, sacred and secular, shall be based thereupon As the glorious accession was of surpassing felicity and augmenting auspiciousness, it was worthy of being made the forehead star (*ghurra*) of unlimited successes and the preamble of endless felicities By the Divine inspiration which had cast a ray of light on H M's heart, and the consensus of lofty sages who had obtained his glorious assent, this fabric of the roll of months and years was made the foundation of a new era and the diffuser of comfort and repose As the world lighting New Year followed close upon the Accession, and as the latter is nourished by the quickening glances of the sun, the (intervening) fraction of time in whose folds thousands of victories were unveiling, was treated as the decorative border to the days of the New Year, and as the preface of glory and conquest and the beginning of the great Era took effect from the coming New Year The principle of the calculations rested on true solar months and years and H M the Shāhinshāh out of his fortune and greatness, and under the influence of a Divine inspiration, designated this grand epoch as the Tārīkh Ilāhī (Divine Era) Secretaries of a happy pen recorded it in rolls and rescripts The names of the months of the Era were made identical with the famous names of the Persian months, but were adorned in addition by the title Ilahi (Divine) e g, Farwardin, Divine month,

Ardibihisht, Divine month. The names of the days were the same as those of the current thirty Persian days, viz :—

1.	Ormuz[1]	16.	Mihrgan (Mihr)
2.	Bahman	17.	Sarosh
3.	Ardibihisht	18	Rashn
4.	Shahriyūr	19	Farwardin
5.	Isfandarmaz	20	Bahram
6.	Khurdād	21.	Rām
7.	Murdād	22.	Bād
8.	Daibāzar (Dái-ba-Āzar)	23	Dai (Dai ba dīn)
9.	Āzar	24	Dīn
10	Ābān	25.	Ārd
11.	Rash	26.	Ashtad
12	Māh	27.	Āsmān
13.	Tīr	28	Zamiyād
14.	Gosh or Gūsh[2]	29	Marisfand
15.	Khūr (Dái ba mihr)	30	Anirān[3]

[1] Hyde points out p 238 that the first day of the month bears the name of a god, and that after every seven days there comes a name in which Dai occurs, and suggests that this refers to a division of the months resembling that of weeks

[2] Gosh or Gūsh The text has Kosh, but this is wrong, Kosh being the name of the fourth day of the month. See Hyde pp 190 and 260

[3] The account given by Mut amid Khān in his Iqbālnama shows that the 31st day was called Rūz and the 32nd Shab The passage quoted in Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras, p. 83, as coming from Abul Fazl, is taken from Gladwin, and has several interpolations by the latter His version of the last sentence in the Āīn is "the two last are named Roz-o Shub (day and night), and in order to distinguish one from the other are called first and second The correct translation of A F's words will be found in Jarrett II 30 A F's accounts of the Divine Era, both here and in the Āīn are wanting in precision He tells us that Akbar did away with intercalations, i e, the five added days, Hyde 260, called here ayyām i mustariqat, i.e, stolen or secret days, (the Arabic word mustariqat being a translation of the Persian duzdīda, while in the Āīn they are called Kabīsa), but he does not tell us how many months had 29 how many 30 or 31, and how many 32 days The Ghiyāsu l loghat has an interesting article on eras s v. Faslī and quotes a distich which gives by abjad the number of months which were long and short The words seem to be la (31) n lā (31) lab

As in some months there were two days over thirty, they were called respectively Rūz and Shub (Day and Night). By the blessing of H.M.'s attention the intercalary days were abolished, and the months, like the years, became solar. The enlightened mind of H. M. the Shāhinshāh also directed that there should be a duodenary cycle of the years of this Era, each year being named after a month, *e.g.*, the first year was the year Farwardīn Ilāhī, the second, the year Ardībihisht Ilāhī.

The pillar of the founders of this sacred era was the Learned of the Age, the Plato of cycles,[1] Amir Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī whose title was Āẓad-ul-daula.

He it was who in a happy hour laid the foundation of this heavenward soaring edifice. Although the foundation took place in 992 (1584), yet, as the position of events from the beginning of the sacred accession will be based upon the Divine Era, it appeared proper to enter the Era among the events of the year of the Accession. There is hope that, as the dominion and fortune of this line conjoined with eternity spring from a divine radiancy, the glory of the noble family will be for thousands of thousand years world-lighting and world-gripping, and that the number of years and months will continually surpass the dates and reckonings of calculators of celestial

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(32), lā (31), u lāla (62) shash māh ast, lal (60) kat (29), u kaṭ (29), lab (60), kotah ast

The first line gives 187 and the second 178, or 365 altogether, and if my interpretation is correct only one month had 32 days. A.F. says nothing about the Faṣlī year, and I do not know the source of the statement in Wilson's Glossary about Akbar's orders regarding it. According to Ghiyāsu-l-loghat, p. 321, of Newal Kishore's edition, the Faṣlī year was introduced, or rather perhaps, altered in 971 A. H., in which year the beginning of the Muhammadan year (1 Muharram 971 being=21 August 1563) nearly coincided with the autumnal equinox, and the beginning of the autumn harvest. Apparently the Faṣlī year was the Samvat year, with the difference that it began in autumn. Akbar's Divine Era was applied to it, and also to the Bengal year, but the months in which they began, *viz.*, September and April, were not interfered with.

[1] Alawānī in text, but I adopt the variant al-daurānī, as that is given in the Iqbālnāma. For an account of Fatḥ Ullah, who sometimes has the title of Shāh, see Blochmann 33, n. 1 Badāunī, Lowe, 326, and the Darbār Akbarī of Shamsa-al-Ulema M. Ḥusain Āẓād, 673.

cycles. The copy of the world-obeyed Firmān, which was composed by Abūl Fazl the writer of this auspicious preamble, and which was issued to the dominions after the establishment of this auspicious era, is as follows.

CHAPTER IV.

Firmān of Jalālu-d din Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī

In this dominion-adorning time and auspicious epoch, when a cycle[1] (*qarn*) of the victorious session on the throne of sovereignty has elapsed, and the garden of fortune has begun[2] to smile, a world-obeyed *firmān* was issued (received a ray of exaltation) to the effect that the governors of the imperial dominions, and the other officers of state and of finance who, in accordance with their degrees and positions, are recipients of the royal favours, should know as follows —

"Whereas the totality of H M.'s lofty intellect is engaged in contriving that all sorts and conditions of men—who are fearfully and wonderfully made—may pass their precious days—which cannot be exchanged or replaced,—in cheerfulness and content, and in the shadow of happiness and hope, and in ways well pleasing to God, and that they may withdraw the neck of submission from the collar of normalism (*taqlīd*) which all the teachers of religion and leaders of faith have struck at with the hand of denunciation, but which in all religious displays with effrontery its baseness and deformity, and that they may exercise themselves in gathering the materials of inquiry and not stay their foot in the paths of propositions (*masalik i-maṭālib*) without the guidance of proo , nor, while in the streets of 11
their sentiments (mashārī'-i maqāṣid), enter upon minute subtleties without the light of reason Our mark hitting mind (*zamīr i-ṣabat paẕīr*) is ever paying full regard to the truths of science, and the minutiæ of wisdom, and through the Divine favour and guidance has from its lofty beginning been enriched and replenished by inspirations and visitations, and owing to beauteous mysteries and purity of intention has been endowed and blessed with the insignia of the past

[1] A cycle of solar years had not elapsed In 992, the day of the sun's entering Aries, viz., the day of the first or New Year closely approximated to the date of Humāyūn's death, for it was 8 Rabī al-awwal See Badāūnī II 348 Lowe

[2] Cf supra p 31 n 3

and of the future In the course of such researches our eye fell upon the almanacs in common use among the people of India,[1] and which in their language are called *patra*

We found in these almanacs (*auraq i-kulpatra*)[2] that they have calculated the beginning of the lunar month from the opposition (of sun and moon) that is, from the season of advancing darkness! In the Hindi language this is called *Kiṣhnpacc*[3] So those darkened ones, out of pure formalism, ignorance, and excessive eccentricity and error, have based their month upon darkness! In addition to the fact that the folly of this empty and baseless arrangement is too clear for argument, it has been reported to us by orthodox religious teachers of this people, and has been shown by them from their old authoritative books, that in the time of the ancients the lunar month began with the lighting up of the side of the moon which is towards us, and which is called in their tongue Shuklpacc, and that this rational practice ceased from the time of Bikramājit, on account of the prevalence of the heterodox and of the disorder and confusion which then existed The propriety of making the first of the month coincide with the beginning of the emergence of light is one of the clearest first principles Accordingly an order has been promulgated that astrologers, almanac-makers, and casters of horoscopes, throughout our territories shall base their calendars on the

[1] The Sanskrit pattra The common word for an almanac at the present day is panjika

[2] In the text *kul* and *patra* are written separately, but in the Lucknow ed and in several MSS they are united *Kulpatra* and a note by the Lucknow editor suggests that the meaning is 'empty words' Such is the meaning given in the dictionaries and it is possible that a play upon the words is intended But I rather incline to think that Kul must be for Kāl time, and that Kalpatra means an almanac Or, if a *pun* be intended, this is only a subordinate intention. See Jarrett II 18 for account of the division of *the year into three parts called Kāl* See also id 12 for another mention of the word patra

[3] *Krishnapakṣha, or dark half of the moon* A F *gives a somewhat* different account in the Āīn, stating there *Jarrett II 17, that the Hindus count from the new moon,* though he adds that a number of them (*jama*) which perhaps means a crowd or the majority, begin the month from Krishnapacc The beginning from full moon was perhaps the more rational plan of the two, *for the* starting point was more visible I wonder what Akbar thought of the Arabic and Muhammadan plan of beginning the day from the evening

pure method of the Shukipace. As a precautionary measure, and in order to make things simple and easy, a calendar was prepared and sealed with the sacred seal, and was sent by us so that they might take it as a model.

Meanwhile the great officers of the Court have represented to us as follows: 'It is not hidden from the inspired mind, that the object of establishing an era is that the seasons of affairs and events may be known with ease, and no one have any occasion for alteration. Suppose, for example, some one makes a contract, or takes a farm or a loan, and the period of execution be 4 years, 4 months, unless the exact date of the beginning be known, it will be difficult, or rather, impossible to determine the date of completion. It is evident, too, that whenever an era has prevailed for a long time, the establishment of a new one opens the gates of ease and prosperity for all mankind. And it is known to students of history that, from the beginning up to the present day, it has been the glory of great princes and of pillars of wisdom to renew, by means of their own exertions, the foundation which has been handed down to them, and so to liberate business men from the perplexity of difficulties. At present the Hijra [1] Era, which begins with a day of joy to foes, and of grief to friends, has nearly reached one thousand years, and the Indian Era (Tarikh-i-Hind) has exceeded 1500 years. Similarly, the Eras of Iskandar and Yazdijird have exceeded thousands and hundreds of years. All this is set down in almanacs. The writing and speaking of such eras in conversation and in business is very difficult for men of the world, and especially so for the commonalty who are the centre of business. It is also apparent that, within the imperial dominions, diverse eras are followed by the people of India. For example, in Bengal the era

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According to D'Herbelot, the Muhammadans chose the Hijra for their era in imitation of the Christian era of the Martyrs. That began with the commencement of Diocletian's reign.

[1] The statement is not correct, unless by the Yazdajird Era is meant that of Jamshid which is said to have been begun 800 B.C., Jarrett II 28, and by the Iskandari era the era of the Hebrews and Syrians. A. F. states in the Āīn that the Iskandari era was derived from them. Perhaps A. F. has used the plural alūf because he is writing of two eras and does not mean that each era is thousands of years old. Instead of the مآت of the text B.M.MS. Add. 27,247 has مایت

dates from the beginning of the rule of Lachman Sen,[1] from which date till now 465 years have elapsed In Gujarat and the Deccan the Salibahan era prevails, of which this is the 1506th year. In Malwa and Delhi, etc., the era of Bikramajit is current, of which there have now been 1641 years In Nagarkot the era is counted from the beginning of the rule of whoever may hold the Fort

The nature and dignity of each era are known to those conversant with history, and it is notorious that the beginning of no one of the Indian eras springs from the foundation of a great event. If out of general benevolence and comprehensive kindness a new era be established, such as will be at once convenient for the people, and subversive of the discrepant Indian eras, assuredly the benefits and beauties thereof will redound to your Majesty's present and future glory In the authoritative books of the current tables, such as the Zic Ilkhani, and the new Gurgani tables, it appears that eras were framed upon some great event such as the appearance of an established religion, or the acquisition of a great kingdom God be praised! During this mighty sovereignty there have been in the visible world so many great events and shining actions, such as the subjugation of great cities, and the complete capture of impregnable forts and other victories, and Divine aids, any one of which was fit to be made the foundation of an era But if your Majesty directs that the new era commence from the day of your seating yourself on the throne of sovereignty, which was one of God's great gifts and never ending boons, and from which auspicious day this is the twenty ninth solar and the thirtieth lunar year, assuredly such a good deed will be at once a mark of thanksgiving and a fulfilment of the wishes of mankind Moreover, there is not involved in this good deed any breach of the respect due to the glory of the Hijra era—which comes from the day when His Majesty, the best of men, migrated from Mecca to Medina on account of the predominance of foes This is the supposition of worthless persons infirm of nature, and of mean understanding Accordingly, in the time of Malik Shah, though at that time the Hijra era was not so old as it is now, nor were matters so complicated as at present, the Jalali era was introduced for the sake of

[1] See article on the Lakshmana Sena era by Professor Kielhorn In[dian] Antiquary for January 1890

convenience, so that a multitude who were in practical matters[1] brought into difficulty, might by this means escape from their distress It appears everywhere in the almanacs of the lands of Islām, such as 13
Arabia, Turkey, Transoxania, Khurāsān, Irāq, &c, and is used in the bonds of legal experts and by borrowers of every age"

The repeated representations of this body of men, and a regard for their petitions, prevailed and were accepted, and an order was issued that the New Year, which followed close on the year of the accession, should be made the foundation of the Divine Era, and that the gates of joy and comfort should be opened From the mine of wisdom there issued an order worthy to be obeyed, that compilers should in the almanacs current in Islāmic countries, and in which they enter the Arabic, Rumī, Persian and Jalali eras, enter this new era as a supplement to them, and so open the gates of prosperity Also that in the almanacs of India they (almanac writers) should enter this new era instead of their discordant eras, especially of the Bikramājit era which was founded upon deception[2] (*talbīs*), and that they do away with their various eras. And whereas in the almanacs current in India the years were solar, and the months lunar, we ordered that the months of the new era should be sola

And whereas the sages of religions and sects have set apart certain days of the months and years, for the purposes of thanksgiving, in accordance with celestial phenomena and spiritual stations, and for the enjoyment of all mankind—which is the motive for so many charities and good works—and have given them the name of Festivals (I'yad) And have in those days of joy established thanksgiving, and have made good ordinances for the payment of the rites of submission and humility to God Almighty—which is the highest kind of devotion and obedience,—and whereas the rich and poor, the

[1] A F explains Jarrett II 29, that the use of the Hijra era was unfair to the peasantry, because 31 lunar years were equal to 30 solar years and the revenue was taken on the lunar years whereas the harvest depended on the solar

[2] The allusion seems to be to the tradition that Bikramajit was a magician A F says in the Āīn, text II 470, and Jarrett II 217 that the Hindus to this day regard his accession as the beginning of an era, and tell wonderful stories about him The truth appears to be that he was acquainted with charms and sorcery, and so had brought the simple into his net

great and small, have to the extent of their ability spread the tables of abundance and opened the gates of joy and success for the afflicted and distressed among their contempories (the brethren of the age and the children of the time), and have shown them various kindnesses, (it is ordered) for these reasons that certain great festivals, a list of which is appended to this proclamation, and which have been current in countries for several thousand years, and especially have been for the last thousand years observed by just princes and righteous philosophers, and which have in this country for some causes fallen from their splendour, be made current for the sake of soliciting the Divine favour and of following in the footsteps of the ancients of those happy times It is proper that in all our dominions they be fully observed in cities towns and villages Strict attention must be paid to this, and not the slightest neglect take place The list[1] of the festivals is as follows —

1 The days of the New Year
2 19th Farwardin Divine month
3 3rd *Ardibihisht Divine month*
4 6th Khurdād Divine month
5 13th Tir Divine month
6 *7th Murdād Divine* month
7 4th Shahriyur Divine month
8 16th Mihr Divine month
9 10th Ābān Divine month
10 9th Āzar Divine month
11 8th, 15th and 23rd Dai Divine month.
12 2nd Bahman Divine month
13 5th Isfandarmaz Divine month

Written in accordance with an order which must be obeyed

See Badāūnī's remarks Blochmann 193. He says 14 festivals were introduced. A. F.'s list makes 13 or 15 if we count separately the three festivals of the month of Dai. Perhaps Badāūnī made 14 out of the 15 by counting the 19th Farwardin as part of the New Year festival. See Lowe 319 last para, where the 19th is called the last day of the New Year feast. In the directions to the Kotwāls, Jarrett II 43 we find injunctions about observing the Ilāhī festivals and about making the Hindu almanacs begin with the *Shuklpace.*

CHAPTER V.

ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT ADMINISTRATORS OF THE IMPERIAL TERRITORIES AT THE TIME OF H M THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S ACCESSION

At this auspicious epoch, which was the birthday of felicity and dominion, and the testing time of loyalty and devotion's coinage, S M Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza the son of Sulṭān Mahmūd, the son of Sultan Abu S'aid was peaceably in charge of [1] the territory of Badakhshan, while the country (*wilayat*) of Kabul, Ghaznīn and the other districts from the Hindu Koh to the river Indus, commonly known as the Nilab, were administered by the wisdom and skill of Munim Khan who was distinguished among the servants of the ever-lasting dominion for equity and justice Through his excellent service, Muhammad Hakim and the chaste ladies lived in that country in the enjoyment of repose Qandahar and its appurtenances, which were the jagir of Bairam Khan were in charge of Shah Munammad of Qlat who upreared the banner of courage and daring and made those lands a station of peace, and kept them aloof from strife and misfortune The administrators of Delhi, the capital of the country, have already been mentioned Agra, the capital of the Caliphate, and the adjoining districts, flourished under Iskandar Khān Uzbeg, Sambal was in charge of 'Ali Quli Shaibani, Sarkar Kalpi was under 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, while the servants of Tardi Beg Khān gave security to Mewat, [2] Qiya Khan was in Kol Jalali (Aligarh), and Haidar Muhammad Khan in Biana Fresh rescripts of favour were issued to all the servants of the lofty Court, stating that we have left all in possession of their estates as heretofore so that the sincerity and good service of every one may be brought to light,

[1] The words are *muqarrarbud* but I do not suppose A F means that any fresh appointment was made M Sulaiman regarded himself as an independent prince and was so in fact but A F treats him as one of Akbar's subjects and includes him and his son among the grandees of the empire Blochmann, 311

[2] Blochmann 343

hereafter they shall be advanced to high degrees and positions in accordance with the lofty intelligence of the Shāhinshāh." For the present time the world adorning judgment of H M the Shāhinshāh was insisting upon his remaining for some days under the veil of concealment, so that his world illuminating beauty might be seen by no one but himself Either the cause of this far seeing and right-choosing design was that, by being in the guise of indifference to the world, he might make trial of men and fix in the antechamber of his holy mind the most accurate estimation of each individual, or it was the narrow capacity of *those men, and then not possessing the power to* appreciate his perfections, which compelled him for the sake of coming humanity to adopt this line of conduct, or it was that black-hearted and crafty foes might engage in their evil acts, free from any apprehensions of the eminence of the holy elements, or it was because the far seeing glance of this bezel of the signet ring of the Caliphate had fallen upon the unending world of reality, and so did not regard this dustbin (*khāqdan*) of an earth, or it was for some other design which the acute and discerning may one[1] day discover (Be that as it may) This exoteric and esoteric king made[2] over all affairs of state and finance to Bairam Khan, and busied himself in things which acted as complete veils of his majesty, and were impenetrable by the superficial of this age

[1] *Basir i-tmqt* The variant Ba sir i diqqat i ān " to the subtle point thereof" seems preferable

[2] After A F had in the first *volume text 365 his mine proved to* his own satisfaction that the death of Humāyun was a blessing in disguise because it gave scope for Akbar's development it is rather absurd to find him here admitting that Akbar did nothing for some time and left everything to Bairām khān Of course, a boy in his fourteenth year could not do otherwise and moreover Akbar would seem to have been a backward child He did not learn to read and write, and his son tells us in Price's Memoirs of Jāhāngīr, 48 that in his youth Akbar devoted himself chiefly to the pleasures of the table Khāfi Khān has some interesting remarks I p 171 &c, (Bib Ind Ed) about Akbar's devotion to pleasure in his boyhood and his submissiveness to Bairam.

CHAPER VI.

The seizure of Shāh Abū l-M'ālī and his being put into confinement.

When the world-adorning purposes of God, which arrange the succession of events, visible and invisible, will that the robe of sovereignty be bound with the skirt of perpetuity, and be embroidered with the hem of permanence, He strips makebates and strifemongers of their leaves and branches, and overthrows them, root and stem Moreover, those evildoers and mischief-makers do of themselves certain things which prove the cause of their ruin and destruction An instance of this occurred in the beginning of dominion's morning, and of the glory of the Caliphate, when fortune's diadem was exalted by the grandeur of H M the Shāhinshāh and the throne of sovereignty irradiated by his light (far) At this time the stupefying wine of thoughts and caprices overpowered Shāh Abu-l M'ālī, whose brain had been ruined by the worship of his own beauty and the intoxication produced by the world, and whose foot of moderation had departed from the path of firmness, as has been here and there shown by accounts of his proceedings from the beginning of his service of H M Jahānbani till the death of that lord[1] of the age Now that the ruler of the age (Humayūn) had hastened along the highway to the world of permanence, and the Cycle lord of the Earth (Akbar) had by means of sundry veils of seclusion rescued himself from the contentions and the disturbed hearts both of ascetics and of worldlings, the blood of this crapulous debauchee and conner[2] of *obsolete* almanacs was made worse than ever by evil thoughts

Black bile and melancholia augmented the brain trouble and

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[1] *Badrungār*, evil one of the age But A F has not yet described Abu l M'ālī's latter career, so I am inclined to read with one MS būdrūzgār and to take the word as referring to Humāyūn

[2] The meaning of this curious phrase seems to be that instead of being up to date he thought only of the state of things under Humāyūn

well-wishers, and, granting life to this inexperienced young man, sent him to prison, so that in the beginning of the universe adorning sovereignty there might be nothing which had the appearance of tyranny. Though to endeavour to annihilate the wicked is benevolence to all mankind, yet, as it is a benevolence which in semblance is tyranny, it should not appear at such a new-year-season of fortune They put this mad sedition monger in chains and sent him to Lahore, where those charged with the business put him in charge of Pahlwān Gulgaz[1] (the rose eyed[?]) the Chief Constable, ('asas) of Lahore. That foolish man, either from carelessness or from an evil design, did not exercise proper caution in guarding that wicked intriguer, and so the latter escaped from jail M Shāh[2] and the other officers in Lahore imprisoned Pahlwān Gulgaz, and he from fear of disgrace took poison, and so freed himself from the prison of his body Mun'im Khān, to whom Kabulistan was entrusted, was pleased on hearing the news (of Abu l M'aālī's imprisonment), and by stratagem sent for Mir Hāshim,[3] Abū l M'aālī's brother, who held in jāgir Kahmard, Ghorband Zuhhāq, etc, and imprisoned him This too was a good proceeding

One of the joyful events of this period was the sending a rescript of fortune to Kābul the abode of peace When the imperial mind obtained respite from the necessary affairs of this region, it fixed itself upon the extirpation of Iskandar He was passing his time in the Sivālik hills, and the expedition from Delhi had in truth been directed against him But H M remembered their highnesses the Begums, and also he had promised, for the quieting of the devoted heroes who had recently come to India, that he would send all the old and trusty officers to Kābul[4] to bring quickly, in the first place,

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[1] Kalkaz in text 'Asas may be regarded as synonymous with Kotwal

[2] This M Shāh is the Shāh Mirzā mentioned in Blochmann 461 as a grandson of Muhammad Sultān It was his uncle who was also called Shāh Mirzā who was killed in Afghanistan by Shāh Muhammad A N I 280 Sidi Ali p 58 speaks of him as the governor of Lahore

[3] Mir Hāshim is the person mentioned by Sidi Ali under the name of Kahmard Beg p 62. Either by his mistake or that of his translator the name of his jagir is put for his proper name.

[4] Apparently Sidi 'Ali travelled with this party to Kabul, see pp 59 and 62 He received a lakh from Akbar for his travelling expenses in payment of a chronogram but apparently it was not in cash but an assignment on districts he was to pass through p 62

their highnesses the Begums, and, secondly, the families of the servants of the household into the delightsome and extensive lands of India, so that men might become settled and be restrained in some measure from departing to a country to which they were accustomed. Accordingly, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad Khān Atka, M. Ḥasan Khān, M. Khiẓr Khān Hazāra, Bābūs, Khwāja Jalālu-ddīn Maḥmūd Bakhshī, and a number of others were sent with materials and with valuable presents for the purpose of performing this honourable function. On the fifth day after the accession the troops were gathered under the shadow of the victorious standards, and proceeded towards the hill country of the Sivāliks which is also called Himacal.[1] 18

[1] This does not seem to be known nowadays as a name of the Sivalik mountains. A.F. uses the word Himācal in the Āīn, Jarrett III. 30 and 31. The mountains now known as the Sivāliks are not snow-mountains, but it appears from A.F. and also from Bābar's Memoirs, 323, that the name used to be applied to the great northern range. See Erskine's note.

CHAPTER VII.

BEGINNING OF THE FIRST DIVINE YEAR AFTER THE HOLY ACCESSION OF H M THE SHÂHINSHÂH, viz, THE YEAR FARWARDIN OF THE FIRST CYCLE

As the world assumed splendour from the justice illuminating sovereignty of this nursling of divine light, and the terrene and terrestrials uttered rejoicings *with the tongue of speech* and *of ecstacy*, and gratefully expressed a vernal joy, and the outward and inward world received a new glory and lustre, the *spring time of soul and body* burst forth into invocations of blessings Twenty five days after the auspicious time of the accession, *viz*, on [1] Wednesday 28 Rabi' aş şânı 963 there was the *world illuminating* New Year, and the *Sultan of the East* confronted Aries with his world adorning banners

Verse.

The world was freshened by the spring-breeze
The rain increased the glory of the earth
The sun *joyful of soul, and a lover of joy*
Tore in his delight the sheaths (*lit*, skin) of the flowers
The rose (*gul*) brought out of the clay (*gil*) Kaus's throne
The violet put on peacock (*Taus*) plumes
A young spring burgeoned on every bough
And his *scattering hand held every flower.*

As the great luminary gave new spirit to the age's sorrowful

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1 It has been already stated text p 3 that the accession took place on Friday which was *properly* the 3rd Rabı aş şanı and now we have this supported by the statement that the New Year or 28 Rabī' aş şānī was twenty five days after the accession. But if the 3rd was a Friday then the 28th must have been a Tuesday and not a Wednesday as here stated In the Tabaqât Akbari Elliot V 247 the date of the beginning of the Divine Era and of the New Year is given as Monday 27 Rabi al âkhır, 10 March 1556 But at p 241 the date of the accession is given as 2 Rabi' aş şanı and if this was a Friday the 27th would be a Tuesday

ones, so did the joyful news of the Shāhinshāh's sacred accession give thousands of life-conferring messages to the discerning and to the expectants cognisant of mysteries. The outer world received happiness, and the inner world glory. The visible and invisible kingdoms harmonised and heaped radiance upon radiance.

Whoever[1] has received felicitations from those who have been nurtured in this light-increasing gathering of the spiritual and the temporal, well know what good wishes for long life, inward and outward prosperity, and spiritual and temporal balance are conveyed by them, and there are descriptions of them in ancient chronicles.[2] But who can tell the inner and outer bliss of a nursling of light whose felicitations are conveyed by Light in person, without man's intervention and by the effectual voices[3] of action, to wit that of world-adorning spring?

Inasmuch as the wise of the past and the present are agreed that whenever some glorious event is made the foundation of an era, the latter should begin from the proximate New Year,[4] without regard to a discrepancy either in previousness or in lateness; the sundry days before the New Year were reckoned as included in the New Year, and the latter was made the beginning of the Divine Era. Accordingly this has been recorded in the proclamation which has been set forth above. Whenever the Divine Era be referred to, it shall be understood as commencing from the heart-expanding Spring.

Among the great boons conferred by H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the beginning of this year was the remission of taxes[5] (*bāj u tamghā*).

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[1] The New Year's Festival. Apparently the meaning is that whoever has received the blessings of persons accustomed to such festivals, i.e. persons brought up in Persia, knows how eloquent they are.

[2] *Bastān nāmahā*. This is said to be the title of some old book on Persian history used by Firdusī, but perhaps A.F. is not referring to any particular work, but merely to the New Year rejoicings which were customary in Persia from the days of Jamshīd.

[3] *Zabān-i-f'ūlī*. I believe that this expression is used with reference to the utterances of a seer whose predictions or imprecations are bound to come into effect.

[4] So the Vikramāditya year begins from the vernal equinox; and the Hijra from 1 Moḥarram.

[5] A.F. does not distinctly say what these were, but his language implies that they were inland customs, and taxes on professions and trades. The jizya, or tax upon infidels, was not abolished till the 9th year of the

How can the amount of these be estimated? Undoubtedly it was more than a clime's revenue The Lord of the Earth prescribed those great blessings as a thank-offering for Divine favours, and thereby made glad the caravans of merchants' hearts, who bring abundance to the world of interdependence, and the minds of the crowds of men who are exponents of divinely fashioned arts This excellent regulation drew after it baj u tamgha blessings Although *the circumstance of the ruler of the age's being under a veil, and the* cupidity of officials weakened for a while this excellent foundation, yet as the Shāhinshāh was determined on perpetuating the boon, though for some time it was not carried into effect, the blessings, that is, the good results thereof, were in a manner made manifest by the superintendents of fate God be praised! At the present day, when the world adorner of the Caliphate personally conducts everything, whether in whole or in detail, and when men are tested, and everyone attains success proportionate to his aptitude, this best of gifts has obtained currency throughout the dominions, and although eloquent servants have in seducing language represented to H M the advantages and profits of the tax, yet as the right-choosing mind of H M the Shāhinshāh is strongly attached to the acquiring of the Divine favour, and had therefore issued the order *for the great boon, they* have not been listened to, and have not withdrawn the classes of mankind from the obligation of returning thanks for this one out of thousands of benefits *May Almighty* God grant to H M the Shāhinshāh increase of years, and of gradations of dominion and joy, in proportion to the fruitful blessings of this gift and to the gladdening of so many souls and hearts which have attained rest owing to this favour!

reign text II 203 if indeed the abolition was really carried into effect so early for Badāūnī II 276 speaks of the *tamghā* and *jizya* as being abolished in 987 i e the 24th year There is a definition of the tamghā in the Āīn, Jarrett II 57 where it is said that whatever is collected from men *besides the local revenue is called* tamgha "In every kingdom besides the landtax, Government exacts something from every individual, which extraordinary levy is called tamghā (Gladwin's translation) Akbar did not abolish all miscellaneous taxes He had one on marriages, Blochmann 278 and another on horses, id 215 A list of taxes abolished is given in Jarrett II. 66 See also p 47

One of the occurrences of those fortunate days was that Mir 'Abdu-l-latif, the cream of the great men of Persia and a mine of laudable dispositions came from Qazwin and was introduced at Court, and became the recipient of various favours His excellent son, Mir Ghiasu-d-din A'li, who received royal favours, and was exalted by the title of Naqib Khan, accompanied him Mir 'Abdu-l-latif was distinguished for science, eloquence, trustworthiness and other noble qualities From his lack of bigotry and his broadmindedness he was called in India a Shia and in Persia a Sunni (In fact he was journeying on towards the serene city of universal tolerance, and so the zealots of each sect used to censure him

When the world adorning standard spread the shade of victory over the environs of the town of Dahmiri[1] the victorious heroes and rank breaking ghazis, who had gone as an advance guard under Pir Muhammad Khan, reached the foe in the Sivalik hills They went firmly forward and with proper precautions, but as they were relying on the Divine fortune, whereas Sikandar was only supported by rashness, he broke off without actual fighting and threw himself into the defiles The victorious soldiers returned to the Court and were recipients of favours The army in order to strengthen the foundations of caution spent about three months there in hunting Many landholders came and did homage, and thereby acquired glory for themselves Among them was Dharm Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, who, on account of the high estimation in which he was held, and of the number of his followers, cocked the cap of superiority over his contemporaries He by the destiny of eternal auspiciousness experienced the blessing of kissing the lofty threshold By his alacrity in this service he made himself foremost in the hippodrome of obedience, and was exalted by attentions from H M the Shahinshah

[2] One of the victorious things that happened at this time was Haji

[1] دهمری Dhamri in text but the place appears to be the Dahmiri of the Ain text I 543 and Jarrett II 318 It is in Kangra and is now known as Nurpur a fact which is mentioned in the Khalasat-at tawarikh See also Cunningham Ancient Geography of India, p 143 The name of Nurpur is derived from Nur Jahan the wife of Jahangir The local pronunciation is Dahmeri It is also called Pathaniya and Pathankot

[2] The Ram Cand of the Tabaqat, Elliott V 248

Khān's siege of Narnaul The story of this is that, when the unavoidable event of H M Jahānbani's death became known, Hajī Khān, a distinguished slave of Sher Khān, besieged Nārnaul with a large force Rajah Bihāri Mal[1] Kacwāha, who by the favourable grace of the Shahinshah, became one of the officers of the Sultanate, and rose to a rank superior to that of all the Rajahs and Raises in India, and whose sons and grandsons and whole clan rose to high rank and great office, as will be stated in their proper places, was then with Hājī Khan Majnun[2] Khān Qaqshāl, the jagirdar, was shut up in Nārnaul, and the garrison had become straitened The Rajah on account of his goodness and foresight interposed, and having got peaceable possession of the fort, he sent Majnūn Khan to Court. When H M the Shāhinshāh ascended the throne and Delhi was being governed by Tardi Beg Khān, the latter proceeded against Haji Khān, and after delivering Narnaul followed him into Mewat There he chastised many of the wicked and obstinate, and then returned to Delhi where he managed affairs with the courage of prudence. At the same time Shaikh Gadai[3] Kambu, of Delhi, came from Gujrat and entered into service As during the time of the sojourn in Gujrāt he had behaved well to Bairam Khān and shown him kindness, he was recompensed, now that Bairam Khan had the reins of power in his hand, by being promoted to honour, and by being made Ṣadr, and spent his days with respect among his contemporaries

As the rainy season was near at hand, H M, with a view to the repose and comfort of his people, ordered a return, and made the town of Jalandhar his camping ground The rose garden of the world was refreshed by justice, and for nearly five months the sublime army lived in enjoyment in that pleasant spot The ambassadors of 'Abdu r rashid Khan the ruler of Kashghar came and did homage They presented valuable gifts and received favours from the shadow of God

The brief account of this is as follows —

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[1] Blochmann 328

[2] Blochmann 369

[3] Darbārī Akbarī p 777 and Maasu al umra III 232 Gadāī died in 977 (1569) and the words, *murda-i-kok kabir* great pig's carcase give the date Badaūnī II 119 His father was a poet, and also author of a well known book on the biographies of saints See also Badāunī Lowe 22, for a satirical account of S Gadāī He had a brother called A'bdu l Ḥai Badaūnī Ranking 526

'Abdu r rashid Khan always kept up the ties of relationship, and sought a protection for himself by laying the foundation of accord with the noble family H.M Jahânbani Jinnat Âshiyani also always treated him with kindness and urbanity One instance of this was that at the time the expedition to India was in his lofty contemplation he had sent Khwaja 'Abdu l Bari who was of the noble line of Naqshbandî Khwâjahs, to Kashghar He now returned, and was honoured by saluting the threshold of fortune *The ruler of Kâshghar* sent M Sharafu d-din Husain along with him, both to offer condolences (for Humayun's death) and to express felicitations Khwaja 'Abdu l Bari is son of Khwâja 'Abdu l Khâfi, son of K 'Abdu-l Hâdi, son of Khwajagân Khwaja own son of K Ahrar,[1]—may his grave be holy! M Sharafu-d-din was son of K Mu in, son of K Khawand Mahmud, younger brother of K. 'Abdu l Hadi, son of Khwâjagan Khwaja M Sharafu d d n Husain came on account of these connections along with K 'Abdu l Bari and entered H M's service The Mirzâ was also of high family on the mother's side, for his mother was Kicak Begum, daughter of Mir 'Alâ al Mulk of Tarmiz and of Fakhr Jahân Begum daughter of H M Khaqan Saîd Sultan Ali S aid M He[2] soon attained high rank, and became an Amir al Umra for he added good service to his high rank, and, by passing off his outward show as a representation of his inner nature, made pretensions to the exalted dignity of sincerity

This is a Court where people turn a grain of sincerity into a world Let no wrong thought prove a stumblingblock to you (O reader), and do not say that to show this man (Sharafu d din) favour above his rank was to transgress the laws of justice The place of justice is one thing, and the station of benevolence is another though 22
in matters of this kind an increase of trust on the part of this spiritual and temporal Lord (Akbar) is a means of applying a test, and of ascertaining character, by administration of the world's wine which o'erthrows the unmanly and sets up the virile Extraneous[3] nobility

[1] Bewîsta. Perhaps the meaning here is that he was the eldest son. See Blochmann 322.

[2] See text pp 127 128 Sharafu d-din was married to Akbar's sister Bakhshî Banû in 968. He afterwards rebelled and eventually was poisoned by another rebel.

[3] The Lucknow ed. and the I.O MSS have the conjunction u after *danistan* and before *asalat*

is liable to hundreds of molestations, and granting that these molestations (i e, temptations) be avoided, outward associations and superficial relationships do not result in the attainment of the desired object Inward links and intrinsic purity of soul are required in order that a true test may be applied by the touchstone of sincerity How many members of the world's noble families come to the sublime court and make pretensions to loyalty and sincerity! But as the dust of the dominion guarding threshold is a touchstone for human gems, their merits and demerits are soon revealed, and meet with their fitting recompense Those who were pure within, and were endowed with real nobility, rose in rank day by day, and those who made an embroidered robe of outward purity the veil of inward nastiness, and sold barley while passing it off as wheat, were in the end involved in loss and ignominy and became disgraced for ever and ever Accordingly, the case of M Sharafu d-din Husain, and of hundreds like him, has been a warning to the wise and the reflecting The relation of a small portion of the history of each in its proper place will open the path of auspiciousness to the generality of mankind

During the time that the camp was at Jalandhar[1] Kamal Khan Gakhar, son of Sultan Sarang, younger brother of Sultan Adam, warmly followed up the old loyalty, and attained the blessing of kissing the threshold He became the recipient of princely favours, and was included in the list of officers He did good service in the war with Hemu and at Mânkot, etc, and became the object of special attentions from H M the Shahinshah

[1] Blochmann 455

CHAPTER VIII

ACCOUNT[1] OF THE DISLOYALTY OF M SULAIMAN, HIS SIEGE OF THE FORT OF KABUL, HIS PEACEABLE RETIREMENT AND VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS

During the auspicious time which the sublime army was spending in Jalandhar, news came of the rebellion of M Sulaiman Arrangements were made for sending succour The particulars of this affair are as follows When the terrible news of the death of H M Jahanbani Jinnat Ashiyānī reached Kabul and Badakhshan, M Sulaiman and his son M Ibrāhim, whether because there is little truth or sincerity in that country, or whether because of their inexperience and ignorance, which degraded them from the rank of self interest and made them seek their own harm, or because they out of an evil disposition sought their own advantage in the injury of others, or at the instigation of wicked, short-sighted persons who looked to nothing but their own interest, and the prompting of Haram[2] Begum the Mirzā's wife without whose concurrence he could not conduct any 2 of his state business and whom he, out of weakness (*kucakdili*) had made ruler over himself, from exceeding shortness of thought, and heedless of the fact that the throne of the Caliphate had received

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[1] The account of the siege of Kabul seems to be taken chiefly from Bāyazīd cf 81 *et seq* He was in Kabul at that time and took an active part in defending the fort, and was wounded by an arrow See J A S B for 1898 Part I p 296 Bayazīd describes the arrangements made for mentioning Sulaimān's name in the Friday prayers He says 85*b* that the arrangement was that Sulaimān's Imām should offer up the prayers in the Madrissa of Mulla Abdu l Khāliq He then describes how the prayers were offered up with the usual names for Akbar the gate being kept shut and Sulaiman's Imam not being admitted until they were over p 86*b*

[2] Blochmann 312 calls her Khurram Begum In A N III 149 her father is called Sultān Wais of Kūlāb There is a good deal about her in the third volume See also Bāyāzīd and Gulbadan Bāyāz Id describes how she came to Kabul after quarrelling with her husband, and intended to go to India, and how Munim induced her to return.

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[1] Blochmann 485

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celestial elevation by the sacred accession, departed from their hereditary obedience and dutifulness to H M the Shāhinshāh, whose service is productive of greatness, and raised the head of rebellion M Sulaiman looked to the confusion of the time and to the apparent immaturity of the Khedive of the world, which was but a veil of world adorning beauty, and laid claim to sovereignty At a time which was the season for showing gratitude and for requiting favours, *viz*, *the education and regard which had been bestowed* on him by H M Geti Sitani Firdus Makani and H M Jahanbani Jinnat Āshiyāni, by performing good service and thereby winning the praise of mortals, *and by proffering with a good intention and a firm resolve, the jewel* of his fidelity to be tested by acute assayers, attaining to success, spiritual and temporal, he, from an evil nature and want of decency, passed beyond the omissions of ingrates, and washed the glorious rolls in the waters of sin and then flung them on the earth of rebellion [1] He changed duties (*haquq*) into disobediences (*'aquq*) and took the path of shamelessness (He gathered together his dispersed troops from the hill country of Badakhshan and held out to his ungrateful heart the prospect of an attack upon Kabul.)

Haram Begum was the daughter of Mir Wais Beg, and mother of M Ibrahim, and was known by the name of Wali N'iamat (lady of beneficence) In early days, when H M Jahanbani was meditating an expedition to India, she had come on a visit of condolence for the death of M *Hindal in order that she might sympathise with the* chaste ladies Gulchihra Begum and Gulbadan Begum who were the sisters of H M Jahanbani Jinnat Āshiyani This was the Begum's *ostensible design*, but in reality her motive was a quarrel with her husband and son which had led her to leave them and to determine on a pilgrimage to Mecca The cause of the disagreement was that as the Begum by her ability and planning managed the political and financial affairs of Badakhshan, and exercised full powers in favouring the part and depressing another, envious and narrow minded people wickedly said improper things about her to M Ibrahim and so made him displeased with her So far did this go that that simpleton of a Turk lost his self control and got hold by a stratagem of Haidar Beg, the Begum's younger brother, and about whom men had their

[1] See supra p 270

suspicions[1], and put him to death The Begum was displeased at this and came to Kabul. For some time she was in attendance on the chaste ladies *After that, the Mirzās (father and son)* repented of what they had done, and sent men and induced the Begum to return She in her little sense, and evil soul, had seen the outward state of Kabul, and resolved to get possession of it She represented this to M Sulaimān as an easy undertaking, but the prestige of H M Jahānbani *made success* impossible to those short-sighted wicked 24
people

When the unavoidable event (Humāyun's death) occurred this Wali N'iamat Kāfir-N'iamat (this so-called benefactress, but really forgetter of benefits) became in a roadless country the guide in paths of destruction When Mun'im Khan learned the state of the case, he wisely did not engage in battle, but set himself to putting the fort in order, rebuilt what was broken, and repaired the bastions and bulwarks He reported the matter to the world-protecting Court before the seditious Mirza could stir up the dust of strife in Kabul The Mirzā, looking with his shallow vision to his own numbers and the paucity of the imperial servants, went on, march by march, and arrived at Kabul in the beginning of the first Divine Year, that is, in the middle of spring, and besieged it In the first encounter he showed his impetuousity and contentiousness and was prominent in fighting There was a hot fight between the loyal Kabulis and the *bold Badakhshis The fire of attack and defence burst forth* Each day the braves on the side of M Sulaimān advanced to the foot of the fort and gave proof of courage, and made attacks on the gates The loyal men of Kabul made every exertion to defend the fort, and disposed of those unmeasured assailants by firing on them with cannon and muskets from the walls. Gallant and active men also came out of the fort and fought courageously As these experienced warriors were upheld by the *eternal fortune of H M the Shāhinshah*, they were victorious in spite of superior numbers, and were never under any apprehensions

When the state of the case became known from Mun'im Khān's representations, attention was given to sending an army) Many

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that they suspected his being really the brother of Haram for it appears from A N III 149 150 that they induced Ibrāhīm to believe that there was a criminal intimacy between the two

represented that the force which had left to bring away the chaste ladies was sufficient for the purpose, and before H M, on account of sundry necessary matters in India had arranged about sending help, Kabul and the Kabulis were by God's help delivered from the Mirzā's troubling Though the troops who had gone to bring away the chaste ladies did not take part in the affair, yet when they arrived at the Indus, and it became known in Kabul that troops were coming from India the courage of the besieged was heightened, and the opponents were disconcerted The Mirza had recourse to wiles and stratagems, and sent as his ambassador Qāzi Khan[1] Badakhshi, who was one of his special intimates, and was distinguished by his knowledge and wisdom, and who by his good fortune and innate auspiciousness spent the last part of his life in the service of H M the Shāhinshāh and became one of the constant attendants on the threshold of fortune A short account of this will be given in its proper place He used his talents on this occasion, but was not successful Mun'im Khān knowing that the proper course was to keep him under surveillance did not give him leave to depart He showed him great kindness and managed that he should get the impression that there was abundance of food and plenty of heartiness in the garrison So well did he contrive that in spite of total want of stores this clear-sighted ambassador became convinced, contrary to the fact, that there was complete arrangement and plenty of provisions By this far seeing plan he carried out an excellent work After some time Mun'im Khān dismissed the envoy and sent this message "God be praised that I am upheld by such a Lord of the Age, and that there are so many brave and loyal men within the fort that I could sally out and give battle But I am not going to let caution slip Hundreds of thanks for this that there are provisions and stores for the garrison which will last for years, and that besides this the army of India, which is more numerous than ants or locusts, will soon arrive with a complete equipment Give up this malign design, and do not make yourself one to be pointed at by high and low as an ingrate, nor put the stain of an evil name on the cheek of good fortune You could not seduce mere men of courage by promises, how then could you succeed with this noble band who by help of good fortune have left

[1] Blochmann 440 Bāyazīd calls him Qāẓi Nizām

behind this lowest of stages, and attained to the heaven of sincerity? How can you move from their place by deception and deceit this hallowed body of men?"

The Mīrzā who had vain desires in his head from the hope of the inhabitants becoming unfaithful, and of the garrison's want of supplies, at once fell into despair and sent the Qāẓi Khān back to the fort As the latter had ascertained the distress of the populace from the long siege he knocked at the door of peace with onerous conditions Mun'im Khān, whose heart had been set on being killed, took pity on himself and on the straits of the besieged and agreed to a peace As the envoy was a capable man he made it the first condition of peace that the *Khutba* should be recited in the name of that disgrace to his name, that feeble of understanding, that disrespectful and incapable one! Here Mun'im Khān left the path of truth according to the plotting of sincerity professing hypocrites and agreed to such an indignity The next condition was that the other side of the Baran should belong to Badakhshān, and be the property of the Mirza Mun'im Khan agreed to this outwardly, not inwardly, and gave permission to have the *Khutba* recited in the manner that had been agreed upon, in one of the mosques, and in the presence of a few persons The Mirzā left Muqdim Beg at the river Baran to protect the territory in question and returned to Badakhshān The return of the Mirzā and the ousting of Muqdim Beg, were one and the same thing Owing to the loyalty of right thinking servants Kabul was freed from the claws of so many ungrateful men, and received order again from the justice of Mun'im Khān The ungrateful Mirza went off to Badakhshan after having prepared the leaven of his own destruction

Good God! the victorious imperial servants who had the charge of the Shāhinshāh's affairs, whether on account of the *attractions of* India, or from other worthless motives, did not chastise M Sulaiman But the eternal good fortune which waited on the stirrup of H M the Shāhinshāh took measures for giving him the recompense of his disrespect Accordingly, defeats[1] and disasters befell the Mirzā, stage by stage, and God the Avenger brought the overthrown Mirza,

[1] M Sulaiman lost his son in an expedition against Balkh and eventually had to fly from Badakhshan and take refuge with Akbar See infra text III 148 *et seq*

who had withdrawn his head from obedience to his liege lord, to kiss the threshold of the mankind protecting Court Though the ostensible managers of imperial affairs did not take steps to punish the Mirzā, the real Stewards were at work and put his punishment into his bosom This will be recounted in its proper place

At length, when the Kabulis, by being under the Divine protection, were released from the calamities caused by wicked men it was decided that the litters of the chaste ladies, H H Miriam Makānī, Gulbadan Begum and others should, in accordance with the sacred directions, proceed to India They all happily and auspiciously joined H M the Shāhinshāh and prostrated themselves in thanks to God for temporal and spiritual favours A brief account of their journey and adventures will be given hereafter (See infra, p. 54, of text)



CHAPTER IX

THE ARRIVAL OF NEWS OF THE SEDITION MONGERING OF HEMŪ, AND THE MARCH OF THE ARMY OF FORTUNE TO QUELL THE STRIFE OF THAT EVILLY ENDING MISCREANT

As yet the arranging mind was not at rest about the doings of Iskandar, and it was watching the commotion at Kabul, when news came to Jalandhar on 31 Mihr, divine month—8 Ẕi Ḥajja (13th October, 1556), of the arrival of Hemu in whose brain the ambition of sovereignty was stirring, and of whom some account has been already given, of his engaging in battle with the great officers, of their want of steadiness, and of his having taken possession of Delhi. The short account of these events is as follows Battles took place between Hemu and Ibrahim, who was a claimant for the Sultanate, and the former was always victorious Sulṭan Muhammad, who had 2
assumed the kingly title in Bengal, was also defeated, and was made to tread the land of annihilation Hemu also engaged in conflicts with Taj Kararani and Rukn Khan Nuhani and defeated them He fought two and twenty battles with the opponents of Mubariz Khan, and was victorious in all of them His victories impressed him with evil ideas, and he did not perceive that the victory of a futile person over one more futile than himself is no reason for being bold enough to tilt against a mountain of iron At the time when H M Jahanbani, with the assistance of the armies of God, conquered India, Hemu was otherwise engaged and his vain imaginings did not show themselves Now that the *masnad* of the Caliphate was resplendent from the personality of H M the Shahinshah, he turned his attention from his rivals and, with a large force of men and war-elephants from the eastern districts, marched towards Delhi, leaving Mubariz Khan, of whom some account has been already given, in Cunar The officers who had been deputed to those provinces assembled at Delhi Tardi Beg Khan became the arranger of the different bodies, and made preparations for giving battle He heartened every man by language which might give comfort to the disconcerted Many brave and

zealous men came in from the districts, but ʿAlī Qulī Shaibānī, who was engaged in Sambal in putting down some despicable Afghans, could not join the imperial servants

The short account of this is that Shādī Khān, one of the chief officers of Mubāriz Khān, had many parganas of Sarkar Sambal in his possession ʿAlī Qulī Khan proceeded this year, which was the beginning of the Divine Era—may it for ever be conjoined with auspiciousness!—to put him down. He sent before himself several of his own officers such as Muhabbat Khān, Laṭīf Khān, and Ghīasu-d-dīn, in order that they should cross the Ruhab[1] and wait for his arrival The wine of courage withheld this force from plan and precaution, which are the first stage of prudence Shādī Khān suddenly fell upon them and routed them These incapable ones fought without method and let slip the reins of steadiness. Laṭīf Khān and a number of others were drowned ʿAlī Qulī Khan on hearing of this misfortune proceeded with a body of his troops, with whom were Mahdī Qasim Khan, Bābā S'aid Qibcaq, and Muhammad Amin Diwana, to attack Shadī Khan On the morning of the day that he had determined on crossing the river, a letter arrived from Tardī Beg Khan stating that Hemū was coming with large preparation, that the crushing of that wretch was the most important matter, and that he should come immediately ʿAlī Qulī Khān withdrew his hand from his enterprise and marched towards Delhi, but before he arrived, the officers had fought and lost a great battle, and Delhi, the capital of India, had fallen into Hemu's hands, thus furnishing materials for his intoxication, and for the increase of his arrogance This happened by fate for purposes known to God alone, or it was brought about by evil designs on the part of Maulana Pīr Muhd Shirwani Away! Away! the cause rather was that the vaunting, self praising officers might not lay the Lord of the earth under any obligation, or rather it was to show the supreme power of this Lord of the throne of fortune, and that the new conquest of India might be due to the arm of him who was helped by heaven

The brief account of this instructive disaster is as follows The

[1] Perhaps the Rahap of Bābar's Memoirs Ersk ne 313 It is spelt Rahap in the Turkī and also in the Bombay edition of the Persian. It is also spelt Rahat It cannot be the Rāptī as Erskine supposes, and is apparently the Rām Ganga Elliott V 49

victories of this wretch (Hemu) over the opponents of Mubāriz Khān —those giddy ones of the baiting place of destruction—had led him into evil imaginings, and when the news of the unavoidable event of H M Jahanbani Jinnat Āshiyāni's death reached the provinces, he, out of short-sightedness, took into consideration the confusion of the time and had the audacity to determine that he would give battle to the sublime army of H M the Shāhinshāh, for whom the Divine aid is security That shallow superficialist made the youthful years of the great one, over whose might a luminous veil had been cast, a cause of increasing his courage The abundant wealth, and the numbers of soldiers and munitions of war, which had been left by so many rulers of India added to his boldness and daring as also did the evacuation by victorious officers of the cities and towns of the dominions At length he set off on his evil enterprise with 50,000 cavalry, 1 000 elephants, 51 cannon, and 500 falconets

Tardi Beg Khan prepared the materials of resistance in Delhi, and having called together the officers who had come in from their posts, made arrangements for battle) He both made his own heart strong in courage, and heartened those who were deficient At length on 24 Mihr, Divine month, of the first year, corresponding to Tuesday 1 Zihajja 963, (6th October, 1556), Hemū the wretch arrived near Delhi with all his equipments and encamped in Taghlaqabad, the officers assembled and deliberated Many of the brave men from motives of prudence, and some out of cowardice, were not willing to fight They said that until the Shāhinshāh's army arrived they should by every possible means strengthen the fort and should seek an opportunity of making a night attack Some recommended waiting till the arrival of 'Ali Quli Khan and the officers of that country Sambal) Some heroes who would give their lives for fame and to whose loyal minds the battlefield was more attractive than the banquet hall were saying, "Let us regard the opportunity as a boon and engage

Verse

Fortune cries "quits" to him
Who does to day's work to-morrow

At length they all decided upon giving battle, and all girded up the loins of courage On the day of Arād 25 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Zihajja, (7th October, 1556), both armies drew up

The centre was commanded by Tardī Beg Khān, Afẓal Khān Ashraf Khān, and Maulānā Pīr Muhd Shirwānī, who had come there as Bairām Khān's agent to look after the affairs of the imperial servants, or with malicious intent and in order to confound Tardī Beg Khān's prosperity, were also in the centre. Haidar Muhd Khān, Qāsim Taklhūs, Haidar Bakhshī, 'Alī Dost Khān Bārbegi, and a number of others were on the right wing, and Iskandar Khān and another body were on the left wing. 'Abdullah Uzbeg Qyā Khān, Lal Khān and a number of others formed the vanguard. On the side of the enemy also the troops were drawn up in martial style, and they came forward and made manful endeavours. The heroes on both sides cast the thought of life from their hearts, and did great deeds. The intrepid spirits of the vanguard and left wing of the army of fortune displayed valour, and drove off before them the vanguard and right wing of the enemy, and followed in pursuit of them. Their deeds and valour were such that the souls of Rustam and Isfandiyār sang their praises, and that the voice of the Age and of mankind extolled them a thousand times. Four hundred noted elephants were among the spoil, and Rai Husain Jalwanī,[1] a leading man among the enemy, was overwhelmed in the ocean of annihilation. More than three thousand of the ill fated foe descended in the fight to the dust of non existence.

The proud Hemu, who joined extreme daring to craft was over following feline stratagems. He collected 300 chosen elephants and a body of life sacrificing men, and separated them from the rest of his army and awaited the moment for flight or for fight. At the time when the victorious army had gained such an advantage and were pursuing the fugitives, and while a body of them was busied in plundering and in carrying off the spoil, Tardī Beg Khān, who held the post[2] of honour on this field of bravery, was standing with a small force contemplating the scene. The cunning Hemū saw his opportunity and attacked them. The comrades of Khwajah[3] Sultān 'Alī, who had the title of Afzal Khān, and of Mīr Munshī, who was called Ashraf[4] Khān, and a number of others—altogether they[5] were but

[1] Of Jalaun a district in the Jhansi division.

[2] *Basaṭarāī*. Apparently this only means that he was the general in command.

[3] Blochmann 376.

[4] Apparently he only got this title afterwards.

[5] The MSS. are not uniform here. Among other differences, instead of

few—did not behave with courage, and Maulānā Pīr Muhammad Shirwani[1] also chose flight in order to ruin the Commander-in-chiefship of Tardi Beg Khan Tardi Beg Khan, the time of whose retribution for past disloyalty was near at hand, reckoned his life as dear, and chose the ignominy of flight) Thus when things were so far advanced, and such a victory had displayed her countenance, there came a catastrophe

Whoever shall out of a disordered intellect, enter upon such a no thoroughfare (*berah*) abandons his[2] own interest—let alone sincerity and loyalty—and shows a disregard for his own reputation, which substantially consists in guarding his master's sovereignty Assuredly, there is no need for me to say that in this crisis his blood was spilt and that his honour was spilt The fate of this lover of his life became a warning to the wise I need not mention magnanimity in connection with this matter. Why should I search for that rare and priceless jewel in dust bins? I'm not so inexperienced! But this I can say, it has been proved by a succession of utterances by sages, and is abundantly clear, that a runaway receives more wounds than the brave man who endures the stress of battle, and that lovers of their lives and fliers from death are trampled upon by the forces of destruction sooner than those who covet death and are intrepid in fight If a man will exercise a little moderation, and not show depression in time of adversity, or intoxication in time of prosperity, he will never see an evil day A number of the reckoners up of registers of deeds think that Tardi Beg Khān's coming to such disgrace is a kind of expiation for the disloyalty which he showed towards H M Jahanbani Jinnat Āshiyāni in the beginning of the journey to Persia Go to, could this be an expiation for disloyalty? And can a disgrace such as this be placed in the balance of justice as a counterpoise to the shameful act? Because he saw the Lord of the Age, who had been brought for the perfecting of the visible and invisible, in the disguise of boyhood, and did not pay regard to him,

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the *hama kas* of the text we have *ham kas* Probably the correct reading is [illegible]

[1] Mutamid Khān says that he has heard from trustworthy people that [illegible] respon [illegible] *as das* [illegible] Gives up his trade [illegible]

and wanted to show off his own greatness, the world adorning God inflicted such punishment on this self approver Alas! Alas! What
1 short sightedness this was! Or rather the stewards of fate increased the arrogance and intoxication of Hemū in order to show the majesty of the Shahinshāh, so that that self conceited self-worshipper appeared great in the eyes of the short sighted, of whom the world is full Afterwards he was seized and cast down to the ground of overthrowal so that his disgrace might become collyrium to the eyes of the short-sighted, and that by drawing somewhat nigh to the glory of the Lord of the Age, they might be more careful to obey his commands, which compose the arrangements of the visible and invisible

In fine, Hemū, who was seeing his own large army thrown into confusion and scattered, regarded this strange event (Tardī Beg's flight) as a trick of his enemy, and did not pursue Tardī Beg Khān, but proudly drew up his forces on the very field of battle The rank-breaking heroes who had followed the fugitives were amazed when they returned, and hastened off in the same direction as Tardī Beg Khān After this Hemu entered Delhi and increased his arrogance, so that his intoxication became madness

When this unnatural occurrence was made known to the sublime Court, H M the Shahinshāh in the strength of his far-seeing wisdom was not affected by it, and issued orders to the embroiderers of honour's carpet and the battle field adorners that they should set forth in a propitious hour and chastise that arrogant blockhead He lighted up the face of royal majesty with the colouring of submission and surrender to the Divine will, and cast the shadow of favour on the management of the affairs of world government As his mind was not satisfied about the matter of Sikandar, he left a force under the charge of Khizr Khwaja Khan, who belonged to the race of the rulers of Moghulstan, and who having been exalted by an alliance,[1] with the sublime family, was highly honoured among the Amirs, to put order into the distracted affairs of the Punjab and to quell the disturbances caused by Sikandar He then addressed himself to the overthrowal of Hemu

[1] He had married Gulbadan Begam half sister of Humāyūn He is, I think the Khizr K Sultān, son of Aiman K of T Rashidī Elias and Ross 401 The T Akbarī and Khāfī Khān describe him as belonging to the Kāshghar family

As the festival of the 'Id Qūrbān was near at hand, the preparations for holding it were made, and in an auspicious hour on the day of Bahman 2 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 10, Zī-l-ḥajja, which was the 'Id Qūrbān, there was an assemblage in the 'Idgāh, and after the rites of the feast had been performed, H.M. took up his quarters there. An order (*firmān*) was addressed to Tardī Beg Khān, and the other officers, directing them to keep up their hearts and to stand firm. The gist of it was that they should not despair on account of an occurrence which, in accordance with the Divine decree, had emerged into light from the chamber of secrecy; that the Divine Artificer of wonders uses a variety of colours; and that they should, as a matter of extreme caution, assemble at the town of Thānēsar and there await the arrival of the imperial army. Next day he moved from there under the guidance of Divine wisdom and on Ābān the 10th of Ābān, the Divine month, corresponding to Friday the 18th Zihajja encamped at Sahrind. The defeated officers and 3
'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī had come to the neighbourhood of Sihrind before the receipt of the imperial orders, and after paying their homage were favourably dealt with.

One of the occurrences of this time was Bairām Khān's putting Tardī Beg Khān to death. The account of this affair is as follows: Bairām Khān recognised Tardī Beg Khān as his rival and was always apprehensive of him. Tardī Beg too regarded himself as leader of the army and was lying in wait for an opportunity to overthrow Bairām Khān. Each, too regarded points of bigotry as of the essence of religion, and made them additional reasons for watching for opportunities to ruin one another. In spite of such mutual antagonism, the origin of which was want of understanding and envy, they from motives of feigning and deception stood in the relation of *tūqān* [1] to one another, and *tūqān* means in Turkī brother (*hamzād*). Bairām Khān thought that this occasion, when Tardī Beg Khān was defeated and ashamed, was opportune, and so renewed his friendship and affection and brought him to his house through the exertions of Maulānā Pīr

[1] توغقان and توقان pronounced *tiq-qan* is given in Shaw's Turkī Dict. as meaning brothers and sisters. According to Mūt'amid Khān Bairām and Tardī Beg called one another *tūqān*, i.e., brother. Badaunī says that Bairām called Tardī Beg *tūqān*, meaning elder brother.

Muhammad Khan Alleging a purpose of[1] purification (*taharat*), he left him in his pavilion and went out, and his myrmidons entered and put Tardi Beg to death[2] Khwaja Sultān Ālī[3] and the Mir Munshi,[4] who were suspected of treachery and privity, were imprisoned along with Khanjar Beg[5] who was nearly related to Tardi Beg H M the Shahinshah from policy and wisdom had ostensibly withdrawn himself from the management of affairs and was engaged in hunting Or his motive was to screen himself for a time from the evil thoughts of the short sighted, and to observe the degrees of good service, and the stages of fidelity in men, and to fix them in his acute mind and that the stratagems of the evil minded might become clear to his heart without the intervention of others On the very day that this thing occurred he, according to his usual custom, was enjoying the pastime of hawking in the pleasant plains of Sihrind

When he heard the facts he, out of his plenitude of wisdom, expressed no astonishment He left the retribution to God, and uncomplainingly contemplated the decrees of Providence When he returned in the evening from the hunting ground, the Khan Khanān sent Maulanā Pīr Muhammad Shirwāni to him and represented that "the cause of his presumption was solely his devotion to the throne Tardi Beg Khan had knowingly and treacherously elected in this battle the ignominy of flight His insincerity and hypocrisy were
53 known to all, for from first to last he had behaved badly If such offences were passed over, the enterprises which H M had in view would not be accomplished He was much ashamed of his presumption in not taking permission The cause of this daring was that H M was a mine of kindness, and a fountain of benevolence Certainly he would not have agreed to his (Tardi Beg) being killed. Under these circumstances if an order forbidding the deed had come from H.M , it would have been presumptuous beyond all bounds to

[1] Badauni says Bairām went out at time of evening prayers on the pretence of *taharat* (ablution? *Wash* (?) before prayers?)

[2] Ferishta says that he has heard from good authority that the execution of Tardi Beg was necessary as otherwise the catastrophe of Humayūn's overthrow by Sher Khān would have happened over again

[3] Blochmann 376

[4] Blochmann 389

[5] Blochmann 533 and T Akbar Lucknow ed 387 He was famed for his knowledge of music

act in opposition to it, while to obey the order, would have caused disorder in the country, and sedition in the army. He hoped that he would approve of him with the glance of pardon so that other evildoers might take warning." The lord of the world, visible and invisible, graciously received Bairām Khān's messenger and accepted the excuses of the Khān-Khanān. He soothed him by marks of favour and confidence, and addressed himself to the extirpation of contention.

CHAPTER X

Detachment of victorious troops from the army of H M. the Shāhinshāh by way of an advanced force

When the world adorning standards cast the rays of victory on the plain of Sarai Karunda (?),[1] an order was issued that a distinguished force composed of devoted heroes should be sent in advance of the main army Accordingly Iskandar Khān Uzbeg, 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, 'Ali Quli Khan Andarabi Haidar Muhammad Ākhta begi, Muhammad Khan Jalair, M Quli Culi, L'al Khan Badakhshi, Majnun Khan Qaqshal, and many brave men marched under the leadership of Āli Quli Khān Shaibani Bairam Khān sent with them his own followers Husain Quli Beg, son of Wali Beg, Shāh Quli Mahram, Mir Muhammad Qāsim of Nighāpur, Saiyid Mahmud Bārha, and Auzān Bahādur, together with other zealous and experienced soldiers, that they might be the foremost of the advanced guard (*haraval i manqula*), might put warmth into the cris s of courage and self sacrifice, and might test each other's skill and valour Those lucky ones took charge of the marshalling of the troops, and distributed them, in accord with the rules of victory and the code of strategy, into right[2] and left wing, centre and vanguard, rear-guard, reserve,[2] flank, archers (*uqci*), and altamsh,[2] and made each part illustrious by the splendour of devoted ability and sincerity,

[1] There are various readings, one bring Kaharünda but I cannot identify them Ferishta calls the place Naushahra which is probably the Nawashahr of the I G X 254 Apparently the place is identical with the Kaharmanda of Badauni II 15, which he says is now a famous Serai, and possibly the place meant by both passages is the Kharkhūda of the Āin, Jarrett II 104 and 287 see text I, pp 368 and 520, and the I G VIII 168 It belonged to the Sarkār of Delhi and is now in the Rohtak district Only as Akbar marched to Pānīpat from Jālandhar by way of Karnal, any place in Rohtak seems too far south The place is called Serai Kharūnda in the Khulāṣat Tawārīkh

[2] These military terms are Turkish, and are not all given in our dictionaries See Bābar s Memoirs 227 and 306 *Taraḥ* however is Arabic, and

and strengthened the victorious troops by the gleaming swords of veteran lovers of battle.

Inasmuch as Trust in God (*lit.* in the foundation of fortune) is a profound mental habit, and is for supreme lords the best vanguard [1] of victory, the Earth's Khedive, after making the subsidiary arrangements, applied his mind to supplicating God, the Giver of life, the accomplisher of desires, the executor of causes, and with a tranquil 34
mind, an open brow, a prayerful heart, a just intent, a right principle, a wide capacity, a strong hand, a firm foot, a high spirit, a lofty soul, a right plan, a shining countenance, and a smiling lip placed the foot of dominion in the stirrup of fortune and marched forward. At this season of youth and of natural impetuosity, this great Prince ever acted with far sightedness and with submission to Reason the adorner of power, and by restraining himself within the veil of indifference, and under the screen of tender age, guarded the world-adorning beauty of his sovereignty. Without using the instrumentality of messages and messengers, and the elaborated speeches of interested meddlers, he continued to occupy himself in testing the loyal and true, and while making over the conduct of affairs to the lovers [2] thereof, was instant in supplication at the threshold of the Giver of life, and Creator of wisdom, knowing that the issue of events, spiritual or temporal, was with the incomparable Deity. The conventionally wise, and those who worshipped secondary causes, but ignored the First Cause, could not apprehend the exceeding greatness of wisdom of this sitter on the throne of the Caliphate, nor the sublime eminence of this Elect of two worlds, but thought themselves to be among the efficient causes—What shall I say?—to be the real masters in sovereignty's workshop! But the achievements of this unique one of the True God became revealed day by day, and the nature of those imbecile truth-missers underwent the test for gilded copper, and departed into the ravine of darkness, as will become

means reserve Erskine spells it tarakh Altamsh means sixty and is applied to a force placed between the vanguard and the main body See Badāūnī Lowe 197 note

[1] Tal aāt There is an allusion here to the advanced guard described at the beginning of the chapter That was a good guard, but trust in God is a better The passage is tortuous and I am not sure if I have translated it correctly

[2] *'Āāshiqān* One MS reads *Mut'allaqān* dependants

apparent to the acute and the reflective from this truthfi narrative

The sum[1] of the matter is the[2] Light-Increaser of Creation workshop commits to the keeping of His own sublime Grace, the charg of the affairs, whether in mass or in detail, of a nursling of light wh shall have obtained deliverance from the darkness of creature worshi and have made his heart radiant by the splendour of the worshi of God He (that is to say, the Deity) does not distress him b *narrowing his soul within external affairs, and He incorporates hi* aspirations with others which have not passed into the scope of hi spiritual mind, and which cannot be comprehended by the world spirit, and places them in the bosom of his Fortune And having enthroned him in the kingdoms of the visible and invisible He make him leader of armies temporal and spiritual Every base and per verse one, whose fortune's flame has been extinguished by the wind of adversity, has an intellectual veil let down in front of his eyes o vision, and comes out into the darkness of denial, and the obscurity of opposition, and sinks into the slough of ruin by his own act Ac cordingly the glorious status of H M the Shāhinshāh has become im pressed *in thousands and thousands of instances on the minds of the* recalcitrants of the desert of wandering, who once had connexion with the dominion which is conjoined with eternity. These will be referred to in their proper place

And let a little of the loss that befell M Sulaimān who came with 10 000 men to conquer Kabul, and which was guarded, through the assistance of H M the Shāhinshah's good genius, by Mun'im khān the khan Khānān with a small force, be known to the prudent so that (it may be seen that) just as the blessings of the spiritual and temporal lord extend far, so it may be conjectured what will be the final condition of those nearly[2] placed miserable ones who out of an *evil fate strive with the spirit* of his Majesty and make war upon him, The fate of Hemu which occurred in the beginning of the career (of Akbar) is a whip of warning to the arrogant and self-willed

At this time there was great scarcity in the cities and villages

[1] This too is an obscure passage

[2] Meaning that as the remote Mun'im was helped so was the nearly related Sulaimān punished

of India, and there was a terrible famine[1] in many parts, and especially in the province of Delhi Though they were finding signs of gold, they could see no trace of corn Men took to eating one another, some would join together and carry off a solitary man, and make him their food Though this recompense of men's acts lasted for two years, the intense distress was for one year Apparently it was the pain of the past coming out in evidence so that by the blessings of the holy accession to the throne of the Caliphate, the inequalities of the time, and the crookedness of the world might all at once be removed

[1] A.F was an eye witness of this famine, for he was then in his fifth year and living at Agra. See Āīn text II 424 and Jarrett III 425 where he gives several details The famine is also described by Badāūnī who says that he saw with his own eyes men eating one another He gives the chronogram Khashm Yazd God's Wrath This yields 962 and as A.F says that the famine lasted two years, it apparently prevailed during 962 and 963 See *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January 1901 pp. 29, 30, and *id* for July 1901, p 193

CHAPTER XI

VICTORY OF H M THE SHAHINSHĀH'S ARMY IN THE BATTLE WITH HEMŪ, HIS CAPTURE, AND HIS UNDERGOING CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Great God! How varied are the decrees of fate, and how multiplex the marks of destiny! A blade of grass cannot spring from the ground without some designs being involved in it, nor a leaf stir on a tree without sundry purposes being infolded therein! How then can one estimate the mysteries and consequences which lie hid under events which are responsible for a movement of a universe? Among such was this battle garbed banquet[1] (*bazm i razmnama*) which was among the great causes of external order, and also the best means of guidance for those who had lost their way in the wilderness of error and destruction The account of this great boon is as follows The ill fated Hemu was continually giving way to pride and arrogance, owing to his accumulation of incitements to infatuation such as have already been briefly described Especially was the Indian army encouraged by the catastrophe of Tardī Khan and it was emboldened to contend with the hosts of Fortune High and low were filled with pride and indulged in seditious imaginings

When the news of the march of the standards of Fortune were spread throughout the hostile army, Hemu sent his park of artillery great both in quality and in quantity, in advance of himself, and under the charge of Mubārak Khan and Bahadur Khān, who were chief officers of his, to Panipat which is nearly thirty[2] kos from Delhi
38 and set about preparing for battle It had not occurred to him that the victory begotten troops would move with celerity When the lion hearted men of the advanced guard heard of the arrival of the artillery at that town, they equipped a force composed of active and battle-loving soldiers, such as Lal Khān Badakhshī, M Qulī Uzbeg and Samānjī[3] Khān and sent them forward to make an attack When

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[1] A F means that the battle with Hemū was really a festival on account of its success

[2] It is 53 m N Delhi and now a railway station

[3] Blochmann 416 Apparently he

this force wrote reporting the strength of the enemy, 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī joined the division, and the masterful ghāzīs, who were backed by the Shāhinshāh's Fortune, added feline skill to the deeds of tigers It may be conjectured what deeds were done by tigers when thus supported! In fine, the artillery was captured, and the advanced guard of the enemy fled without fighting When the moribund Hemu heard of this, he arrayed his army in three divisions The right wing was commanded by Shādī Khān Kākar,[1] the left wing by Hemu's sister's son Ramya, who was distinguished for bravery, and he himself marched forward with consummate pride and great celerity He took with him the mountain-like and dragon-mouthed elephants, which had been collected by so many Indian rulers, and which by Heaven's decree and for a warning to the superficial and the *short sighted* had been *brought together* for this alien in form and substance Among them were 500 palmary (*sira*) elephants, each of them a paragon for[2] swiftness and dexterity In might and courage they were exemplars, and the running of those active athletes could not be called running, for though the race horses of 'Irāq (Arabia) be swift, they could not outstrip those elephants In truth each one of those famous elephants was capable of disordering a large force They were especially calculated to confuse the onset of cavalry, as the horses had never seen such terrific forms How can the attributes of those rushing mountains be strung on the slender thread of words They ruined lofty buildings by shaking them, and sportively uprooted strong trees In the hour of battle and contest they lifted up man and horse and flung them into the air

Verse

They advance at a gentle pace, but when they encounter,
The strong are as powdered antimony under their feet

How shall the multitude[3] of his army be described?

The brief account is that he marched in excellent order with

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is the Sān a ji Khān who was son of Calmak Beg

[1] An Afghan tribe see Bellew, the races of Afghanistan 91

[2] I think the *wāw* after *kārnāma* is wrong One MS has a conjunction after this word

[3] The text wrongly has *sipahī* for *sipāh*

30,000 practised horsemen composed of Rajputs and Afghans who, on many occasions, had by their exploits increased his pride and arrogance. Musketeers and cross-bowmen were placed on the mountain backs of those enormous elephants, which were furnished with suits of mail (*kajim*)[1] and defensive armour, and made ready for war. All the elephants had these war panoplies, and had their trunks armed with spears and knives, and were intrusted to men of war and to courageous drivers. Every one had his place assigned to him.
37 The elephant Ghalib Jang, which was one of the first rate elephants, was assigned to Hasan Khan Faujdār, the elephant Gaj Bhanwar (?),[2] which was one in a thousand, was assigned to Maikal Khan, the elephant Jor Banwan, which was a powerful one, was given to Ikhtiyar Khan, the elephant Fauj Madir was assigned to Sangrām Khān, and elephant Kali Beg, which had in many battles been ridden by Hemu himself, was on that day entrusted to a driver of the name of Cāpan. He conciliated these leaders, who were lions of the jungle of war, and were the confidants of Sher Khan and Selim Khān, and other haughty ones, and made them zealous for battle. But warlike preparations are of use against the superficial, and those who are influenced by material causes. Of what avail are they against a worshipper of God, and an annihilator of ordinary causes, who has been brought for the arrangement and completion of the spiritual and temporal world? All these materials and apparatus became additions to the household of that beautifier of the world of sovereignty. The strange event that immediately followed was a proof of this.

The account of this wonderful fortune is as follows:—

On Dibadin, the 23rd Āban, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 2 Muharram 964 (5 November, 1556) when the advanced guard of the victorious army was encamped on the borders of Panipat, scouts came and brought the information that the enemy had arrived, and reported his strength and equipment, and it was made certain that the ill fated scoundrel was boldly approaching. And before the above-mentioned town was reached it was currently rumoured that Hemu had sent a large force in advance under the command of

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[1] Blochmann Plate XIV.

[2] Bhānwar in text. Probably from the Sanscrit Bhanwar, a whirlpool.

Shādi Khān Kakar The imperial officers did not make much account of this, and having bound their hearts to the daily increasing fortune, proceeded to face him When it grew certain that Hemu was coming with all that preparation, inasmuch as they had not looked to their real support (i e, Akbar), perturbation found its way into the hearts of imperial servants, through the instrumentality of empty headed babblers, from whom no army is ever free, or rather there are armies of such The brave men of the army of fortune reported the facts to the victory protecting court, and made themselves ready for sacrificing their lives There were 10,000 soldiers in this force, but perhaps only 5,000 were men of battle When the conquering heroes, and the loyal brave knew that the enemy was at hand they, out of wisdom and a large capacity, which on such occasions are greater incitements to victory than thousands of experienced soldiers did not regard the apparent numerical superiority of the enemy, and their abundant equipment, for it is the way of the happy fortuned and auspicious not to put off till the morrow the work of the day Without a semblance of hesitation or delay they drew up their forces and sought for an opportunity to engage Sikandar Khan and a number of veterans were on the right 'Abdullah Khān and another body of devoted men were on the left The centre received support from the valour of 'Ali Quli Khān Shaibani, Husain Quli Khan, Shah Quli Mahram, and a number of efficient young men formed the vanguard

Now that the narrative has come so far it is proper to pause and to expatiate somewhat, so that there may be amenity of discourse O thou who seekest for admonitory words and who watchest the thread of exposition give ear for a time to me!

From the time when H M. the Shahinshāh by dint of his world conquering mind had sent on noted officers in advance, he did not for an instant disregard the arrangement of the main army, and marched forward, stage by stage, to victory On this most excellent of days, which was the new year's day of victory and rejoicing, he marched from Karnāl, which is ten kos from Pānipat, and halted at the distance of five kos from the latter town There was no intelligence in the camp that the enemy had approached the vanguard, and the soldiers had not yet rubbed off the dust of the march or taken breath, when news of the enemy's having reached the van

guard, together with other disquieting information was received It appeared that many had given way, but that fighting was still going on briskly The order for battle was immediately given to the army, and preparations were made for the march Commands were issued that the heroes should put their armour on their breasts, and trust in God in their hearts, and follow the victorious stirrup In a short time they were equipped in a manner worthy of praise from masters of fortune, and began searching for a fight H M with a kingly and tranquil countenance placed the helmet of Divine fortune on his head, and the cuirass of God's protection on his breast, and the foot of dominion in the stirrup of intent Bairam Khān Khān Khānān moved in front of the ranks and round the divisions, and took measures for preserving the rules of war, and the protection of points On behalf of H M the Shahinshāh he distributed promises of favour and anger, and set in order the banquet of battle After the troops had been marshalled, and their hearts encouraged, the giver of commands to the world incited them to rapidity and ordered a march When the moon of the world conquering
39 banner cast the light of its approach on Pānipat, the vanguard of victory appeared in front and heroic men came and communicated the glad tidings of victory, and Shāh Qulī Mahram brought Hemu a prisoner to his Majesty, and was the recipient of royal favours

The brief account of this great victory, and grand boon, which was a masterpiece of good fortune, is as follows —

When Hemu became aware that the standards of glory were far off, and that some of the officers had come in advance, he rapidly marched against them, thinking that if he dispersed these men, who were the choice troops, the rest of his task would be easy He relied upon the numbers of his experienced troops, and on his many strong elephants, and advanced with immeasurable pride In the drunkenness of infatuation, he could not understand that he who is supported by the driver of the elephant will assuredly prevail over him whose trust is in the elephant How then can the superiority of him be denied who is in the confidence of the Creator of the elephant ?, and what effect against him can be procured by calling upon elephants for help ? However that moribund, ill fated one carried on hot war, and the brave men on each side made noble endeavours and like

Ra'd in Naisān,[1] and tigers in a reed-bed (*nayistan*) rushed upon one another with shouts They served well with courage and devotion, and gathered glory.

Verse.

Two armies so collided
That they struck fire out of water,
You'd say the air was all crimsoned daggers,
Their steel had all become solid rubies[2]

Though the heroes of the victorious army did not fail in steadiness and devotion yet the onset of the elephants shook the right and left divisions Several tigers of battle's jungle, *viz*, tiger hunting soldiers, who regarded the dust of the battle field as the cosmetic of victory's bride, and as the rouge of fortune's cheek, and who sought for the water of life at the spring of the blood-drinking sword, quaffed their fill of desires Such were Muhd Qāsim[3] Khān of Nishāpūr, Husain Quli Khān, Shāh Quli Mahram, and L'al Khan Badakhshi. When they perceived that the horses would not face the elephants they fetched a circuit[4] and like famished tigers, sought their prey with blood dripping swords and closed with the foe and overcame

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[1] The angel who drives the clouds, and who is also called Bādrān, Hyde De relig one Persarum, 179 Naisān corresponded to April and is the period of the spring rains Ra d also means thunder

[2] *Bijāda* a stone resembling the ruby and having the attracting property of amber

[3] Blochmann 353 and 603 n.

[4] *Kandalān shuda* A note to the text says the word Kandalan does not occur in the dictionaries, but that it probably means "on foot, and that the author of the Siwānah Akbarī has so rendered it The word in Turkī signifies a tent A marginal note to my MS copy of the Iqbāl nāma says that the word means to dismount from horseback and to stand firm Possibly the word is the Turkī كوندلان Kundilan used in Babar I 131 and explained in P de Courteille s dictionary to mean *de travers egare* The expression receives elucidation from Bayazīd p 135*b* There in describing a fight with the Afghans in Bihar he says that Talabī was retreating before Yūsuf M Sultān and that Jān Muhammad Bahsudī and others formed in ambush in the jungle Talabī attempted to face the Afghans, but was driven back by superior numbers. Then Jān Muhammad and the others *az kundilān barāmada* which I imagine means that they fetched a circuit and took the Afghans in flank The word occurs at A N III 260, top line and is there applied to a flank (?) attack by boats

him They hurled firmly seated riders from their saddles and then despatched them by the dagger-hoofs of swift, fiery horses Bands of devoted archers came forward on all sides and did yeomanly service 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī whose command made the centre illustrious, had come to a spot which had a great ravine in front of it, such that even elephants could not cross. The brave seekers of battle and the lion like men of the centre were compressed into a small space and stood firm, looking for an opportunity to attack They showed such endurance that [illegible] elephants retreated from the sides of the centre Thereupon the latter came out in the rear of the enemy and discharged their arrows and wielded their swords Hemū the ill fated rode proudly on an elephant named Hawāī (the rocket ?), which was one of his best and glanced from side to side at the brave swordsmen, and at the onset of the rank breaking *ghāzīs* He beheld with apprehension the combats of the warriors of fortune's army, and gathering together a band of fierce elephants he showed every stratagem which his powerful capacity could conceive, and every daring deed which lurked in his seditious soul He made powerful onsets and performed many valorous acts, and dislodged many strenuous soldiers of the sublime army Bhagwān Dās, one of his leading men, and who was distinguished for his bravery in the field of battle was cut to pieces in front of him, and Shādī Khān was trampled under the feet of the swift horses of fortune's army Suddenly, in the midst of the contest, an arrow from the bended bow of Divine wrath reached Hemu's eye, and piercing the socket came out at the back of his head Seemingly, the wind of the pride, and the arrogance of that black fated, inwardly darkened one passed out by that window When those who were fighting around him saw that fortune's arrow had hit the target, the arm of their courage grew slack, and they lost heart They became handless and footless, and no more girded up the loins of courage His army was defeated and every man strewed the dust of defeat on his head, and scattered the glory of courage on the ground, and turned to flee Just then Shah Qulī Khān and some brave men came up to the elephant on which Hemu was riding He did not know that Hemu was on the elephant, and sought to kill the driver in order that he might make the elephant his spoil The helpless driver, who had neither the helmet of loyalty nor the cuirass of courage, from fear of his life, pointed out

who regarded his youth as the veil of his divinely-bestowed wisdom, and abode under the screen of incognito and so obtained a respite from the vexatious disbelief of infidels, and the faith of the sincere, replied in words that were the interpretation of truth and were for the instruction of the wise, that his lofty spirit did not permit him to slay a captive and that it seemed to him that in the justice hall of the Only One there was nothing *meritorious in such an act* *Though* simple loyalists importuned and pressed him, the Shāhinshāh showed himself more and more averse to the proceeding I extol the lofty intelligence of which no trace is to be found in the contents of books or in the minds of supreme sages, but the wise of the great court well know that this is not to be met with save in the lucid home of the holy heart of a pure spirit who shall have received the light of true *knowledge from the Creator* without the intervention of human means or earthly aids This is manifest in the brows of the sitter on the temporal and spiritual throne It is plain also to the practical man and the exoteric that under all circumstances a lofty and God fearing mind has arrived at the stage of being beloved by God Such an one (the practical man) knows that to act contrary to His pleasure is to strike oneself with a sword, for without human effort the power of the
42 Creator casts *him on the* ground of contempt and the abyss of destruction Accordingly this is apparent at the present day to those who read the daily chronicle of this king who is based upon auspiciousness Where has he leisure that, while attending to the inner realities, he should give heed to the meanness and nothingness of opponents? Granting that he has leisure and permission from his intellect, how shall his lofty spirit decide to stain the holy skirt of his mind with such dust, and if such an event occur how shall he stain his sword with the blood of such a moribund, impure wretch What *comparison is there between that holy personality and the petitions* of men of the world? At last Bairām Khān Khān Khānān when he perceived that H M was not inclined to take his view, withdrew from the attempt, and under the influence of hereditary beliefs which take their place in men from imitation of fathers and teachers, himself became engaged in the acquisition of this fancied merit, and with his sword cleansed the world from the contamination of his existence Would that H M had come out of his veil and given attention to the matter! or that there had been some far sighted master of wisdom in

that court, so that they might have kept Hemu in prison and made him desirous of serving the threshold of fortune Certainly he was a most excellent servant, and he had a lofty spirit If he had been instructed by such a great one (as the far seeing sage, or perhaps Akbar) what works might he not have performed? In order to display the Majesty of the Shahinshah, and to give a lesson to the superficial they sent his head to Kabul,[1] while his trunk was conveyed to Delhi and placed on the gibbet of warning The world had rest from strife and tumult, and mortals obtained happiness and tranquillity

Among[2] the wonderful events and unusual traits of H M Shahinshah which came forth from the ambush of secrecy and displayed their splendours in the theatre of manifestation, there was this that when H M Jahanbānī Jinnat Ās͟hiyani had come to Delhi after the victory over Sikandar, he (Akbar) there practised drawing in accordance with a sublime suggestion (of Humāyun?) The skilful artists such as Mir Saiyid 'Ali[3] and Khwāja 'Abdul-Samad Shirin-qalm, who were among the matchless ones of this art, were in his service and were instructing him) One day this cyclopædia of Divine things was in the library of H M Jahanbāni and in order to sharpen his mind was employing himself in drawing He drew with inspired pencil the figure of a man with all his limbs separated One of the courtiers saw that strange picture and asked the meaning of it H M with mystery explaining tongue said that it represented Hemu At that time the name and note of Hemu were unknown, and so the listeners did not comprehend the matter and refrained from further enquiry On the day when Bairam Khan made his request and tried to induce H M to slay Hemu with his own holy hand, H M replied that he had dispatched that haughty one on a former day and had 46
dismembered him, and then he referred to the incident of the picture Good God! How and when in that year had the news of this dominion-augmenting occurrence been conveyed by the tongue of act and the lip of speech? Certainly, to-day, to morrow, yesterday, the present and the absent may be revealed to ordinary compounds[4]

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[1] There is an account of the arrival of the head at Kabul in Bayazīd Byāt's Memoirs

[2] In the Lucknow ed and in several MSS this begins a new chapter

[3] Blochmann, 107 and 590

[4] Āk͟hs͟hījān Possessed by the four opposites i.e. the four elements, and used here for ordinary mortals in whom the constituents are not

of human nature But with nurslings of Divine light, disciples of the Truth and teachers of Reason, whose pure essences are manifestations of the Divine radiance, and are the rising of Reality's sun, the future and the past attend upon the present and the absent is like the present fully visible What matters absence to him who knows the presence of God? *Away, away! there can be nothing invisible there!*

This traveller on devotion's highway, Abul Fazl to wit, the writer of this preamble of excellencies, one day asked H M the circumstances of this miracle He enunciated in reply "An invisible Inspirer had placed an intimation of it on our tongue, he best knows the secret thereof" The effulgence of Truth's luminary, and its retirement behind a veil are similarly conditioned phenomena Mighty is the capacity of a sublime nature which when placed amidst so many cellars full of varied senses robbing wines, a mere sip of which will intoxicate heroes of the Path, *viz*, 1st The wine of early youth 2nd. The wine of temporal dominion 3rd The wine of spiritual supremacy 4th The wine of outward beauty 5th The wine of hidden favour, can retain its high sense and look not to itself, but to God! The wishes of such a soul are made its lovers, and Fortune is constituted the attendant on the threshold of its hopes I, who am, night and day, a devotee of this gate of Fortune, do not call to remembrance that either when he has cast a gleam of favour upon any one, or in familiar conversation, he has ever uttered a syllable which savoured[1] of arrogance, or that in his down sitting or uprising, in his speech or in his audition in the company of his grandees,[2] he has exhibited any change of demeanour Far seeing sages well know how impossible it is to gauge the capacity of one who uses so many man-o'erthrowing wines, and yet daily increases in wisdom. But he who is linked to fortune and is wakeful hearted, knows this much that the Divine Providence must be the Watchman over him and that such great victories (over passions) come easily to him, and that such great gifts and noble deeds and wondrous works rarely appear in this world. (*ruzgaran*)

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fused together and unified, but war with one another This passage may help to explain the *tan-i-wāhid* at p 11 of the text

[1] *Ka badmast nasharad* a double negative but perhaps the true reading is *nashūr* diffusing

[2] *Barkashīdahā i-ao* cf text p 70 line 16

One great marvel was that at the time when the expedition started from Jalandhar for the conquest of India, and the extirpation of Hemu, an order was given one day to the master of the ordnance to prepare fireworks as a treat to the soldiers, and that among other things they should make an image of Hemu, fill it with gunpowder, and set it on fire The workmen quickly prepared a pyrotechnic display (*gulzar i atish*, lit, a rosegarden of fire), and they brought the image of Hemu there and set it on fire In appearance it was simply keen amusement, in reality it was extinguishing a malevolent life Certes, it is fitting that one who does such great deeds under 44
the guise of sport and fun should, men being what they are, retire behind a veil and not show his spiritual beauty and that in his work he should appear as if unconcerned

Assuredly and incontestably there was no such masterpiece on the occasions when former great hearted, nobly born ones formed the design of conquering India and did great deeds This will be evident on a little consideration to those who know ancient history For on none of those former occasions was there a ruler of India, possessed of such courage, enterprize, and plan (as Hemu) On the contrary they were backward in the management of their own dominions It was otherwise with this virile spirit, he was ever meditating the conquest of distant climes and kept hidden in his heart the designs of great expeditions And in truth fortune had favoured Hemū in a way which the rulers of India had not attained to in those former days, *viz*, in the multitude of tried soldiers, the number of able officers, the plenitude of artillery, which had nothing like it except in Turkey, and the number of powerful elephants, any *one* of which was enough to throw an army into confusion Maulana Sharafu-d-din 'Ali Yazdi, in his account in the Zafarnama of the fights of H M Sahib Qirāni (Timur) which took place in India, speaks of the warriors of India and of the greatness of its rulers, and boasts [1] that 120 war-elephants came into the possession of the imperial servants in that great war To those that know history and are of sound brain, the condition of the ruler of that time as compared with Hemu is clear On that latter instructive occasion, of which a small account has been given, 1,500 elephants were captured The rest of the equipments may be

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[1] Zafarnāma, Bib Ind ed II 118

conjectured from this But how shall the amount of the ruler's [1] own treasures, etc, be counted? The plain of victory was the same fortunate spot as that where H M Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī contended with Sultān Ibrāhim and raised the victorious standards, as has already been briefly related in its proper place

On the same exultant day which showed by God's help so great a victory, Sikandar Khān Uzbeg was sent with a body of troops to pursue the fugitives and to protect the city of Delhi from the rabble He acted with rapidity and delivered some of the malignant and useless from the prison of existence, and put the distracted inhabitants of the country in order. Much plunder fell into his hands Next day the army of fortune marched out at an hour, which the astrologers had chosen, and cast the light of their arrival on the holy territory of Delhi The noble, the distinguished in every science, and the skilful in every craft, came out in crowds to welcome the army
45 and uttered shouts of blessing Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl represented to H M. the excellent loyalty of Rajah Bihāri Mal which he had shown at the siege (of Narnaul) A gracious order was issued for his attendance and the Rajah obeyed the command and was rewarded, by kissing the ground of obedience On one day when robes of honour had been presented to the Rajah and to his sons and other relatives, and they had been brought to the Court to receive their dismissal, H M. was mounted on a *mast* elephant which in its intoxication was rushing in every direction. People were all going to one side Once it ran towards the Rajputs, but as they held fast to their loyalty they remained standing This steadiness pleased the lofty glance of H M the Shāhinshāh, and he made inquiries about the Rajah and said with his mystery-interpreting tongue, "We'll rear you" [2] This came to pass as will be described hereafter.

Thanks be to God that the Hindustanis, or rather all mankind obtained a head Volumes are not sufficient to contain his greatness By the grace of his justice the ever-vernal garden of India received special verdure and the truth-worshipping servants of God received a powerful support In thanksgiving for this great boon, grand feasts

[1] This is a sophism Hemū was absolute and had control of all the elephants, etc, of 'Ādalī

[2] *Nihāl khwāhim kard* 'We shall plant you" Perhaps an allusion to the intermarriages which afterwards occurred

were organised, and treasures of gifts were poured into the lap of the world. The Shāhinshāh's favour exalted by a variety of kindnesses a number of men who had trod valiantly the forecourt of devotion High and low, small and great were made fortunate by large rewards Among them, 'Alī Qulī Khān Shaibānī was exalted by the title of Khān Zamān, and the Sarkār of Sambhal and other parganās of the Duāb were assigned to him as jāgīr and he obtained leave in order that he might go and manage those territories

'Abdullah[1] Khān Uzbeg received the title of Shujā 'at-Khān and was appointed to the Sarkār of Kālpī[2] Iskandar Khān received the title of Khān 'Aālam, and Maulānā Pīr Muhammad Shirwānī was styled Nāṣir al mulk, and attached to the royal person Qiyā[3] Khān was nominated to the charge of the Agra territories The dominion adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh sent the officers of the court of the Sultanate to every quarter, and so gave order and tranquillity to the pleasant lands of India

At this time it came to H M's ears that Hājī Khān, a slave of Sher Khān Afghan, who was distinguished for courage, prudence, and skill in collecting troops, was acting independently in Alwar, and also that the father and the wife of the ill fated Hemu, and his goods and chattels were in that Sarkār Nāṣir al mulk was appointed to that service along with a number of trusty and devoted followers Hājī Khān was frightened by the strength of the victorious army and fled 46
before its arrival, and Alwar and the whole of Sarkār Mewat came into the possession of the imperial servants From there they proceeded to Deotī[4] Macārī, where was the residence and family[5] of Hemu The place was strong and there was much fighting, and the father of Hemū was captured and brought alive before the Nāṣir al mulk The latter called upon him to change his religion The old man answered, "for eighty years I've worshipped my God, according to this reli-

1 Blochmann, 320.

2 Blochmann, 365.

3 Blochmann, 343.

4 In the south of Alwar Macārī is described in the I.G It appears from the Rajputana Gazetteer that the two places are distinct. It says III., p. 286 "Macerī and Deotī, where the lake is seem to have been the chief towns of the district in Akbar's time." In the Ayīn these two names are given as Deotī Sājarī P text I. 451 Jarrett II 191

5 Badāūnī gives some further details of this expedition and says that Hemū's wife escaped to Bajwāra.

gion. Why should I change it at this time, and why should I, merely from fear of my life, and without understanding it come into your way of worship"

Pīr Muhammad treated his words as if he heard them not, and answered him with the tongue of the sword After being victorious there, he came away with much plunder and fifty elephants and did homage at the Court, and was the recipient of royal favours Ḥājī Khān left the town of Alwar and went off towards Ajmīr in order that he might find an asylum for his family and leave soldiers there and make preparations for renewing the war The Rānā[1] who was a great Zamindar and was son of the Rāna who had contended with H M. Getī Sitānī Firdus Makānī, as has been described, and had been defeated by him, demanded things from him and put him to intolerable troubles Of necessity a great battle took place between him and the Rānā near Ajmīr Ḥājī Khān and Muẓaffar Khān Shirwānī who was his Vakīl, did great actions in this engagement, and at last the Rānā was defeated because he was uplifted by the number of his troops (Ḥājī Khān took possession of Ajmīr, Nāgor, and the surrounding country)

When the success of Ḥājī Khān came to the royal hearing, Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpur, Saiyid Mahmad Bārha, Shah Qulī Khān Mahram, Tāhir, Khān Kharram Sulṭān and a number of others were appointed to put him down When the territory of Delhi and the Dūāb had been swept clear of the enemy, H M designed to cast the

[1] Udai Singh posthumous son of Rānā Sangā, Jarrett II 269, and Tod s Rajasthan We learn from the Mirat Sikandarī Bombay lithograph, p 337 that Ḥājī Khan was travelling, with 5 000 horse and 150 elephants towards Gujrāt when the Rajah of Citūr came with 40 000 horse and blocked his passage He demanded from Ḥājī Khān 40 *mans* of gold and the elephant Hatch which was his best animal and also a dancing girl (*pātrā*) named Rang Raī who was the most beautiful of his women. As Ḥājī Khān was travelling with his family etc, he was willing to give the gold and the elephant, but when the name of an inmate of his harem was mentioned he got indignant and resolved to die rather than yield. So he fought and was victorious and went on to Pattan He was there when Bairām Khān was assassinated.

The fullest account of Ḥājī Khān s encounter with the Rajah is given in Dorn s History of the Afghans Annotations in Part I, p 108, *et seq* There the lady is called Rai Kaa patar (dancing girl)

ight of his presence on the eastern districts of India in order that he might cleanse that extensive country which is a pasturage of dominion and fortune, from the dust of sedition mongers Just then news was brought that Khizr Khwāja Khān had fought with Sikandar Sur near Lahore, and that he had not stood his ground but had retreated to Lahore) The brief account of this is as follows —

It has already been stated that when the army marched from Jālandhar towards Delhi to extirpate Hemu Khizr Khwāja Khan had been appointed to repress Iskandar Ismā'il Beg Duldai, 'Ali Quli Khān Mir Latif, Shah Quli Naranji, Khaliq Bardi Beg and a large force 47
were sent with him The great officers went and took up their quarters in Lahore At the time when the turmoil of Hemu was troubling the world, and such a defeat had befallen the officers in the neighbourhood of Delhi, Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpuri who by feline tricks and fox like proceedings had received from the Afghans the title of Shaikh al islam, and from H M. Jahānbāni Jinnat Āshiyāni the title of Makhdum al mulk, and who from the sedition mongering which was in his brain, and from the bi coloured water in his constitution gave himself out as one of the servants of the eternal dominion, but who at heart was in league with the Afghans, wrote invitations to Sikandar and urged him to come out of the hills Sikandar gathered to himself a number of vagabond Afghans and some and holders of the hill country of the Punjab, and came out of the mountains and proceeded to collect revenue in the Punjab Khizr[1] Khwāja Khān left the city of Lahore to the charge of Hāji Muhammad Khān Sistani and set out to oppose Sikandar When Haji Muhammad Khān Sistāni became certain of the improper behaviour of Mullā 'Abdullah[2] he punished him by imprisonment and torture He put him in earth up to his middle, and brought out from the ground some of the gold pieces which his avaricious hand had[3] buried When

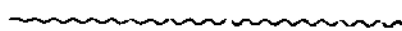
[1] Blochmann 374

[2] Refers apparently to a story that Makhdūm-al mulk buried treasures under pretence that they were dead bodies M'utamad Khan tells us in the Iqbālnāma near the end of his account of the second year, that Bairām Khān sent Hāji Muhammad afterwards to apologize to Makhdum al mulk and that he presented him with a *jagir* worth a lakh of rupees See full biography of Makhdūm al mulk in the Darbārī Akbarī p 311

[3] Probably the Jamārī or Camārī pargana mentioned in Jar e t II

Khiẓr Khwāja arrived near the town of Camyārī and was about ten *Kos* separated from the enemy, he detached 2,000 picked men and sent them on in advance. Sikandar did not lose the opportunity and met them with a large force. A great battle took place, and the 2,000 were defeated. Khiẓr Khwāja Khān did not think it was time to stand firm and set off towards Lahore. Sikandar pursued him for a little way, and then regarded the collection of the revenues of the country as a free gift from time. When the news of this reached the royal ears, Sikandar Khān who had received the title of Khān 'Aālam was hastily given Siālkot as a jagir, and sent off with all speed to assist Khiẓr Khwāja Khān.

318, and also in Badaūnī Lowe 10. T.A., p 393, speaks of Camīārī as being the fief of the Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd, grandson of Khwāja Aḥrār. See also Blochmann, 539.



CHAPTER XII.

MARCH OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S ARMY FROM DELHI TOWARDS THE PUNJAB TO PUT DOWN THE SEDITION OF SIKANDAR, THE PURSUIT OF HIM, AND THE SIEGE OF THE FORT OF MĀNKOT.

When it became known that Sikandar had assembled an army, and that the knot of this affair would not be unloosed until the fortune of the Shāhinshāh turned her reins in that direction, the expedition to the eastern provinces was postponed, and a march to the Panjab was determined on. One of the wonderful omens was that a number of the courtiers took an augury from the *diwān* of the tongue of mystery (Ḥāfiẓ) and by chance this verse came up.

[1] *Verse.*

No water was vouchsafed to Sikandar,
It does not come by might and money.

The hearts of the far-seeing loyalists received fresh support, and 48
the minds of the superficial acquired stability. When the world-adorning God is the fortune-increaser of this eternal dominion, the far-seeing ones of the company of reality look to the beauty and glory of the Chosen One of God, and are not concerned about the ordinary course of the world. Those who have not the blessing of lofty views are, at such times of anxiety, comforted in their hearts by enquiries of this kind. A world-obeyed order was issued that the great officers and leaders should make preparations for the expedition and attend on the sublime stirrup.

When all the preparations had been completed, the discriminating mind (of Akbar) rested from all the cares of state, and though the army of cold was in full force, the march to the Panjab was commenced on 23 Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 4 Ṣafar, 7 December 1556, Mahdī Qāsim Khān being left in charge of Delhi. The march was made leisurely stage by stage, and there was hunting by the way. There was both munificence and pleasure. Turks and

[1] Ḥāfiẓ ed Brockhaus, p. 205, ode 282 verse 7.

Tājiks came in crowds, attracted by the fame of benevolence and the lights of justice, especially there was not a day when large numbers did not come from Kabul, Badakhshan, and Qandahār, and do homage On the way the news was brought from Lahore that in the house of Bairām Khan Khān Khānān, his wife, who was of the family of the Khans of Mewat, had borne on 6 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 14 Ṣafar (17 December 1556), a son to whom they had given the name of 'Abdu r rahim

The brief account of this circumstance is that when H M Jahanbāni was at Delhi, he, in order to soothe the minds of the Zamindars, entered into matrimonial relations with them Among these, Jamal Khān, the cousin of Hasan Khan of Mewat, who was one of the great zamindars of India, came and did homage He had two beautiful daughters H M himself married the elder sister, and gave the younger in marriage to Bairām Khan Khan Khānān At the time that the standards of the Shahinshah were directed towards the suppression of Hemu, the Khān Khanan had sent his household to Lahore The news came when the lofty genius was proceeding towards countless victories, and it was taken as a good omen Bairam Khan prepared a grand feast Astronomers read his greatness and excellence in his horoscope and declared that he would be exalted by the tuition of the Shāhinshāh and perform noble services by virtue of his loyalty, and would arrive at high dignities The readers of the page of the forehead read the lines of devotion on his temples and rejoiced loyal hearts thereby And in truth so it happened, in consequence of the attention of H M the Shahinshāh who is the elixir of skill, and the alchemist of the jewel of auspiciousness Accordingly, day by day were the lights of rectitude and the notes of loyalty read in his fore head A brief account thereof will be given in each place as the occasion arises

When Jālandhar became the station of the sublime camp, Iskan dar, who upreared in that province the standards of strife and sedi tion, withdrew to the hill country of the Siwāliks, which was his appointed asylum and permanent residence, in order that he might

[1] The Maaṣir Raḥīmī A S B., MS p. 304 b, gives the chronogram composed by Maulanā Farīdu-d dīn of Delhi Dar i-daryā-i Sāadat (pearl of the auspicious ocean) 964

stay there for a while and wait upon events. The victorious army, in the hope of a final good, and of extirpating once for all his sedition, applied itself to putting him down. Without regard to the difficulties of the march and the intricacies of the country, it followed Sikandar into the hill-country of the Siwāliks, which is a world apart, and the refuge of the disaffected and headstrong spirits of India, and encamped at the town of Dēsūhah[1]. From there the army proceeded to the pleasant town of Dahmirī and made it a rose-garden of dominion and a springtide of fortune

[1] In Sarkār Bet Jālandhar Dūāb. "Has a brick-fort." J. II. 316.



CHAPTER XIII.

Beginning of the second year Ilāhī from the date of the Accession, viz., the year Ardibihisht of the first cycle

In that station of abundance (*Dahmiri*), the reservoir of brilliancy for the terrene and terrestrials, and the adornment of time and time's offspring, to wit, the sun, the benefactor of the universe, arrived at his house of exaltation, and gladdened and refreshed the earth with the breath of spring. It would seem that Aries is called the house of exaltation because at that time the beings of earth are
50 given exaltation and fresh life Otherwise the dignity of that bestower of exaltation on heavenly and terrestrial bodies is too high for any place to receive the title of the house of exaltation of that giver of light to all existence. In fine, this world adorning light came from the fountain of Pisces to the abode of joy,[1] in the night known as Thursday, after ten hours, and forty minutes of the astronomical night of Wednesday the 27th Rabī aṣ ṣānī of the lunar year 964, and the world-illuminating new year's day came to pass, and the second year of the Divine Era began

Verse

The nightingale, like a reasoning man
Gave merited thanks with the tongue of spring,
The breeze of morning distilled ambergris,
The earth pores made the air redolent,
The fields were full of sheets without pillows

[1] There is evidently a mistake here, either of Abūl Fazl or his copyists The Ilahī year being solar must have been longer than the lunar year and the 1st and 2nd years of the Era cannot have begun on the same day of the same month of the Muhammadan year The Tabaqāt Akbari Elliot V 2?4 gives 9 Jamada-al awwal for the beginning of the 2nd year and Mu'tamid Khan in the Iqbālnama who generally copies Abūl Fazl also puts the beginning of the year in Jamāda al awwal

The gardens full of brides without dowers
The villas full of scarlet draped platforms
The gardens full of variegated carpets
The birds warbled o'er flowers and rose bushes,
Drunk without musicians, or cups, or wine

Evidently the occurrence of such joy previous to the lofty enterprise was a proof that the enterprise would be successful, and a clear indication that the work taken in hand would have a prosperous issue Accordingly it communicated to the clear-sighted the retreat of Sikandar who speedily fled and came to the fort of Mânkot [1] and the siege and capture of the fort by H M the Shâhinshâh The brief details of this are as follows —

When Sikandar, in terror of the victorious army, fled to the hill-country of the Siwâliks, and Dahmiri became the imperial camping-ground, news was continually being brought that the intention of that ill conditioned runagate was to draw the army of fortune into the defiles and then give battle (*lit*, in these central ravines strenuously bind the waist of effort) H M the Shâhinshâh did not give ear to these words and advanced according to proper rules Nâṣir-al-Mulk and a large body of brave and experienced men were sent to harry and ravage the zamindars of the hills These heroes soon, with God's help, chastised many of the Rajahs of the hills and got much booty. The evil-constituted hillmen, who with evil thoughts had joined with Sikandar, separated from him, and a stone of dissension fell among that ill conditioned assemblage, and they fled without fighting An order was given for pursuing them and for, by vigorous action, getting possession of the leader of the fugitives A number of brave men made a rapid march and reached a portion of his camp Iskandar, when he heard of this pursuit, fell into confu- 51
sion and distress and threw himself into the fort of Mânkot which he had formerly prepared in case an evil day should come upon him. The alert and victorious soldiers plundered his camp, and reported to the Court about his having retired to his fortress [2]

[1] This is the Mângarh mentioned in Badaûnî Ranking p 527 and described there as being 5 or 6 kos from Bin (Ban) Mankot is entered in the Âîn, Jarrett II 321 as in the Rechnau Dûab

[2] Five according to the T i Daudî, Elliot IV 494 Each had a separate

(The fortress of Mānkot is composed of four strong forts which Selīm Khān had constructed on adjoining hills at the time when he had marched out to extirpate the Gakkar tribe, and had returned frustrated On each hill he built a fort composed of stone and mortar, and *to the eye of a spectator the whole fortification looked* like one fort The site was very strong, and difficult of access by troops, and if access were attained it was very difficult to lay hands on the garrison It had an abundant supply of good water, and as much provisions[1] as were wanted To sum up, in a place which might be described as a fortress of the Creator, impregnable forts had been founded Selīm Khān's real object in building these great forts was that when the standards of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī should be directed towards India, there might be a place of refuge for the army of the Panjab It passed into his evil mind that he would lay waste Lahore, and develop this place, and that he would collect a large army there so that he might with security defend this part of the country The reason for laying waste Lahore was that as this is a very large city, and the residence of various traders and craftsmen who could easily supply a large army, and furnish them with arms, perhaps the victorious army of the family conjoined with eternity might come there and gather abundant reinforcements, and thus things might become irremediable Before he could carry out these plans, he passed forth from the defiles of existence

In fine, when the news came of Sikandar's flight and of his having taken refuge in the fortress, inasmuch as the imperial intentions followed[2] the orders of God, H M the Shāhinshāh did not, in his right-thinking mind regard his own discomfort, but looked upon the ease of all mankind as the motive for exertion, and proceeded to besiege the fort, in order that he might remove the mischief making of that sedition monger from the heads of all, and that dominion might be established An order was issued that the Bakhshīs of the army should distribute the redoubts, and the army drew lines of circumvallation round the fort Everything was managed according to the

name See also Badaūnī Ranking 498 last line But in Aīn II 321 A F speaks of four forts as here

[1] The Iqbalnama makes this remark more intelligible by saying that whatever provisions were wanted could speedily be collected

[2] *Tilw i-ahkām tilw* is a term applied to a young camel or other animal following its dam

rules of sieges, and with courage and self-devotion Adham Khān, whose star of lofty fortune placed him near the Shāhinshāh, proceed- 52
ed on the first day to the foot of the fort and displayed great valour The brief account of this is that when the victorious forces arrived at the foot of the fortress, a large number of distinguished and courageous Afghans, who used to unfurl the flags of valour on the battlement of Mars, placed the arch [1] of assertion on the portico of pride and came out of the fort They held up their blood-dropping scimitars as standards in the place by the gate and moved about with arrogant steps Adham Khan showed singular intrepidity and with lion hearted courage entered alone among that band By strength of arm he cast down several men of war and rolled them in dust and blood Thereupon he returned with rapidity, and was exalted by shouts of Bravo By this means the war-loving powerful men came out every day from their entrenchment and displayed their superiority The adversary guarded the fort, and with their guns and muskets allowed no one to come close to the fort This evil handful did all that was possible, but what avails striving against the masters of fortune?, or malignity against those possessed of a glorious horoscope?

Verse

We come as naked swords wielded by Fate,
Who checks at us to death is dight

Among the occurrences which occurred in the beginning of the siege was that Bahādur Khān, brother of Khān Zamān, who had stirred up sedition and strife in Zamindāwar and had heaped the dust of confusion and tumult on his own head, came from Zamindawar ashamed and downcast and was exhalted by doing homage By the influence of Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān he did not receive the punishment of his evil deeds Though the Khān Khānān intended to do him a kindness, yet in reality he arranged for him the materials of haughtiness and wickedness Real kindness consists in

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[1] *Kamān-i bar peshtāq i istikbār nihāda.* An idiomatic phrase for which see the Bahār i 'ajam and which Vullers s v Kamān renders omnibus viribus contendere Kaman also means a bow but here it seems to mean an arch the meaning being to put arch upon arch

[2] See biography in M'aasir-al umrā II 542 He is perhaps the

punishing the evildoer, and so giving him a lesson that he may not again tread the border-land of wickedness

The brief account of this matter is that, when the conquering standards of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī marched against India, Qandahār, which was Bairām Khān's *jāgīr*, was adorned by the management of Shāh[1] Muhammad Qandahārī, who was a seal of confidence for his prudence and loyalty 'Zamīndāwar was under the administration (*dīwānī*) of Bahādur Khān When India became an abode of peace and tranquillity, and the throne of the Caliphate was established, Bahādur Khān's evil nature boiled over, and the thought of seizing Qandahār occurred to him He at first wished to practise ingratitude by trick and stratagem, and so get possession of Qandahār. But as disloyalty brings with it spiritual and temporal damage, his evil ideas were not successful This history of this event is that Bahādur Khān communicated his secret to Farrukh[2] Husain, son of Khwāja Qāsim Hazāra, who was a companion of his By degrees he hid some mad, empty-brained ones in his house, and arranged that on the appointed day those men should come out and overcome the keepers of the gate, and that Bahādur Khān in person should come in by the Mashūr gate, and by making a joint attack should get hold of Shāh Muhammad, and take possession of Qandahār On the appointed day when the men in ambush were putting on their armour, some spies came to know of this mutiny, and informed the custodian of the fort Immediately men were appointed to seize them. Before they could meet them, the party of evil disposed persons heard of their coming and hastened in confusion to the Mashūr gate The gate was locked, and as their hearts had given way they could not break the bolt[3] They made the struggles of slaughtered animals and

Shāh Sālū or Shāpūr mentioned in Badaonī Ranking 619, and if so his daughter was in Humāyūn's harem

[1] I regard this as evidence that Adham Khān was several years older than Akbar He could hardly have knocked over warriors unless he was at least 18 years of age

[2] Blochmann, Nos 127 and 316? Apparently not the Farrukh Husain named at II 266 of text A variant has Farah Husain and it is so written in the Iqbālnāma of Muta'mid Khān

[3] *Dilhā bāt*. I do not know these words and perhaps the passage is corrupt but the Lucknow editor explains that they mean posts or logs which are put between the leaves of gates instead of chains The B.M MS Add 26 203 has *dilhā pai dāda būdand* their hearts had given way being a phrase for becoming dis

descended into the ditch of annihilation A few flung themselves off the gate and brought themselves to an end by their own feet A large number remained and hid themselves in houses in the city where they took protection from evil disposed, double faced ones In a short time Shāh Muhammad pursued them and punished them all capitally Bahādur Khān, when his stratagem did not succeed, came to Zamindāwar and prepared an army Vagabonds and villains collected around him, and he a second time made preparations for seizing Qandahār

As Shah Muhammad considered that help from India was a remote contingency, he strengthened the fort and addressed himself to the ruler of Persia. He wrote to him that H M Jahānbāni had given an agreement that after the conquest of India, Qandahār should belong to the king of Persia's servants, It was now proper that he should send a large force in order that the rebellion of this ingrate might be put down and also that Qandahār might be made over to him The ruler of Persia sent 3,000 Turkomans from the jāgirdars of Sistan, Farah and the *garmsir* under the command of 'Ali Yar Beg Afshār Bahadur Khān knew nothing of this force which suddenly fell upon him A hot engagement took place Twice his horse fell under him, and at length he failed and had to fly Nor could he maintain himself in Zamindāwar Shāh Muhammad treated his auxiliaries with all deference, but made excuses for not surrendering Qandahār, and sent them back empty handed [1] Bahādur Khān, having suffered loss, was obliged to come with an ashamed face to the world protecting Court, and as this is the shadow of the great threshold, and is little-receiving, much giving, and as in it there is a brisk daily mart of pardon, his so great crimes were forgiven him and Multan given to him as jagir The former jagirdar of Multan,

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heartened, and I think this is almost certainly the true reading However, the phrase *dar bāī dāda* occurs in the Āin text II 153 and Jarrett III 271 n 4 The passage there is corrupt and the meaning is not clear I suspect that the passage refers to the fair winner and not to the user of cogged dice. The winner whoever he be, pays 10 per cent to the king and the loser 5 per cent *dar bāī dad* then probably means one who has lost بای appears to be Hindustani and to come from the Sanskrit bāhya or vahya to be expelled It is *bāī* in I O MSS 235,236

[1] For the conclusion of this episode see text infra, pp 78, 79

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās received Nāgor and its territory. With royal kindness Bahādur Khān was given the command of one of the batteries. He did great deeds when supported by the sublime family. In short, though the garrison did all they could to guard the fort, the victorious heroes pressed them more and more, and showed great management in making redoubts and covered ways. At this time news came of the blessed advent of the chaste ladies from the delightful city of Kabul, and of their having reached Lahore, and of their waiting there for instructions.

CHAPTER XIV

ARRIVAL OF H M MIRIAM MAKĀNI AND THE OTHER CHASTE LADIES, ANT H M THE SHAHINSHAH'S MARCH TO MEET THEM

Before the arrival of the news of the disaffection of M Sulaimān and of his designs upon Kabul, H M the Shāhinshāh had directed that the veil of chastity Miriam-Makānī, and the other secluded ladies of the holy Harem should come to India, and a reference to this order has already been made But on account of the Mirzā's disturbance the coming of the ladies was suspended A cautious order was sent to Mun'im K, that when M Sulaiman's sedition had been suppressed, the ladies should set out for the capital After the disturbance caused by the Mirzā had, by God's help, been put down, and the minds of the imperial servants were at ease on that score, as has already been narrated, the chaste ladies proceeded to arrange for moving to India, partly to fulfil their vows,[1] and partly to carry out the directions of H M the Shāhinshāh The families of many of the soldiers who were serving in the army also joined the cortège But as the disturbance of Hemu was known to the evil-disposed in those regions. the sacred journey did not come into effect. But when the news of victory placed a stain on the darkened brows of the disaffected, and the head of Hemū was brought and hung up on the iron *gate of* Kabul, the drums of joy beat high, and after thanksgiving and rejoicing, the expedition set out in a propitious hour Mun'im. Khān, who was in charge of Kabul, also accompanied the ladies in order that he might be their guide, and also might do good work in India, and thereby make himself illustrious Kabul was made over to Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās, who had come from the Court as an auxiliary, and in accordance with the instructions of H M the Shāhinshāh, Muhammad Hakīm and his mother and sisters remained in Kabul Ghaznīn was made over to Khwāja Jalālu-d-dīn Mahmūd Bujūq (cut-nose)

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[1] Nazr means both vows and presents, and perhaps there is an allusion to Miriam Makānī's wish to present his sisters to Akbar.

When the caravan reached Jalâlâbâd it stopped there for some days on account of supplies, etc While there, the news of the supremacy of Bairām Khān, and of the putting to death of Tardi Beg Khān arrived from the Court reporters, and on this account Mun'im Khān saw it proper to give up his intention of proceeding to India He conducted the ladies as far as Kotal Sitāra and there took leave and came back to Kabul Shamsu d din Muhammad Khan Atka and his brethren, Khwaja 'Ambar Nāzir and Mullā Maqṣud Bangālī, and a number of other servants were in charge of the ladies When Mun'im Khan came to Kabul, he gave Muḥammad Quli Khān leave to go to India, and after that the officers and the rest of the devoted servants of the Court proceeded *with the cortege of H M Miriam Makāni and others* to the capital Among the occurrences that happened on this journey were the deaths of two full sisters of H M the Shāhinshāh One died *in Jalālābād, and the other at Kotal Sitāra near the Indus H.M* Miriam Makāni and the other ladies spent some days in grief for the departure of these heart-delights, and then resigned themselves to the Divine will The joy of seeing the Shāhinshāh overcame all sorrow, and after the last rites had been paid, the expedition proceeded on When the news of the chaste ladies reached the royal ears, H M the Shahinshāh was delighted and sent that cupola of chastity, Māham Anaga, the mother of Adham Khān, who, on account of her abundant sense and loyalty, held a high place in the esteem of the Shāhinshāh, and who had been in his service from the time of the cradle till his adornment of the throne, and who trod the path of good service with the acme of affection, to welcome the cortége of H M Miriam Makānī and the other chaste ladies That cupola of chastity entered on the auspicious service of the ladies in Lahore and after informing them of H M the Shāhinshāh's eagerness to see them, proceeded with them towards the camp of fortune [1] H M the Shahinshāh made over the charge of the siege to the Khān Khanān and went forward to meet them The auspicious conjunction took place at one stage from the Fort (Mān kot), and H M Miriam Makāni's wistful eyes were gratified by the
6 world adorning beauty of H M the Shāhinshāh There were mutual rejoicings, and next morning H H M Makānī, Hājī Begum, Gul badan Begum, Gulcahra Begum, Salima Sultān Begum and a number more of the relations and connections of the noble family, and of the soldiery, arrived at the camp The army which had become straitened

by the long siege were greatly rejoiced at the arrival of their highnesses, and of many loyal soldiers, and recognising their arrival as a means of victory they increased their efforts

One of the occurrences that happened during the siege owing to the abundance of good fortune was that Khān Zamān who had gone to Sambhal obtained great victories although he did not possess real truthfulness and loyalty Alas! Alas! loyalty was a thousand leagues away from him He did not know the meaning of service and mastership Nay, he had not even come to know the ways of worldly tradesmen which every ignorant one requires to be acquainted with Accordingly a brief account of his disastrous end will be given in its proper place in this noble volume One of the good services which were performed by him at this time owing to his outward connection with bliss was the battle with Rukn Khān Lohānī[1] who was a great officer of Mubāriz Khān Khān Zamān defeated him and subdued many rebels of Sambhal, etc, as[2] far as Lucknow Another of his famous deeds of this time was the defeating Hasan Khān Backotī

The brief account of this wonderful occurrence is that the said Hasan Khān was one of the famous landholders of India and distinguished for the number of his brethren and other relations and of his servants When the Shāhinshāh's army was engaged in besieging Mānkot, this short-sighted, arrogant one thought he had an opportunity and collected a large army and proceeded to ravage the Sarkār of Sambhal He took with him Jalāl Khān Sur, who was one of the great Afghan leaders When his evil designs became known to the Khān Zamān, he joined with the royal officers who were there and advanced to join battle near Lucknow The heroes distinguished themselves and gained a victory The hostile army consisted of more than 20 000 cavalry while the army of fortune was not more than 4 000 strong By the aid of God given fortune and in spite of the character of the leader, to which a brief reference has been made, his connection with eternal fortune gave him the victory An incalculable amount of booty fell into his hands, also many elephants Of the noted elephants there were two called Sabdilia and Dilsankar which were of supreme excellence They were approved of by the

[1] The text has Nāhānī but I adopt the variant. See Jarrett II 403

[2] *Il garilanīdand* It is a Turki word meaning obedient.

fastidious glance (of Akbar), and included among the special elephants of the Shāhinshāh As the Khān Zamān's career ended in destruction and disgrace and his essential baseness came out, and he became a ringleader among the disloyal, the loyal heart does not permit of his deeds being detailed at length It is best to turn the reins of the courser of the pen from this plain[1]

Among the fortunate occurrences that happened during the siege of Mānkot was the victory of Qiyā Khān The brief account of this joyful event is this The fort of Gwālīār which is one of the famous fortresses of India, and has few like it for strength, was in the possession of Mubāriz Khān Adali It was governed on his behalf by[2] Bhil Khān who was one of the slaves of Selim Khān the son of Sher Khān Rajah Rām Sāh whose ancestors had been the masters of the fort besieged it with a host of Rajputs and had brought the garrison into straits Qiyā Khān marched from Agra to Gwālīār and Rām Sāh left the fort and came to give him battle He fought bravely, but Qīyā Khān stood firm, and as he sought victory from the world conquering genius of the Shāhinshāh, he defeated the enemy and sent many to the world of annihilation Thereafter he undertook the siege of Gwālīār[3]

One of the excellent events which occurred during the siege of Mānkot was that the fortunate starred daughter of M 'Abdullah Khān Moghul who was distinguished for his lineage entered into the bond of matrimony with the unique jewel of the Caliphate Bairam Khān did not approve of this connection, for 'Abdullah Moghul's sister was married to M Kāmrān, and so he regarded 'Abdullah as a partizan of Kāmrān (*az kamrani*) So he opposed the match until Nāsir al Mulk gave him to understand that opposition in such matters was very unacceptable and by taking charge of the affair brought this happy event by his prudence to a termination An order was issued to him (Nāṣir al Mulk) for arranging an assemblage of pleasure and banquet of joy, and a royal feast was provided. Leaving this matter I return to my narrative and proceed to detail the subsequent adventures of the besieged in Mānkot.

[1] Badāūnī gives details of the victory Lowe 18

[2] So spelt by Blochmann 343 The text has Bahabal Ferishta calls him Suhail. See Elliot V 167 and note

[3] It was not taken till 966 A.H See text p 77 and Badāūnī Lowe 25

CHAPTER XV.

CAPTURE OF THE FORT OF MANKOT, AND RETURN OF THE SHAHINSHAH'S ARMY TO LAHORE, AND OTHER FORTUNATE OCCURRENCES

By the Divine aid and by the auspicious care of the Shāhinshāh, who is the key of all locks, visible and invisible, an opening took place As the world adorning Deity watches over the affairs of this spiritual and temporal lord, it is proper to inquire in regard to every matter which has relation to him what are the arrangements of the superintendents of destiny The conquest of this fort, which equalled the rampart of Alexander[1] is a proof of this remark The manner in which it was taken did not enter into the minds of the wise Arrangements for the siege, such as no one could imagine, were excellently carried out, and the entrenchments were pushed forward on all sides In some places the batteries closely touched the fort, and among them was an entrenchment which was under the care of the Nāṣir al-Mulk and in advance of all the others. The egress and ingress of the prisoners of the fort were closed Though Sikandar relied on the strength of the fort, yet he was disheartened by the appearance of affairs But in spite of this discouragement, as scoundrels were calculating on the sedition of Mubāriz Khān 'Adali, of whom a short account has already been given (and hoping), that perhaps he would be able to lift up his head from the eastern provinces of India and march against Delhi, and so the siege of the fort (Mānkot) would not be completed, and that so he (Sikandar) would have an opportunity for commotion in the tranquillised districts, he did not give up defending the fort But as the doings of the opponents of God given dominion do not succeed, Mubāriz Khan's measure of life became full The account of this affair is as follows The son of Muhammad Khān who was ruler of Bengal and was called Sadr[2] Khan, took to himself the title of Jalālu d-dīn, and made great pretensions He advanced to

[1] Also called the rampart of Gog and Magog See D Herbelot

[2] Also called Khiẓr Khān, Elliot V 66 The battle took place near

give battle to revenge his father whom Mubāriz Khān had slain in battle. A great fight ensued and Mubāriz Khān 'Adilī was killed He had reigned four years and odd I admire the wondrous fortune which occurred to the empire from the mutual contentions of its enemies. They made enterprises against one another and showed themselves as auxiliaries of the eternal dominion

When this news came to the garrison they at once became disheartened When Sikandar both witnessed and learnt the uprearing of the standards of daily increasing fortune, and his own defeats upon defeats, despair upon despair fell upon him Of necessity he entered the lists of suppliants and sent his confidants to implore that H M the Shāhinshāh would send to the fort one of his trusty
59 servants to comfort his distracted soul and make him a member of the victorious army H M who was a mine of benevolence, out of compassion sent the Atka Khān, who was distinguished for his wisdom and reliability Sikandar declared with an ashamed face that he did not possess the wisdom which looks to the end, and that he had adopted short-sighted views He was not in a condition to do homage and so whiten his face His case would be properly dealt with if H M the Shāhinshāh would be so gracious as to excuse him for a time from service He now sent his son as a slave and hoped that a place would be assigned to himself where he might stay for a while and prepare himself for the blessing of kissing the threshold He vowed, by God the Creator of the world, that as long as he lived he would never remove the neck of submission from the line of obedience, and that he would place the necklace of this favour round the neck of his life and make it the jewel of his good fortune He won over the heart of the ambassador by deceitful blandishments and submissions, and also sent presents in money and goods to the Nāṣir-al Mulk who was the Khān Khānān's vakil, or rather was the vakil of the Sultanate, and he, as if[1] from fidelity, interested himself in

Cunār (Monghyr according to Stewart) Both Ferishta and Niẓāmu d dīn call him Khiẓr Khān Niẓāmu d dīn has a separate chapter on Adalī which is not translated in Elliot He says Adalī killed Muḥammad Khān Gaurī (Khiẓr's father) at Carkatta (Chappirghatta) 15 kos from Kālpī

[1] *Az rāh daulatkhwāhī* I presume that there is something ironical here, However the phrase *Maẓhar ṣlaḥ*

Sikandar, and conveyed the purport of his requests to the Shāhinshāh through the instrumentality of the Khan-Khānān

H M. who regarded the sweets of forgiveness as greater than those of revenge, accepted the representations of the Khān-Khānān, and assigned to Sikandar Kharid and Bihār as jagirs The latter sent his son 'Abdu-r Rahmān along with Ghāzi [1] Khan Tannūri, who was one of his confidential officers to the Court, the protection of princes, in order that their good services might be the cause of greater favour on the part of the Shahinshāh to himself The agreement was carried out according to the kingly desires Valuable presents including some choice elephants, such as might be fit for the Court, were sent, and on 11 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 27th Ramzān, 24 May, 1557, the keys of the fort were surrendered to the imperial servants. H M the Shāhinshāh drew the writing of forgiveness over the schedule of his offences, and shutting his eyes to the record of his deeds, gave him leave to depart He came out of the prison of the fort and, after a thousand apprehensions and fears, reached Kharid and Bihār After two years he went to the abode of annihilation

When the conquest of Mānkot had been thus completed and Sultān Sikandar had by becoming a suppliant of the Sultanate conveyed himself into safety, the charge of the fort was made over to Abu-l-Qāsim, the brother of Muhammad Qāsim Khan Mauji On 16 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Shawwal, 31 July, 1557, the army, after a stay of six months odd, left the slopes of the Siwāliks for Lahore, in order that it might proceed to Agra after having arranged the affairs of the Panjab On the way Barām Khan's mind became troubled on account of misunderstanding, and of his not appreciating the favour shown to him The account of this affair is as follows. During the last days of the siege of Mānkot the Khān-Khānān fell ill Some boils formed which prevented him from mounting a horse During that time H M the Shahinshāh turned his attention, as a means of diversion, to elephant fights Many times did he apply himself to this sport, which has hundreds of nice points involved in it. One day there was a prolonged contest between two of the royal elephants called Fatuhā and Lagna By chance these two

[*] the above mentioned may refer to the Atka Khān and not to the Nasir al Mulk

[1] Tanūr in text Gh zi Khan afterwards rebelled, Blochmann 367 B l t Lo e II call him S...

during their fight came near the Khan Khānan's tent The crowd of people and the general uproar caused apprehension and annoyance to the Khān Khānān, and he came to suspect that perhaps the thing had occured at the sublime suggestion (of Akbar) He was confirmed in this suspicion by some strife mongers He sent one of his confidential servants to Maham Anaga with this message /"I am not conscious of having committed any offence in this sphere circled thresh old, and I have not displayed anything except well wishing respect. Why then have mischief makers imputed some offence to me, and caused such unkindness as that furious elephants should have been let loose against my tent?" Maham Anaga by soothing expressions quieted his disturbed mind

At this time a strange thing happened in relation to the Lord of the Earth, who was keeping himself in the disguise of an incognito, and was giving attention to the concealment of his idiosyncrasy—a mystry which has already been conveyed, as far as my capacity would allow, from the heart to paper The event, of which the following is an account, was the cause of some well instructed minds coming to a knowledge of truth One day the world adorning Shāhinshāh felt constrained by the presence of short sighted men, and began to chafe The power of indignation which in a disposition innately equable is an ingredient deposited by the Lord of power broke out into anger He became averse to the servants of fortune's threshold who always attended on his stirrup and separated from them, and issued an order that no one of his retinue should be in attendance on him He even sent away his grooms and such like persons that the solitude of his retirement might not be contaminated by the crowd of this class of men and went out unattended and alone from the camp of fortune In reality he was engaged in prayerful communion with his God, ostensibly he was angered with men Among his special horses there was a noble 'Iraqi horse called Hairan which Khizr Khwāja Khān had presented to him It had not its like for spirit and swiftness, and was also unequalled for viciousness When he was left loose no one could come near him, and it was with difficulty that he
61 could be re caught The divine hero of the world, owing to his strength and courage rode him constantly In this period of solitude he mounted upon this suspicious steed, and set of rapidly, leaving society aside and increasing his glofy by the presence of God When

he had gone some distance he dismounted for some purpose, and becoming heedless of the nature of his steed, assumed the posture of communing with his God. That swift and fiery horse acted according to its custom and rushed off rapidly so that it disappeared from the far searching gaze of his Majesty When his holy heart was again disposed to mount, there was no one in attendance, and no horse at his service For a little while he was perplexed what to do, when suddenly he saw that this very horse was coming from a distance and galloping towards him It ran on till it came back to him and stood quietly waiting for him, His Majesty was astonished and again mounted the noble animal. It must be considered as one of the strange faculties of this throne-adorning dominion that a horse, whose *habit was not to allow himself to be readily mounted*, and who, when he ran off, could with difficulty be re caught, and who had gone off and disappeared in such a plain, should, merely on the attention of the Shāhinshāh being directed towards him came back of his own accord and quietly submit to be re mounted Bravo! what apprehension can there be from solitude to him whom the incomparable Deity favours, and of whom he takes charge? And what improbability is there in such things happening to him? Although it may seem as if the wisdom erecting Deity makes the world adorning beauty of this spiritual and temporal visible to him alone, yet in reality it is the setting forth of sundry lamps in the highway of guidance for the direction of the short sighted and superficial, in that they who know in him a visible lord and king may, what is more and better, know him as a spiritual ruler, and recognising that the pleasing of him is the pleasing of God may arrive at the rose rendezvous of eternal happiness.

Hail to the great one who attains to this knowledge, and joy to the fortunate one who receives such instruction? And what a blind atheist is he who in the presence of such lights of intelligence remains under the veil of irrecognition, and descends into the mire of ance! And what a futile wretch is he who in spite of having this glorious station enters on the no thoroughfare of hypocrisy and opposition and contends with God the Creator of the world? Let us be brief, for to noble discourse of this kind there is no limit! (The Khedive of the earth recognised this mysterious intimation (the return of the horse) as a Divine inspiration and, renouncing his intention of solitude, addressed himself again to the cordial greeting of those

loyal officers who were in the camp, and cast the shadow of kindness over these regions Mankind rejoiced, and H M with his retinue reached Lahore on 25 Murdād, Divine month, corresponding to H 11 Shawwāl (7 August, 1557), before the camp had arrived there He
62 immediately occupied himself in hunting After a few days the whole camp arrived

The Khān-Khānān under the influence of the Sulṭān of imaginings again returned to the old story and began to suspect Shamsu-d-dīn Muhammad Khān Atka. He said to him "Although the countenance of my loyalty and devotion to the sublime family be free from the stain of deceit or dissimulation (revu in *riyā*) and know that H M's glance of grace and kindness to myself is without flaw and so I have no fear of any breach in the pillar thereof, yet as H M occasionally treats me with disfavour I believe this must come from your contrivances and calumnies (*s'aī s'aāyit*) What have I done that you should gird up the loins of hostility against me and that in thirsting for my blood you should turn the sacred mind against me? And should even go so far as to attempt my life?" Shāmsū-d dīn was troubled by this attack, and having collected all his relatives and dependants he went before the Khān-Khānān and made protestations, accompanied with solemn oaths, that he had never opened his mouth to speak ill of him, and that he never would do so At last the Khān Khānān came to his senses, and his anxiety abated somewhat

Among the occurrences of this time was Bahādur Khān's being sent to Multan to put his jāgīr in order. As has already been intimated, this had been recently conferred on him He was also ordered to give a lesson to the Bilucīs of that neighbourhood, who had raised the head of refractoriness Bahādur Khān, after arriving in that pleasant country behaved with bravery A large number of foot and cavalry came to oppose him, and displayed great obstinacy The fighting lasted for a month, but as the shadow of the fortunes of the One of the earth had been cast over him, he became victorious by the Divine aid

As the world arranging God was about to reveal the majesty of the Shāhinshāh that it might come forth from the veil of acquiescence and personally regulate the distractions of the world, the screen over Bairām Khān's actions, who was always boasting of his loyalty, began to lift, and he became a traveller on a roadless tract One of the

vagaries which most sensible men observed in him was that with and without leave he distributed the royal elephants among his confidential officers (*umara*) He even seized some of the reserved royal elephants, which were a screen for H M 's glory, on the pretence that he would make them over to (fitting)[1] men The Khedive of the earth did not wish to submit to this tyranny but as actions have their final time, and that time had not yet arrived, he winked at the proceedure and acquiesced in fate Good God! What width of capacity! And what gentleness! And that too in early youth which is the time 63
for violence, and is the beginning of the boiling over of the powers of rage But what is marvellous in a great man whom the Creator takes under his protection?

During the term that Lahore was made illustrious by the advent of H M the Shāhinshāh, Sultan Adam Gakkar came and did homage and was received with favour As he had not come forward when the standards of H M. Jahānbani Jinnat Āshiyāni, had first come for the conquest of India he had an apprehension in his heart But as he had performed an acceptable service, namely, the seizing and making over of M Kāmrān, who was the source of so much strife and trouble, he was regarded with favour, and his petitions were continually coming to the sublime Court At this time, when the earth obtained celestial splendour by the light (*far*) of H M the Shāhinshāh's throne, and Fortune was performing its vocation, viz, to drag every thief and leader by the hair to do homage to the sublime Court, and to exalt them by eternal auspiciousness, a desire to kiss the threshold seized the collar of the fortunate one But from his natural savagery he begged that when he should be exalted by service, he should not be taken to India along with the sublime cortège, and that he should not by marks of favour, be made an exile from his own country He also begged that one of the confidential servants should seize him and carry him off to the sublime Court The Shāhinshāh's graciousness ordered that his good services should be requited, and granted to the full all his requests Taimur[2] Khān Jalāir was chosen

[1] This sentence is explained in the Iqbalnāma where we are told that Bairam took away the elephants saying that he would put them in charge of men who would train them for Akbar and keep them under control and that they would be given up whenever they were wanted for war or for riding

[2] Perhaps the Taimūr Khān Jalāir

for this service and directed to conciliate him and to bring him to do homage And he received more favours than had entered into the mind of his wishes

Of the events which happened during the stay in Lahore, for the warning of strife-mongers there was the bringing to capital punishment of Takht Mal the Zamindar of Mau [1] The brief account of this is as follows. This Zamindar in his evil fatedness became a companion of Sultan Sikandar and was a cause of his errors As the general custom of Indian Zamindars is to leave the path of single-mindedness and to have an eye to every side and to join anyone who is victorious or who is making increasing stir, when there was confusion upon the unavoidable event (the death) of H M. Jahānbāni Jinnat Ashiyāni becoming known in India, and Sikandar Sūr uplifted the head of strife, that strayed one joined him and backed him up When the standards of victory besieged Mānkot, and the garrison had got into difficulties he, according to Zamindari tricks, joined the army When Bairām Khān became apprised of his intrigues he had him executed, and appointed in his room his brother, Bakht Mal, who was prominent for prudence and loyalty As it is a principle of the Shāhinshāh's lofty
64 spirit that those who come in voluntarily, even if they do so out of necessity, should be protected from vengeance, and his noble nature, which partakes of thousands of kindnesses and generosities does not take into account the wrong doings of such men, he did not approve of this execution But as the veil over his world adorning beauty had not been lifted, he did not give any outward sign (of his displeasure).

When his world conquering mind was fresh in the affairs of the Panjab he spent the four months and fourteen days, during which Lahore was an object of envy to heaven from the splendour of the victorious army, in repose and pleasure outwardly he wore the guise of one who did not attend to affairs, in reality he was deeply interested, and was testing the loyal When the officers of the Caliphate had settled matters, the government of Lahore was entrusted to Husain

of subsequent entr es See Blochmann, 476 Badaūnī Lowe 13 mentions Makhdūm al Mulk as the intermediary Perhaps A.F suppressed his name on account of pique.

[1] This is Mau or Pathānkot in Gūrdāspūr Panjab See the accounts of Rajah Bāsū in the M al Umrā II 158 and Jarrett II 319 It is not far from Kāngra. See Beames, J.A S B for 1875 p 193

Khān[1], sister's son of Mahdi Qāsim Khān, and the victorious standards advanced in an auspicious hour, on 25 *Āzar*, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 15 Ṣafar 965, (7 December 1557) towards the capital of Delhi

Among the events which happened while the army was encamped at Jalandhar was the marriage of the Khān-Khānan Bairam Khan with the cupola of chastity Salīmā Sultan Begum The account of this is as follows H M Jahānbani Jinnat Āshiyani had during the time of his rule betrothed that veil of chastity, who was his sister s son, and daughter of M Nuru d din Muhammad, to Bairām Khān, the arrangement being that he would make over the unique pearl, who was distinguished for illustrious lineage and noble qualities (*nasab u hasab*) among the chaste ladies of the court, to Bairam Khan, after the conquest of India This promise remained as a pledge till a fitting opportunity When Jalandhar became a seat of enlightenment owing to the arrival of the sublime camp, the Khan Khānan applied his mind to the fulfilment of his claim, and begged the grant thereof from H M the Shāhinshāh. H M, as under the guise of indifference he was treading the path of conciliation, signified his assent to the request, and promoted the marriage All the Court ladies and specially Bika[2] Maham Anaga showed great alacrity in furthering the marriage, and accordingly the marriage and the bridal procession (*zifaf*) took place within one week M Nuru d din was son of M 'Alāuddin Muhammad, who was son of Khwāja Hasan, commonly known as Khwājazāda Caghāniān This Khwājazāda was grandson of K Hasan 'Aṭṭar, who again was the direct descendant of K Alāuddin who was the first Khalifa of Khwāja Naqshaband[3] Let it not be concealed that the Khwājazada Caghāniān was son in law of Sulṭān Mahmud, son of Sultan Abū Said 65
Mirzā Pasha the daughter of 'Ali Shukr Beg the third ancestor[4] of Bairām Khān, and who was married to S Maḥmud, gave a daughter

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[1] This is Ḥusain Khān Tukriyah Calcutta Review for January 1894.

[2] As a note to the text states most MSS have the word Bika or Bega before Māham Anaga s name No doubt it should be inserted.

[3] Shukr This I think must refer to Pasha and not to 'Ali Shakr though jadd is properly masculine She was the mother of Bairām s great-aunt i e she was sister of Bairam s great-grandfather Pir Ali

Bayāzid 250b calls Nuru-d-din the grandson of Sultān Ḥusain Baiqra.

whom she had by the Mirzā to the Khwājazāda H.M Getī Sitānī Firdus Makānī on considering these relationships showed favour to M. Nūru-d-dīn Muhmud, in whom he saw marks of sincerity and loyalty, and gave in marriage to him his daughter Gulbarg Begum Salīma, who was distinguished for good qualities, purity and nobility of disposition, was born of that holy one (Gulbarg B) H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī had thought of this connection (the marriage with Bairām) on account of those relationships. Good God! What an imitative world it is! Because S Mahmūd made a mistake about Khwājazāda Caghānīān, in that he made an alliance with a strange family, why was it that H M Firdus Makānī followed this up by making an alliance with M Nūru d-dīn Muḥd.[1], and for what reason

[1] Khwāja Bahāūddīn

This is the Pasha Begam of Bābar s Memoirs Erskine, p 30 She was the daughter of 'Alī Shukr, Erskine s 'Alī Shīr of the Black Sheep She was first married to Muḥammadī Mirzā, *the son of Jahān Shāh*, and afterwards to S Maḥmūd Mīrzā, one of Bābar s paternal uncles By him she had one son and three daughters Bābar tells us what became of one daughter, but curiously enough, says nothing about the other two and proceeds immediately to give details about five other daughters of his uncle by another wife (Pāpa Agāca) Is it possible that Babar married them both, and did not say anything about them, agreeably to his usual reticence about his own wives? He certainly married one of the two *viz*, Ṣāliḥa Sultān for the M Raḥīmī, A S B MS, p 281b tells us so She is, I believe, the Dildār B of Bābar and Gulbadan B s Memoirs, for according to the MS just cited she was the mother of Gulrang The same MS tells us that Gulrang married Nūr Muḥd and was the mother of Bairām K s wife Salīma Sultān Other authorities call Salīma the daughter of Gulrukh or Gulbarg Perhaps as suggested by Blochmann and Beale Gulrang Gulrukh, and Gulbarg are all names for the same *lady But it must be confessed that* there is some confusion, inexplicable as yet, about Salīma s parentage and about Gulrang or Gulbarg Abūl Fazl tells us in his second volume, p 65, that Bābar gave his daughter Gulbarg in marriage to Nūruddīn Muḥd, who was a Naqshbandī, and that she was mother of Salīma Elsewhere, Vol I, p 149, he says that Nūruddīn M was married to Gulrang B and that he was the father of Salīma. These two statements are not contradictory, for he does not say that Gulrang was the mother of Salīma, and it may be that there were two daughters of Bābar, one Gulbarg or Gulrukh and the other Gulrang and that Nūruddīn married them both, one after the other But against this there is the fact that Gulbadan does not name any daughter of her father s called Gulrukh or

did this alliance take place now in pursuance of what had gone before?

Gulbarg There is the further difficulty that Abul Faẓl tells us that Bābar gave his daughter in marriage to Nūruddīn, whereas Gulbadan tells us that he gave his daughter Gulrang in marriage to Ishān Taimūr This was very shortly before Bābar's death, and we find Ishān Taimūr living and serving Humāyun in Scinde Either then the marriage with Ishān never was completed, or A F is wrong in saying that Nūruddīn was married to Gulbarg in Bābar's life time, or Gulrang and Gulbarg are two different persons If we knew when Salīma was born, matters would be cleared up a little But Jahāngīr speaks of her as dying in 1021, at the age of 60 If so she can only have been 4 or 5 when Bairam married her, and only 2 or 3 when Humāyūn promised her to him This is very unlikely, and I suspect in spite of the MSS that Jahāngīr, wrote 80 instead of 60 Then, too, is it possible that there were two Nūruddīns and that the one to whom Bairam gave his daughter was the Shaikh Nūru d dīn mentioned in the Ḥabīb as siyār Bombay lithograph II 347 who was a brother of Shaikh Zain, and who died in Babar's service in 928 A.H ?

On the whole I incline to the opinion that Bābar had a daughter named Gulbarg or Gulrukh and as well as one named Gulrang and that Nūrud dīn was married by Bābar to Gulbarg, that she was the mother of Salīma, and that after her death perhaps, he married her half sister Gulrang It may be worth noting that though Gulbadan B does not mention any Gulrukh or Gulbarg among her father's daughters she mentions a Gul azār who was a daughter of Gulrukh and a full sister of Kamran and 'Askarī She does not tell us what became of Gul azār, and as the name has the same meaning as Gulrukh it is possible that she is the lady whom Babar gave in marriage to Nūruddīn Against this there is the almost certainty that Salīma was descended from Pasha Begam who was also an ancestress of Bairām, for in all probability this common descent was one reason for the marriage But Salīma could not have been descended from Pasha if Gul azār was her mother

Nūruddīn belonged to the Naqshbandī (see Jarrett III 358) order as has been said There is a biography of his great great grandfather K Ḥasan Aṭṭār in the Khazīna al aṣfiya, I p 562. It is stated there that K. Ḥasan died in 826 and that he is buried in Caghānīān (qu Ḥiṣār Shādmān?) See also Safīna-al auliya, p 80, notice of K Ḥasan Aṭṭār's father Alāuddīn Aṭṭār K Ḥasan 'Aṭṭār was son in law of Khwāja Buzurg i.e., apparently K Bahāuddīn A.F's remarks about the imitativeness of Humāyūn seem misplaced Humāyūn probably gave Salīma in marriage to Bairam because they were related through 'Alī Shukr, and not because of the marriages made by S Mahmūd and Bābar It appears also from the M

Rahimi that Bairam s mother Nagina Khanim belonged to the Naqshbandi K. family See marginal note to p 175 of A.S.B MS

Apparently the Naqshbandi family were always considered as connected with the royal family for M Muhd Hakim gave his sister, Humayun s daughter Fakhru nisa, to Khwaja Naqshbandi after the death of her first husband Abu l m'aali and Akbar married h s son Dan el to a daughter of Sultan Khwajah

CHAPTER XVI.

BEGINNING OF THE THIRD DIVINE YEAR FROM THE DATE OF THE ACCESSION OF H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO WIT THE YEAR KHURDĀD OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

God be praised! The talisman of the second year of the Divine Era which was decked with the jewels of joy and pleasantness became a pendant on Time's ear, and an adornment of the necks of years and months, whilst the vernal star of the third Divine year took with greatness the fields of dominion and fortune. After four hours, twenty-eight minutes of Friday, the 20th Jamāda-al-awwal 965 (10 March, 1558), the enthroned one of the fourth heaven (the sun) burnished the gloom of the seven spheres and entered the sign of Aries. He gave fresh vigour to the outer and the inner world. Indescribable cosmos was bestowed on the faded earth and the aged sky. Hearts closed against joy received pleasure upon the apparition of the auspicious lights of this year, and the longers after happiness drew in peace and hope from the New Year gale.

Verse.

By the vernal fragrance, the world's brain
Made[1] the air the aloes of Qimār,
From the musk-scattering of the joyous breeze
The earth's navel grew full of perfume,
Musk was strewn on the earth in tons[2]
The air was like a shell strewn with civet
From faintness the moon did not shed her light,
Blood dripped from the tulip, and tears from the jasmine

[1] Some MSS. read *sokhta* instead of *sākhta*, and this is probably preferable. The meaning then would be that the air became odoriferous like burning aloes. Qimār is said to be Cape Comorin or at least some place in India which yields aloes. See Vullers s.v.

[2] Kharwār lit. by ass-loads.

The violet, to baffle the evil eye, swiftly
Marked with blue[1] the ear lobe of the parterre.

6 After the New Year rejoicings, and the outspreading of victory and conquest, the auspicious fruit trees of the Divine Gardens, to wit the victory marked standards of the Shāhinshāh advanced from Jalandhey towards Delhi, hunting and destroying wild beasts on the way

When the army had crossed the Satlaj, upon the banks of which the town of Ludhiana is situated, swift messengers brought the news that Hājī Khān, of whom a short account has already been given, was opposing strenuously and on equal terms the force which had been sent to quell him It was therefore resolved that the army of fortune should proceed to Hissār and ascertain the condition of the force which had gone forth. If it was necessary to despatch a second body of troops, this army was to proceed to the scene of action and put H M's mind at ease about that country In accordance with this excellent plan the whole of the sublime camp was sent to Hissar under the charge of Nasir-al mulk rapidly, while H M the Shāhinshāh went to S rhind in order to pay the respects of devotion, and that he might rejoin the army after having visited the shrine of H M Jananbani Jinnat Ashiyam May his proofs be illuminated ! For when the officers were defeated and Hemu was predominant, Khanar[2] Beg and a number of the servants of the court had brought that monarch's holy corpse to Sirhind and the coffin was now lying there, shrounded in curtain In a short space of time he had paid his devotions, and gone on to Hissar and illuminated the camp there by his presence. Bairām Khan Khānān was at his own request, permitted to accompany H M in the expedition (to Sirhind) While the standards were in Hissar a quarrel arose between Nāsir al mulk and Shaikh Gadai As Bairām Khan was much inclined to the Shaikh he took his part, and Nāsir-al mulk was grieved of heart for some days

1 That is, it gave a tinge of mourning to avert the evil eye

2 He was related to Tardi Beg, and was a poet He joined the rebellion of Ali Qulī Khān Zaman, and for the reason perhaps he is not mentioned in the Āīn Badaūnī gives a long extract from his poems III 223 He also praises him for his musical talents See also Blochmann, 593 He is the Khanjarī Turk whom Badaūnī mentions Lowe 387 as having died of emerods in 999 (1591)

and did not come to court In a short time a number of good men interposed and produced a reconciliation

When the sound of the victorious army reached Haji Khan and his men, they separated without fighting and every one went to his own place Hāji Khān hastened to Gujrat and M Qāsim Khan of Nishāpur, marched to Ajmīr and took charge of that quarter

Shāh Qulī Khān Mahraj and a number of others were sent to take Jitaran (a fort in Jodhpur, Jarrett II, 276, and Blochmann, 389 n) (The victorious heroes by the strength of their swords and the might of their courage conducted many of the stiff necked Rajputs to the abyss of annihilation and took possession of the fort) The surface of that country was cleared from the rubbish of stubborn rebels

CHAPTER XVII

67 MARCH OF THE WORLD-CONQUERING ARMY OF THE SHAHINSHAH TO DELHI AND ITS ARRIVAL AT THAT WONDROUS CITY

When the world subduing mind was at ease with regard to those regions, the sublime army proceeded towards Delhi *via* Samāna Stage after stage was marked by the distribution of justice and the bestowal of joy, and on 5 Ardibihisht, Divine month, equal to 25 Jamāda-al-akhiri, the world-adorning standards cast light and shade on the plains of the capital The grandees of the city hastened to go forth to welcome them and made the dust of the world traversing army the ornament of the forehead of their own good fortune The lights of equity and justice, and the radiances of the Shāhinshāh's kindness and favour were shed on high and low By the aid of the Director of Fortune, affairs military and civil were put anew into proper order At this time the Khān-Khānān and all the officers and pillars of the empire held a great assemblage in the Shāhinshāh's Diwānkhāna twice a week, whatever was fixed upon there with regard to political and financial matters was humbly represented to the Shāhinshāh, and whatever his world-obeyed command directed, received the royal signature

Among the wonderful things which the juggling heavens brought forth from behind the screen of extraordinary events there was the story[1] of the loves of 'Ali Quli Khān Zamān and a camel driver's son In consequence of this his intrinsic baseness was revealed, and he became an object of scorn to mankind The brief account of this is as follows In the reign of H M Jahānbāni Jinnat Āshyani Shāham Beg, the son of a camel driver, and who was conspicuous for external beauty was one of the special body guard From innate depravity, the Khān Zamān fixed his lustful gaze on this camel driver's son and spent his days in giving to this outburst of concupiscence and ebullition of bestial desire the name of Love *After the inevitable event of* H M Jahānbāni, Shāham Beg and Khushhāl Beg[2] who also belonged to the

[1] See Badāūni Lowe 13 for a full account, and for the description of the fate of Shāham

[2] He is mentioned by Sidi Ali p 50 and described as a superb youth He too joined Khān Zamān

body guard, were honoured by doing homage to H M the Shāhinshāh at Jalandhar and were enrolled in the body guard At this time Khān Zaman in his folly and wretchedness sent men to entirce him, and he being without intrinsic goodness, and proud of his fleeting, un substantial beauty took this opportunity to be the making of his fortune and deserted. For in a Court where real beauty was prized and where this is a place also for outward agreeableness when associated with substantive loveliness, what demand was there for this man of outward comeliness, and how could such an one meet with the Shāhinsha's glance of approbation? In fine, that unfortunate fled in foolishness from fortune's house and presented himself before the Khān Zaman He made beauty's bazar brisk, and that ingrate (the Khān Zaman) whose 68
evil disposition was supplemented by the intoxication of courage and success, took to disgraceful courses and as the wicked spirits of Transoxiana in the darkness of their heart have no respect to glory and majesty, and a sublime name to impure, tainted, wretches, saying, My padshah, my Padshah, so did this depraved one used to address Shaham Beg, and bow down before him and perform the korwish'. In the superfluity of his naughtiness, of which only a little may said, he left the way of auspiciousness of which only a little may be said he left the way of auspiciousness and trod the path of destruction A great evil was the coming to him of flatterers, whose crooked glances regarded nothing but their own interest For this reason they continually gave a good complexion to this wickednesses, and worked for their own performent Whenever a man of evil nature, is in high position and give way to intoxication, and a crowd of flatterers beset him, this spiritual and temporal condition of such a man deteriorates, and he ends in the ruin of his health and wealth The evil ending career of 'Ali Qulī Khān is an illustration of this

When the irreverences and shamelessness of those ill fated ones comes to the knowledge of H M admonitory letters where send and wise exhortations and commands were issued The lofty order was "Our Court is a sea of pardon and beneficence The man who by submitting himself to desire and the society of wicked flatters is over

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and was captured and put to death Elliot V 322 and Lowe, 101

It is stated in the Rauzātu t Tahirin of Tahir Muhammad that the Khān Zamān put upon Shāhim Beg the robe of honour which Akbar had sent to himself

powered by the lord of lust and passion becomes the mark of various disgraces Let nothing be said now of virility, truth loyalty, devotion and sincerity, but take hold of the thread of prudence—the safeguard of the generality of mankind—and repent of your deeds and amend your evil doings by good service, send that camel driver's son to Court, so that we may regard your deeds as not done, and exalt you by royal favours If through folly and immodesty you obey not the royal commands, your punishment will be cast into your bosom, that it may be a warning to other short-sighted and intoxicated ones" Meanwhile, as the intoxication and evil nature of 'Alı Qulī Khān became more and more manifest, the world-adorning mind determined that a number of brave men should be *settled in his neighbourhood, so that he might be removed from his* unique position and absolute power, and yet not have the veil of his honour rent For this reason the town of Sandila (in Oudh) was given in fief to Sulṭān Husain Khān Jalāir That wicked one (Khān Zamān) had of his own authority given this town to Ism'āil Khān the son of Ibrāhim Khan, Uzbeg and a near relation of his own Whenever the head of a party engages in evil and disloyalty, his followers necessarily become void of auspiciousness Consequently Ism'aīl Khān did not give up the pargana but proceeded to resist Sulṭān Husain Khān,
69 being backed by such a lord of fortune took it from him by force, and the latter took refuge with 'Alı Qulı Khān, and came against him with a large army Sulṭān Ḥusain Khān, marched out with his men to put him down, and as he was one of those associated with eternal fortune he was victorious in spite of the numbers of the enemy A large number of the worst of the evil doers who had set their lives on disloyalty were levelled with the dust of annihilation Shāh Budāgh Bulaqi[1] who was nearly related to 'Alı Qulı Khān, and was one of the distinguished of the age for bravery, hastened to the hell of extinction 'Alı Qulı Khān on account of his innate wickedness wanted to go and encounter Sulṭān Husain Khān, and to quit once *for all the screen of respect, and to blacken his face for ever* and ever A number of wise and far seeing men withheld him from this improper purpose and engaged him in correcting his evil deeds He too took the advice and exerted himself to amend But as he

[1] There is the variant Bidāqī and this is the form given by M atamid Khān.

'did not possess a happy constitution, he did not separate that camel driver's son from himself, nor withdraw his hand from other evil deeds Secretly he plotted wickedness, outwardly he showed improvement Nasir ul-Mulk continually vituperated his bad behaviour and strove for sending an army against him and for chastising him, while Bairām Khān took the part of 'Alī Qulī Khān and from his magnanimous nature regarded his lawless acts as unacted) His friends at court gave him weighty admonitions, and as that evil door could not turn back from his deeds he had recourse to tricks and stratagems He sent a confidential servant named Burj Ali to court in the hope that he might perhaps put his affairs straight, and find a remedy for the agitations at Court In those days Nasir ul mulk was all powerful, and political and financial affairs were committed to his weighty judgement He followed loyalty from the bottom of his heart and did not regard the partiality of Bairām Khān One day Burj 'Ali, who belonged to the turbulent set of 'Alī Qulī Khān's society, went to Nasir ul mulk and uttered words which were out of all bounds Accordingly the truth recognising sould of Nasir ul mulk became indignant, and he ordered Burj 'Ali to be stretched out and beaten with rods, and that he should be thrown from the tower of Delhi fort and flung into the moat of annihilation Then he said, "This fellow is now an illustration of his own name (Burj, a tower) Bairām Khān was much vexed at this. He cherished revenge for it in his heart, and put off his punishment to another time

Among the dominion-increasing events which came to pass in Delhi at this time was the bringing to capital punishment of Mussbib Beg the son of Khwāja Kilan Beg This was effected by the loyal exertions of Nasir ul mulk, and it relieved mankind from his (Musabib's seditiousness The brief account of this is that his futile soul was over crammed with hypocrisy and his disposition compat of wickedness Both in the time of H M Jahānbānijinnat 70
Ashiyānī and at the emergence of the world adorning sun of H M.

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1 There is little point in this cruel jest, and Badani justly characterises it as an instance of Pir Muhammad's hardness of heart perhaps such point as there was lay in the contrast between the lofty tower, and the little man (mardak) lying at the foot and broken into small pieces (the khūrdgaᵮ of Badanī)

the Shāhinshāh improper actions of his came to light H M Jinnat Ashiyāni used to call him Muṣāhib i Munāfiq (the hypocritical companion), as has already been mentioned

At this time he spent part of his worthless days in the society of Abu al M'aālī, and in evil plottings, and another part in the Eastern Districts as one of the evil companions of 'Alī Qulī Khān) He made his son 'Alī Qulī's *muhrdar* (Sealer), and as the measure of his life was nearly full he came with evil intentions from there to Delhi Bairām Khān imprisoned him and then sent him off to Mecca in company of trustworthy men He had come out of his lodging (*qadmgah*) [1] and was proceeding on his way, when his business was settled and his foot (*qadm*) went down to extinction Nasir-ul Mulk was the cause of this By skilful management he brought Bairām Khān to have two pieces of paper, on one of which was written "Death" and on the other Release' These were to be spread[2] out, and whichever of them should come out and fall face upwards should be regarded as the Divine Command, and acted upon accordingly Fate favoured his design, and immediately persons were sent and he was brought to punishment

Among the improper things which occured this year was the slaying of Khwāja Jalālu d din[3] Bujūq The brief account of this is that he was Pādshāh Quli, i e, he was the king s slave and did not go out of his way to pay homage to other men Now the great men of the world look to the establishment of their own position, and like everyone to court and flatter them Consequently many grandees of the empire did not like him Moreover he had the fault of levity and

1 *Qadmgah* I think this merely means his lodging *lit* the place of his feet but the word also means a privy It is likewise possible that it means the place in Delhi where there was a footprint of the prophet Such a Qadm Sharīf is described in Syed Aḥmad s Aṣār Sanād d p 92 No 91 It was built in Firuz Shāh s time 709 A H or 1310 and is or was opposite to the Purāna Qila See also Harcourt s Guide to Delhi p 140

2 The Lucknow editor says they were made into a ball and then opened out Mutamid Khān says they were put under a *takhyahnamad* and that the one first drawn out was acted upon (The *takhyanamad* was perhaps a pillow or cushion but Blochmann 55, translates it as wooden coverlet

3 See translation p 149 para. 2 The name Pādshāh Quli was one assumed by Jalālu-d din to show that he was wholly devoted to Humāyūn

of making jokes, which perhaps is the worst of offences in the eyes of the great He uttered pleasantries about the leaders of the age, and under the guise of witticisms—which the ignorant call agreeable facetiousness—he said things which were far from being proper, so that there was no one who did not carry in his side a wound from the thornbrake of his jesting At this time when Ghaznin had been entrusted to him on the recommendation of Muhammad Qulī Khan Barlas, designing persons got their opportunity and both embittered Mun'im Khan's mind, and revived his old desire of being revenged upon him (In india too they stirred up Bairām Khān to kill him, and so were the cause of still further troubling Bairām's mind Where is that far seeing and good man who regards his master's welfare and does not for his private ends make useful servants the target for the arrows of revenge, and who casts out of view his own loss or gain and exerts himself in bringing forward men of ability? When the Khwaja heard that mun'im Khān had given up his intention of going to india and that he was meditating revenge, he fell into great perplexity He could not go to India for the Lord of the Age was behind the screen of insouciance, and Bairam Khan was very powerful Considering that in the time of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyani on account of some improper expression which had been conveyed to Bairam Khan the latter had taken the opportunity of finding Jalālu d-din alone in the bath and had treated him with great ignominy, and in his anger had not had respect to H M Jahanbani, now that his status was so high, and that the Lord of the Age was under the veil of inattention, how could he go before him? And what accusations the evil hearted and oppressive would produce ! Nor could he prevail upon himself to go to Kabul and see Munim Khan who affected to be well disposed towards him Disloyalty too was in Jelalu d din's estimation the worst of faults, and so he could not endure to turn away from the dominion enjoined with eternity to another country Mun'im Khān sent a number of people to give him confidence, and after having induced him to come by promises and agreement he put him in prison After that they at his instigation lanced his eyes several times but as his fate had not arrived, the brightness of his honest eyes was not dimmed After sometime when he was let go on the supposition that he was blind, he proceeded to Bangash and under the guidance of a Bangashi was on his way to india, so that he might by whatever

means were possible, convey himself to the threshold of dominion, and that whatever unavoidable order might issue from his enemies (Bairām and others) he might at least be under the foot of his master When Mun'im Khan heard of this he sent off some swift inquisitors They caught him and his younger brother Jalālu d din Maṣ'ūd, and Mun'im Khān bound and imprisoned them He was thinking how to get rid of them At last he one might sent people to them and spilt the blood of these loyalists for his own shameful private ends! Bairam Khān too had drawn up and sent an order for putting them to death H M the Shahinshāh who in order to test the powerful, and for other reason was under the veil of inattention, was inwardly indignant on hearing of this proceeding, but left the retribution for it, as well as for other matters, to God the Creator and Adorner of the world, and in this said nothing May Almighty God long preserve this exhibition of endurance in order that he may govern spiritually and temporally

CHAPTER XVIII

H.M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S INCLINATION FOR ELEPHANTS, AND THE FIGHTING OF RAGING ELEPHANTS

The far-seeing, screen-choosing mind of H M. the Shāhinshāh, which was constantly weaving the disguise of insouciance, and left political and financial matters to the lovers thereof, and daily drew a fresh veil over the face of his dominion conjoined with eternity, and thereby test at the boastful lovers of world gave its attention to camel-riding and to camel fights at the time that he was adorning the veil in Kabul. For in that country[1] there was no mind practised horse-riding and the hunting with dogs. When India was made illustrious by his blessed advent he gave special attention to elephants, which are wonderful animals both in form and in ways. If in respect of size I liken them to a mountain in order to describe them to those who have not seen them, I do not 72
succeed in my attempt, for who account taken to their beauty of form, and where is there swiseness? Of if I liken their speed and fury to the wind, how is their wrath depicted at the time of their o'erthrowing the firm-footed on the field of battle? If I compare them for forsight, intelligence, and sagarity tō the horse the real thing is not said. A separate volume would be required to describe their ferocity, their revenge, and their wonders deeds. Such a work might be written by a sage without the adornments of fine writing. Eloquence and fluency alone are not sufficient for such a great subject being treated of in its entirety. In addition to true wisdom there must be along life spent in the company of experienced man and have learnt the ways of wondrous looking mighty formed, highly intelligent, mountain demolishing, horseman throwing, army confounding (animal), and thereby acquiring knowledge of the marvellous, awe-inspiring, astonishment producing, creature.

with all this, there must also be the beholding of his wrath and his gentleness, and of witnessing his wondrous actions Then perhaps a little out of much can be written about him, so that the brevity of the account may not cause regret in the heart Why should I, who have not these opportunities, make a long discourse and indulge in word ornamentation? Why should I turn back from the purpose which I have in this noble volume? Assuredly it is better to be *contented with what I have said of those wondrous creatures and that I increase the splendour of my own subject*[1]!

When the sacred glance of H M the Shāhinshāh fell upon this wondrous animal, he recognised it as worthy of his attention and prepared a fresh screen for himself In fact the world adorning Deity decreed the commencement[2] of the beautifying of this unique one of the threshold of greatness (i e Akbar), and converted the subject matter of the fear and terror of the supearand creature worshippers into current coin, so that they might not break the chain binding them to this spiritual and temporal Khedive, and that they might not indulge in vain thoughts and might not proceed beyond their measure For the adepts in this art and the teachers *thereof were unable to tame the ferocity (of the elephant), while* this Divine athlete subdued it by his courage Evidently[3] it was proper to take notice of him! This also was for the wise and the pious the beginning of the perceiving and understanding of the works of this chosen one of God For deeds which could not come within the mould of speech, and *which could not be weighed* in the balance of reason were displayed by this enthroned one Ridings upon *mast*, men killing, driver throwing elephants, the sight of whom melted the gall bladder of the iron livered ones of this art were exhibited by this holy personality When a *mast* and vicious elephant had killed its driver, and committed several other murders, so that it was a terror to the city, this assisted of heaven and pro-

[1] There is a great deal about elephants in the Aīn Blochmann 117 *et seq*

[2] A F means that God made Akbar s control over elephants a means of showing to the vulgar Akbar s real power and thus prevent ing them from presuming too much on his insouciance and breaking their allegiance.

[3] This is sarcasm The ducks now saw there was something in the ugly *duckling*

tected by God came, as he was walking between the garden and the courtyard, placed his foot on the elephant's tusk and smilingly took his seat and set the elephant to fight with most and quarrelsome elephants In the very thick of the fighting when he saw that the driver of the other elephant had lost control of the animal, that Lion of God leapt from his own elephant to the other Then did the pious receive the collyrium of illumination! For it was impossible to approach this animal without God's protection, much less, to ride it, and again to control it with severity, and to engage it in fight with the exoteric and the esoteric became submissive (Lit. came into the condition of having the ring in their ears) It did not occur to anyone that he would saddle the elephant, and that he would arrange other tools and things in order that he might ride He put a rope round the elephant's neck, as an ornament to him, and sitting near his neck twisted his foot into that rope. What shall I say?—the same thing as I said at first. I can't describe the affair If the superficial reader thinks that in my description I have turned aside from the long highway of purpose into space, the intelligent and judicious will perceive that I have not deviated one foot from the way, and that I am hastening forward But of the aggregate of instances of the Divine protection which aroused the spiritual and the worldly from the slumber of negligence and produced wonder in some and regret in others for their want of comprehension in past times, while they increased the understanding of another section and made it praise its own insight, there was this which occurred at Delhi when the holy mind was diverting itself with elephant riding 'One day he mounted the elephant called Lakhna, which was an exhibitor of terrific rage, at a time when it was at the height of its ferocity, evil nature and man killing and made it engage with an elephant like itself, so the proudest were surprised The elephant Lakhna, on which H M. was riding, was victorious and was madly pursuing the other when suddenly its foot, which resembled a great pillar, fell into a deep ditch, and in its furious condition, and when the fumes of wrath were circulating in its brain, it made great struggles and movements At this time an athlete who was riding on the elephant's rump, for the rule is that a lion hearted, skilful man rides crapper on these mountain forms, and such a one is called in

Hindi Bhor,[1] could not sit the sky-high rearings of the elephant, and fell to the ground Then, when cries awoke on every side, and the hearts of the loyal melted within them, the body personality was also moved from its place, and his sky-brushing foot became fixed in the rope of the elephant's neck, which in Hindi is called Kalawa[2] H M with a heart which can throw the noose of courage on the heavens, and a palm which had God's help in its fingers firmly seized the the rope, and having hold of the strong cable of this Divine protection remained strong of heart and serene in soul In that tumult and uproar which produce and earthquake in the terrere, and a riot in time, and while elephant with his great strength was extricating his feet from the abyss, and was making marvellous struggles and inclining from side to side to the ground, and while on one hand there were the cries of the people, and on the other the efforts of the elephant for getting rid of H M's sacred personality, a number of interpid, loyal and alert men came and released H M. from the elephant. The disturbed heart of the world was appeased and the commoved life of the age became stationary again I do not know if this beauty under the aspect of terror displayed itself without the intention of this choosen one In order that the far reaching thoughts of the wicked might be shortened by seeing such (divine) guardianship, or whether that spiritual and temporal Khedive, that king of the visible and invisible, knowingly and designedly exhibited such glory, so that by one splendid act might be manifested the blindness of weak sighted malevolents, and the illumination of the loyal. In a short time, when H M had put himself in order, the elephant by his own efforts brought out his foot from the hole and began to be riotous H M with the same open view, and serene soul again mounted the elephant and proceeded, encompassed by the Divine protection, to his fixed abode Bairam Khan Khan Khanan on hearing of the circumstances, which threw into agitation thet ranquil souls of devotees, came to prostrate himself at the throne, and in gratitude for the safety of the royal person, and to avert the evil eye, distributed great largesses to the world. The cherubim of the Court of heaven and the members of the holy assembly raised the

1 Blochmann 125

2 Blochmann 127 Note Apparently the word is really Persian.

hands of supplication and implored from a bounteous God enduring dominion and the perfecting of humanity by the fostering care of this great lord of horizons!

Let it not be concealed from inquirers that the first elephant which H M the Shāhinshāh rode was called Dilsankār It was sent along with other elephants by Bairam Khān Khān Khānān to H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī as part of the plunder of Mācīwāra H M Jinnat Āshiyānī presented that elephant in Lahore to H M the Shāhinshāh, and as his elephant-riding had not advanced so far as that he could ride alone on grand elephants, he used to ride this one, which was perfectly quiet And there was an elephant called Faujbidār (scattering the army?) which at the very first time he rode alone without the help of a driver This too was an elephant which H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī had presented to him One day when H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī was coming from Māci- 75
wara to Sihrind, H M the Shāhinshāh rode on that elephant as far as Sihrind The first *mast* elephant that H M the Shāhinshāh rode was called Damudar, which H M had presented to Bairam Khān When H M the Shāhinshāh was going from Delhi to Salīmgarha, which was on the bank of the Jumna, that elephant was tied under a tree by the roadside As it possessed the virtue of steadiness the driver was, even in the height of its *mast* condition, taking cooked rice in his hand and putting it into the elephant's mouth H M was pleased with the good behaviour of the elephant, and went up to it, and getting upon a female elephant which they had tied by its side, mounted upon the neck of Damudar The first *mast* elephant which H M the Shāhinshāh mounted upon, and engaged in battle with another *mast* elephant was called Jhalpa This was during the siege of Mankot After battle had been waged between these two monsters for a long time the contest ended, like a game of chess,[1] in a draw, and they were separated At that auspicious time H M's age had reached fourteen years After this the power of H M in riding *mast* elephants rose to such a pitch that that victory supported one would unhesitatingly mount on a *mast* elephant which experienced drivers despairingly declined to ride (*lit* placed the back of the hand on the ground of helplessness) And

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[1] Fīl elephant used to be the name of the rook at chess and is now that of the bishop

he would lead it against *mast* elephants, and without exaggeration he rode more than a hundred times on *mast* elephants which had killed their drivers and were men-slayers, and were capable of smiting a city or perturbing an army, and engaged them in fighting May Almighty God preserve this eternally-aided one for cycles and epochs on the throne of success and of fulfilment of the desires of mortals!

Among the dominion-increasing events of this time there was this, that Khwaja 'Abdulla, son of Khwaja Muhammad Zakariah the son of Khwaja Dost Khawand, on whose forehead was the jewel of orthodoxy, along with other high minded Khwajas, who had their *jagir* in the town of Talundi[1] and Mirza Hasan of Tirmiz, and Qarā Bahādur of Kashghar, were appointed to proceed against Rajah Kapur Cand, who had shut himself up in the fort of Jamū[2] These good servants marched according to proper regulations and displayed full zeal and loyalty By the help of victorious dominion they fought a great battle and won a great victory They obtained much plunder, and the jewel of their good service and right action was tested

[1] Jarrett II 320 See T.A 393 where Camiāri which is not far off, is described as a Khwājah fief.

[2] In Kashmir, but held at that town by a Rajput family whose domains extended into Sialkot Talūndī was not far from Jammū for which see Jarrett II 320 and note.



CHAPTER XIX

H M. THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S PROGRESS TO AGRA, AND OTHER OCCURRENCES

When the pleasant region of Delhi had been for six months 76 an abode of justice and peace owing to the stay there of H M the Shāhinshāh, and its affairs had been arranged according to the instructions of inspiration, the world adorning mind, which is a ray from the world lighting splendour of the sun, and a light derived from the fountains of eternal light, resolved that the sublime standards should proceed to Agra, which for air and water makes Bagdad ashamed of the Tigris and Egypt of the Nile, and his ocean scattering mind decided on travelling by boat and on the river Jumna The fluviatile officers prepared vessels and boats and outside and inside the planks were beautified by silks On the day of Ishtad 26 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 26 Zi hajja, (9th October, 1558) that ocean hearted Shahinshah and that ocean without a bound embarked, and imparted the dignity of the circumambient ocean to a petty piece of water The great officers the courtiers and others who had made preparations for the journey also embarked It seemed as if the river was in fete, or as if the tulip and the rose had raised their heads from the water With all kinds of joy and pleasure they set out towards Agra On that pleasant journey they engaged in fishing and in water fowling And the sublime reunion, which was another river brimful of grand jewels, became by the effect of the movement of the boat shaped flagons billowy with gifts and munificence, till at length on 17 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 17 Muharrum 966=30th October 1558 the crescent-moon of the standards of the Shahinshān emerged from the ascension point of the horizon of the city of Agra, and made that fortunate and auspicious city the centre of the circle of the throne and the ascension point of the light of fortune H M. the Shahinshah gave celest rank to the citadel which was known by the name of Bādalgarha, by his alighting there Abodes were

distributed to the grandees Fortune took up her dwelling there, and auspiciousness laid her foundation in that rose garden In a short space of time this city became, by the blessing of the sublime advent, the rosy cheek of the seven climes It is a city of temperate heat and cold. its climate harmonises with the constitution, for trees and fruits its soil is like Khurāsān and 'Irāq The river Jumna, which has few like it for the lightness and digestibility of its water, flows through it. On either side the servants of fortune's threshold erected pleasant homes and made charming gardens which come not within the mould of description. With all grandeur and glory it became once more the abode of the Caliphate, and the centre of the Sultanate

7 As the auspicious constellations regard with favourable aspects the fortunate horoscope of the Shāhinshah, and results corresponding thereto must show themselves, predestined victories, and the unveiling of the brides of aspirations displayed themselves in their order Every hope which promised to arise either by dint of struggle and labour, or without effort or striving, was fulfilled in divers ways Among these was the happy augury which occurred after the coming to Agra, viz, the facile conquest of the fort of Gwāliar It has already been briefly stated that Qiyā Khān and an army of gallant men had gone to besiege it But as that strong fortress is for strength and solidity a masterpiece of the wise of former times, and a wondrous memorial of skilful ancients, so that to take it by force is impossible, and could only be thrown open by the daily increasing prestige of such a master of Fortune, the enterprise had not advanced in spite of the endeavours of the world conquering combatants At this time, when Agra became the seat of the standards of victory, Habib 'Ali Khān and Maqṣūd 'Ali Sultan and a number of others were appointed to assist Qiyā Khān Bahabal Khān did not neglect the smallest point in the maintaining of the fort A number of guides to fortune who were his well wishers gave him sound advice to the effect that though the fort was strong, and supplied with munitions, yet nothing could prevail against Divine help and celestial fortune, especially when no protector remained to back him up As the remark was very just he accepted the counsel, and in Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Rabi'-al Ākhir, Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani went at the request of the garrison and composed his (Bahabil's) disturbed mind, and brought him to serve

H M the Shāhinshāh That auspicious one recognised that to make over the keys of the fort to the imperial servants was to open the gates of his own wishes That strong fort came into the possession of the heroes of fortune H M treated him with great kindness and gave him presents, robe of honour and a fief In fact it was by payment of promises of kindness that so many great works were accomplished A new article of faith was added, viz, belief in the truth and rectitude of that mine of the greatness of collective humanity. A fresh support was given to those wandering in the desert of astonishment All were convinced that whatever was determined in this world protecting court would be fulfilled without fail. Nor would any room be given for evil doing by any shortsighted 78
and narrow-minded person The wild denizens of the wilderness of unsociability obtained confidence and found direction to the pleasant abode of society, for this is a court where, as regards advancement and selection, no heed is taken of identity, or difference of race. Whoever has a clear conscience, and a sincere heart, and a grateful soul, and ability, and knows the value of instruction, escapes from the furnace of punishment and receives princely favours

Of the events which occurred during this fortunate year was the engaging in battle of Kamāl Khān Ghakar, and his victory. The facts of this beautiful story are that at the time when Agra became the abode of sovereignty it came to the royal ears an Afghan tribe called the Mīyāna was stirring up strife in Sarnaj[1] which is in the province of Malwa. H M sent Kamāl Khān Ghakar against them as he showed marks of courage, and was fit for this employ He went off with a body of troops and fought a battle He was victorious and returned to kiss the threshed. He was rewarded to a robe of honour and received the towns of Karah, Fatehpur,[2] Hanswah,[3] and other places in fief.

Among the occurrences was the sending of Adham Khān with a body of troops against Hat kant. The brief account of this is that Hatkānt, than which there is no stronger place is near Agra, and the

1 Blochmann 453
2 Jarrett II.200 It was in Sarkār Cañderī.
3 Jarrett II, 167, 168, and Blochmann 390 and 390 Karah it seems, should be Karrah In several MSS. Fathpur Hanswah is written as one village

landholders are of the Bhadauriyah[1] tribe, etc, and are distinguished for sense[2] and courage They always were in revolt against the Sultans of India As Bairām Khān was always suspicious of Adham Khan, he thought to give him this terriory in jāgīr, so that in this way he might be removed from Court, while at the same time the rebels of that quarter would receive punishment, and thus two good objects be carried out at once Accordingly he was appointed to *this jāgīr and despatched* Bahādur Khan Khan Jahān, Saiyid Mahmud Barha, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, sādiq Khān, Ism'ail Quli Khān, Kharram Khān, Amīr Khān and a number of horoes were inscribed in this army By God's help they subdued the country, and the sediti ous received fitting punishment

One of the events of this year was the arrival at Court of Shāh Muhammad Qilāti, to whom the governorship of Qandahar had been entrused by Bairām Khan It has already been recorded that when Shāh Muhammad Qilatī had worsted Bahadūr Khān, the brother of the Khān Zaman, by entering into engagements with the ruler of Persia, and by bringing an army from there, he had not stood by his promises Consequently the ruler of Persia appointed his brother's son, Sultān Hussain M, the son of Bahram M. and his nephew's guardian, Hussain Beg Icak Ughli Istajlu, and Wali Khalīfa Shāmlū to take Qandahar. Shah Mahd, relying on the bt.tress of the Shāhinshah's fortune, exerted himself to hold the fort, and the siege was protracted.

At length some Rustam like heroes sallied out one night from the New Gate and attacked the batteries of Wali Khalīfa Shāmlū. They wounded him and killed many After a long discussion Sultan Hussain M retired from the foot of the fort without having accom plished his purpose The ruler of Persia was vexed and sent the said Mirze, Alī Qulī Sultan the Governor of Shīrāz, and Walī Khalīfā Shāmlū with a large force to get possession of Qandahār by every means possible "Alī Qulī Sultan, who had boaste dmuch about this affair, made great efforts to take the fort, but became by a

1 See Elliot's Supplemental Glossary, the Bhadaurya tribe and of Hatkānt The Bhadauryas are a Beames, 1859, Vol.1,25 for an account of branch of the Chauhan Purjputs See also Blochmann 488

2 Hushiyarī Some MSS have bisyār nun here which seem preferable

musket ball[1] a traveller to the region of non-existence A division arose in the army Though no outward assistance came from the Khedive of the Age, the Divine aid helped from time to time, and confounded such large forces Sultan Hussain M, who could neither venture to return nor judge it right to remain, spent his days in a distracted manner and encamped round the fort Meanwhile Shah Muhammad Qilati sent a representation to Court, explain the state of the case, and in reply a command was issued to him to the effect that H M Jahanbani Jinnat Ashiyani used to say that when he had conquered India he would give Qandahar to the Shah It was not right to fight with these men, and to carry matters so far The fort should be delivered to the Shah's servants, and he Shah Muhammad should, after making apologies, repair to Court I laud the gentleness and humanity which were here displayed in such a high degree, and the observance of right and the adherence to obligations which were so conspicuous! In accordance with the lofty order Shah Muhammad delivered over Qandahar to Sultan Hussain M, and proceeded to the Court, and this year had the bliss of service, and was the recipient of royal favours

One of the strange occurences was Shah Quli Khan Mahrams becoming a jogi and hermit There was a boy with him named Qabul Khan who knew how to dance and whom he loved As H M did not approve of this kind of conduct in any of his servants[2], for though it may be pure, yet there are improprieties mixed up with it which sensible men well know, he prohibited it Shah Quli could not give up the practice, and so it was ordered that the boy should be taken from him and made over to guards. Shah Quli Khan owing to the burden of humanity gave way to anguish and set fire to his name and fame He put on the dress of jogi, and sought retirement, Bairam Khan *recited an ode to comfort him and tried to* amend him He came back to his allegiance to the Shahinshah, and was ashamed of what he had done, and he was treated with endless favours

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1 The text his tri u banduq which seems nonsense The Lucknow edition and some M S S have tir i banduq which is phrase for a musket-ball and I adopt this reading

2 As Blochmann remarks 409, the Maasir II, 535 points out that this account differs from that in the Aa lam arai

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One of the wonderful felicities that befel the holy personality during this time was that the Khedive was engaged in hunting at
60 Mandhākar, which is six *kos* from Agra, when a *cīta* pursued a fawn He caught it in his mouth and was carrying it off when the mother, being moved by her affection, made a fierce attack on him The *cita* which was exulting in the prey it had taken, fell to the ground in disgrace, in appearance it was from the blow of the mother, in reality it was from the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, and the gazelle escaped from the claws of death and scoured the plain along with its mother Though the holy heart wished to remain veiled (*lit* to adorn the curtain), yet the divine contrivance was revealing his world-adorning beauty. During this dominion-increasing time H M the Shāhinshāh always wore in Agra the garb of indifference, and was testing the men of the age He was continually engaged in hunting deer with the *cita*, and in elephant-fights, and such other external matters which the superficial man regards as matters of insouciance, while the wise recognise them as the veil of world adorning beauty The incomparable Deity day by day made the light of the sun of fortune of His own chosen one more and more resplendent, and what H M regarded as a veil of his beauty was converted by the Creator into exhibitions of his beauty, so that day by day the majesty of that Khedive of the age was exalted The kingly might and majesty were continually unveiling themselves without any external insignia The specialities and details of such actions cannot be committed to books and records The dust seated mote, Abul Fazl, who has come in haste and is putting together an abridged account of the acts of this Khedive of the age, by questioning bit by bit those acquainted with them, is somewhat surprised at the eloquent and able men of this dominion-conjoined with eternity. For, if the lord of the world remained under a veil, and did not, for the instruction of mankind, dictate an account of his wondrous deeds, and glorious state, what negligence took possession of these able and connoisseurs, so that they have not collected the holy occurrences of this God given dominion? Moreover where have I the ill-fated one, who have neither trunk nor leaf of outward growth and have to carry out royal orders, and who know that unstinted service is my reasonable devotion, and so spend my time in discordant occupations, the leisure to record things in detail? Yes, truly, if God grant me sufficient life in the service of His Majesty, I shall

recite the wondrous tale of my spiritual and temporal king, and under this guise pay my devotions to God! In short, although the ruler of the age was spending his days under the veil of indifference, yet every day men of genius and talent, loyal combatants devoted heroes, sages, and other men of skill were coming from the quarters of the earth in troops and were gaining their desires. The court of the king became the shadow of the Divine Court, every section succeeded above its wishes and became part of the army of fortune; and the garden of human hearts blossomed out in various colours, and gladness and joy went on increasing.

CHAPTER XX

BEGINNING OF THE FOURTH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE SACRED ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR TĪR OF THE FIRST CYCLE

Thanks be to unequalled bounty, and to unceasing excellence that the third year of the Divine Era has happily come to an end, and that time has come for the beginning of the fourth year. On Sunday[1] 2 Jumāda-al-akhirī 966 (12 March 1559) the light of Akbar[2] and the great light shed their radiance on the house of exaltation. The visible and invisible world obtained splendour, the gates of joy were opened before mortals, the things of delight displayed brilliancy before the eyes of mankind, the orb (kaukaba) of the Sulṭan of spring (the sun) inflamed the world and took possession thereof, the sound of the army of King Rose opened the ears of time and the terrene, the New Year-bounty of the spirit of vegetation breathed on the bodies and moulds of terrestrials, the liberality of spring bestowed brain-nourishing odours and perfumes on the horizons, the vernal breeze taught the nurslings of the garden the tripping gait[3] of the partridge and the stately step of the pheasant, the atmosphere gave to earth's fixtures the ascension of fire, and the mobility of water The brown covering of earth was changed into a satin and brocade[4] carpet, without woof or warp, of verdure and roses, the throats of the birds of the garden threw discredit on the fine breathing flute, the beak of the nightingale buffeted Pan's[5] pipes, the tulip laughed at the bill of the parrot, and the verdure at the tail of the peacock the violet touched

[1] The Tabaqāt Akbarī says, Friday

[2] A F plays on the double meaning of Akbar, the great light and also the light of Akbar

[3] jalwa, but probably jalwī, meaning gait, is meant for the partridge as famed for its elegant motion.

[4] aksūn, said to be a black satin worn by princes

[5] mūsīqār, also the name of a fabulous (?) bird whose bill is perforated Compare for these hyperboles I, p 20, 1 9, and Errata.

the eyes of beholders with the collyrium of vision, the narcissus remained in open eyed admiration of Divine power, lilies[2] and and hyacinths[3] unveiled the mysteries of white and black, tulips and sweet smelling flowers became skilled exponents of the truths of God and of existence —

Verse

From Paradise came a cup[4] to the tulip
From Rizwān came a greeting to the rose
There was glory of the garden beauties
Each cheek shone like a lamp,
Under each calyx there was a fragrant bud
Like a swart amulet on the arm of the beloved,
The lily put forth her silent tongue[5]
Every moment she sought a draught
The dew shed silver on the grasses's heads
The zephyr shook down a couch of flowers
At each fount the duck was inserting his bill
Like golden shears in a piece of silk.
On every branch the birds were organists,
The rose-bush tossed her head at every note
The early-waking nightingale sang love-ditties
And quickened the ardour of the wine-bibbers. 82
The Shāhinshāh by adorning the world
Added another spring to spring

In this fortunate year, which was the ornamental border of the book of fortune, the world-conquering genius ordained that a proper army should be appointed to the eastern districts to take Lucknow and the territories appertaining thereto from 'Alī Qulī Khān, and to awaken him from his neglectful sleep "If he betook himself to ways of auspiciousness, and made loyalty his travelling-gear, and

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[1] According to the Lucknow edition the narcissus is generally compared to a half shut eye Here wonder makes it full eyed

[2] Shigūfa. It seems to mean any white flower

[3] In the list of flowers given in the Āīn the hyacinth (sambal) is described as dark red in colour

[4] Referring of course to the shape of the flower

[5] The leaves of the lily are compared to tongues

sent that camel driver's son, who was the ground-work of his arrogance and negligence, to Court, or drove him away from his presence, and made obedience and submission to the lord of the world and of mortals the ground work of his own fortune, he would certainly have been compassed with royal favours, and should march with the army of fortune of the sublime dynasty to Jaunpur and chastise the Afghans, who still carried in their brains the vapours of sedition, and make a place for himself there his former good service would be approved of and his present follies would be passed over and he would receive help and support" An order was issued that the victorious troops should proceed to their fiefs and make their preparations and assist 'Ali Quli Khān Should that ill fated and intoxicated man not recognise the amount of favour that was shown to him, then to punish him and to put him down would be regarded as the ground-work of the administration of the world, and the ornament of the worship of the Creator. On account of these considerations Qiyā Khān Gung, Sultān Husain Khān Jalāir, Muhammad Khān Jalāir, Shāham Khān Jalāir, Hāji Muhammad Khān Sistāni, Calma Khān, Kamāl Khān Ghakkar, and a number of other loyal heroes were despatched And a firman was issued that he ('Ali Quli) should make over Lucknow to the royal servants and proceed to Court 'Abdullah Khān Uzbek, who had charge of Kālpi, was exalted by a royal command and directed to take part in this enterprise and to act with loyalty As the veil over 'Ali Quli Khān was not yet fully rent, and some days were wanting until the veil should be removed he on hearing the command, made over Lucknow and its territories to the Jalāirs and other officers, and girded the girdle of courage on himself for the conquest of Jaunpur Ibrāhim[1], who has already been mentioned, had at the time when Mubāraz Khān was killed, and Himu disappeared, made the convulsive movements of a slaughtered animal and was now in Jaunpur 'Ali Quli took from him Jaunpur without a battle,[2] and a wide tract of country came into his possession by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh He displayed

[1] This is Ibrāhim Sūr 'Ali Quli's victories are described by Badayūni Lowe 18 See also for details about Ibrāhim Ranking 548 and 554 He was put to death in 973 A H (1567)

[2] bejang but perhaps it should be ba jang see Elliot V 259 and Badāyūni Lowe 18 Badāūni represents the Afghān Sultān Bahādur as his opponent

(The story of Aram Jan is this) She was a prostitute, and 'Ali Quli khān, from love to her, which had its sources in lust, surrendered his futile bear to that street-walker, who was the embraced of thousands and married her. He put her in the rank of his wives, and had the shamelessness to bring that slut to the drinking bouts which he had with Shāham Beg in order that she might recite and sing, and become the groundwork of strife At last Shāham Beg by degrees fell in love with her, or rather came to lust after her, and as 'Ali Quli Khān was overcome by sensuality, he acted as Shāham's servant, and made his lands into three portions, keeping one for him self, and giving two to that clown's son, and waiting upon him One night that intoxicated wretch brought forward his wishes, and 'Ali
14 Quli Khān was so wanting in self-respect as to make over to him his own wedded wife. Shāham Beg for a time enjoyed his lust, and then when his heart grew cold he in his folly made over that wanton whom he had adulterously carried off, to 'Abdu r-rahman Beg in the same way that he had received her. Abdu r rahman made her his wife, and kept her secluded When Shāham Beg was his guest, he remembered in drunkenness and infatuation that Ārām Jān and showed restlessness (be arami) Judging of 'Abdu r rahmān as of 'Ali Quli Khān he expected that Ārām Jān would be returned to him 'Abdu r rahmān Beg had self respect and refused to do this Shāham Beg who was inflamed with wine, and was habituated to insolence and depotism, got angry He at once forgot the claims of friendship. Such is the degree of stability of a connexion founded upon lust !

In fine, Shāham Beg proceeded to violence and bound 'Abdu r rahman Beg took the prostitute away from his house to a neighbouring garden and there celebrated a singing and drinking party. Meanwhile Mūyid Beg, the brother of Abdu r-rahmān Beg, heard of this, and having armed himself went to the door of the garden where that low wretch was The men tried to stop him and a fight took place. Suddenly, in the confusion, an arrow reached that miscreant and the bird of his soul was released from the narrow cage of his body 'Abdu r rahmān obtained deliverance from his bonds, and turning to flee he with all haste betook himself to the world protecting Court There he put[1] up to sale this proper action

farokht dad This is followed by the words ba hangam-i-qadr which, I think, means for the same price and is intended to carry on the meta

which in his case was but the result of[1] an accident, as the preamble of good service and having attained the same price as if he had been the cause of the occurrence, he was made the recipient of favours and was ranked and welcomed among his peers[2]

When 'Alī Qulī Khān heard of the occurrence he rent the collar of patience and cast the dust of sorrow upon his head. He pursued Abdu-r-rahman Beg and came as far as the Ganges. When it appeared that he had already crossed, he returned in despair, and conveyed the carcase of that camel driver's son to Jaunpur, and burried it on the edge of a tank and erected a lofty building over it. Thus without the efforts of the loyalists all this disturbance subsided Assuredly, whoever rebels against one who has been made great by God, and a ruler whom the inhabitants of the visible and invisible world hasten to obey strikes with his own hand the dagger of death into his botom, and his own action as sufficient for his suppression so that the occurrence may be the groundwork of increased awaken- 85
ing 85 of the enlightened and fortunate. Such instances are to be found in the career of the Khedive of the world, and a few of them will be mentioned in their proper places

One of the happy occurrences of this year was the arranging of the marriage of Adham Khān. The succinct account of this is that the favour of the Shāhinshāh which was bestowed on the cupola of chastity, Maham Anagar and her children, directed itself towards the marriage of Adham Khān, who was Maham Anaga's younger son, and after inquiry and consideration the daughter of Bāqī[3] Khan of Baqlan[4] who for a long time was M. Hindal's secretary (parwānīc) was betrothed to Inm. In a short time preparations for a feast were made and the marriage took place. The lofty disposition of the Shāhinshāh made this feast the occasion of thousand favours.

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phor The "properation is the kill ng of Sl aham,

1 Kaif mattifaq azubawhair amid

2 The story of Shaham Beg and Arām Jān is told at length by Badaoni Lowe 13 et seq but the chronogram at p 17 gives a wrong date I am decidedly of opinion, however that sehthree in Ba annis p 24 l 10, is a mistake for s tta sir, and that sāqat which properly means muti lated should be translated 'salved " AND Not substracted This would give 966 the pr q er date

3 He is mentioned in A N.T. 201, as Baqi Muhammad

4 The text has Baqalati, but the variant Baqlan is clearl right It is a division of Balkh and lies 8 E of it and S Qun lux It is mentioned in A N 1 283 and 286

CHAPTER XXI

THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE NĀṢIR UL MULK PĪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN BY BAIRĀM KHĀN

As the world caravanserai is a source of warning to the far-sighted spectator, whatever appears in it has thousands of designs and equities in deposit and is an expression of Divine power It behoves the seer to see this In the hall of justice of the True Judge which is in the market-place full of noise and evil (the world) no good fortune is destroyed and no one is brought from the heaven of honour to the earth of ignominy so long as he does not abandon rectitude and take the road of wrong Accordingly, at this time, when the capre of Bairām Khān's fortune was nearly full, there came a rift into his disposition, so that by the agency of short-sighted strifemongers and ill-fated envious ones who are displeased with destiny and at war with God, and who from meanness of understanding are grieved at others' joy, and rejoiced at others' grief and trouble, Bairām Khān's heart became alienated from Mulla Pīr Muḥammad The latter in the abundance of his loyalty and sincerity continued in his devotion and disposed of matters political and financial. He relied upon his rectitude and probity, and did his work without a wrinkle on the brow of his heart, or a knot in the eye-brow of his soul. As such a person is inevitably the mark of high and low, and is surrounded by crowds, this makes the hearts of the incompetent bleed with envy, and from their evil imaginations indulge in calumny and slander, while the minds of the great on account of press of business, and want of leisure for investigation, become confused by the buzzing of such fly-like creatures Pīr Muḥammad Khān was also the asylum and refuge of mankind, and enviers by profession felt their blood boil and girded themselves up to be tale-bearers and stirrers-up of strife Bairām Khān's day was near its close, and he let fall from his hand the thread of deliberation, which is fitted to be the
86 comptroller of men, and put himself into the hands of the envious, and grew suspicious of Pīr Muhammad's lofty actions Without the

latter's having done anything which merited dismissal, he, at the instigation of enviers by profession, and on the statements of untrue and interested persons flung off an honest man who had put his trust in him

II Just at this time there was the incident of the Nasir ul mulk's falling ill for some days, and of the Khan Khānan's paying him a visit The Turkish slave, who was the doorkeeper, ignorantly said "I ll announce (your arrival) The Khan Khanan was put out by this treatment, and when Mulla Pir Muhammad knew of it he came out and made a thousand apologies) At the same time only a few of the Khan Khanan's suite were allowed to enter with him The frown which for some time had been behind his brow came out, and he med tated something against the Nasir ul mulk The envious waiters upon events got their opportunity and made remarks, especially Shaikh Gadāī After two or three days Khwaja Amīnu d din Mahmūd, Mīr Abdulla Bakhshi, Khwaja Muhammad Hussain Bakhshi and some servants were sent to Nasirul mulk with the message 'You were wearing the dress of a poor scholar when you came to Qandahar As you appeared simple and honest, and did good service you were raised to h gh office by me, and from being a Mulla you became a leader of armies As your capacity was small you easily became intoxicated and got out of hand after one cup We fear lest some great mis chiefs may be committed by you which it will be difficult to remedy It is better that for some time you should draw in your feet under the blanket of disappointment, and sit down in a corner You will now make over your standard drum and other insignia of distinction and of your exaltation and betake yourself to the amending of your disposition for this is good both for yourself and for the world Thereafter whatever we shall determine with regard to you, will be carried out

As soon as Pir Muhammad Khan heard this message he, being a man of independent mind, made over with an open brow the paraphernalia of office, and with a blithe heart accepted retirement Some days afterwards Bairām Khan at the instigation of some evil disposed persons resolved upon imprisoning him in a fortress With this idea he sent the Mulla along with a number of men to Biana There at the intercession of men who held a medium between well wishing and enmity, he got permission to go to the Hijaz and set off

for Gujrāt. When he came to Rādhanpūr[1] Fath Khān Balūc watched over him for a time, and strove to do him honour. At that time letters came from M. Sharafu-dīn Ḥusain and Adham Khan bidding
87 him stay at whatever place he had reached, and to await events. He returned from there and took up his abode at the valley of Jhain[1] near Rantambhūr, and fortified that defile When Bairām Khān heard of this he sent Shāh Quli Maḥram, Kharam Khān and a body of troops to seize him. When this force approached, there was an engagement When night came on, Pir Muhammad Khān evacuated the place and went off with a small following. His goods fell into the hands of those who had been sent on the expedition.

In short Bairam Khan, on account of his own carelessness and the instigation of envious, short-sighted men put aside this honest and able servant, and with his own hand struck with a hatchet the foot of his fortune. As H M the Shāhinshah had made over the whole business of sovereignty to Bairam Khan and was remaining behind a veil and testing the characters of men, he left to God the retribution of this evil deed which had its origin in wicked designs, and in the plenitude of his wisdom said nothing openly, and merely watched the spectacle of the world. Bairām Khan appointed, as *vakil* in succession to Pīr Muhammad Khān, Ḥājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī, who was an old servant of his But though Ḥājī Muhammad was the nominal holder of the office, the real Vakil was Shaikh Gadāī who was the Ṣadr.[2] In all political and financial matters Bairām Khān did nothing without consulting him, and the latter being unhinged by the man-throwing wine of the world did not consider the poor and weak. Arrogance, which casts down old fortunes, what then must happen to newly-made ones?—was assumed by him and was the cause of his own fall and of that of his patron The effects of this were soon seen, as will be related in its place.

One of the events of this year was the sending Ḥabīb 'Alī Khān to conquer Rantambhūr, which was a fortress famous for its height and

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[1] In Gujrāt, Fath Khān was in the service of the king of Gujrāt. See Bayley's Gujrat pp 16 and 439
[1] Jarret II, 275 It is in Jaipūr, Rājputāna

[2] Badāūnī, Lowe 25, gives a different account of this affair, and he calls Jājhār Sangrām Niẓāmu-d-dīn calls him Hājī Elliot V., 260

solidity. In the time of the Afghan supremacy Salim Khān had trusted this fort to his slave Jajhar Khān When the drum of the Shāhinshāh's fortune beat high this ill fated slave saw that the main tenance of the fort was beyond his power and with the evil intention of preventing its falling into the hands of the imperial servants, sold the fort to Rai Surjan,) who was a servant of Rana Udai Singh and who was powerful in that neighbourhood Surjan built houses in the fort, and established himself there He also forcibly seized the villages round about At this time the sacred mind turned its attention to the capture of the fort and despatch Hab b 'Ali Khan ii 88
and other leaders The force girded the loins of resolution for the capture, and besieged the fort The flame of battle rose high, and the courage of the foe became like water, but as the Almighty reserved the taking of the fort for the supervision of H M there happened just at this time the disruption of Bairām Khan, and prudentmen thought other matters more necessary and so did not proceed with the siege)

Among the occurrences of this time is the Shāhinshah's, the dweller under the veil, going to Gwaliar As the lofty genius of H M the Shahinshah is innately devoted to the capture of kingdoms and the chase of hearts, he, during this interval of his career, was much inclined to hunting with the cita He made that the veil of his world adorning beauty At this time he directed his progress southwards for the sake of hunting and glorified the territory of Gwaliar by his presence While he was hunting, some deer keepers (āhubānān) and other huntsmen represented that the merchants accompanying Shaikh Muhammad, who was one of the famous Shaikhs of India, had brought bullocks[1] from Gujrat which were unequalled and fit for the royal hunting equipage. Accordingly an order was issued to bring the bullocks after paying the merchants the price which was agreeable to them Thereupon it was represented to H M that Shaikh Muhammad and his relatives had better cattle than these, and that if he would pass by his location his way back the Shaikh would certainly for the sake of his own glorification present him with them Accordingly, with the ostensible object of procuring these animals, but in reality in order to test the Shaikh's urbanity, he went to his abode The Shaikh made the dust of the

1 The cattle of Gujrat were and are famous See Blochmann, 149

royal party the eye-salve of his glory and recognised in H.M.'s advent a protection[1] against Bairām Khān's oppression, and presented all the cattle which belonged to his people, together with other gifts and curiosities of Gujrāt He also tendered various sweet-meats and perfumes At the end of the interview he asked H M the Shāhinshāh if he had become the disciple of anyone (lit given the hand of fealty) H M who had placed the hand of trust in God's hand and was a treasury of the treasuries of spiritual and temporal truths, and sought to conceal his status and spiritual rank, had withheld the hand of his genius from the empty handed, and was a spectator of the varied spectacle of the universe formally replied in the negative) The Shaikh put out his arm, and laid hold of the sacred hand of that divinely nurtured one, and said, "We have taken your hand" H M the Shāhinshah in the abundance of his courteousness and modesty took no notice,[2] but smiled and departed H M the Shāhinshāh often used to relate in his high assemblages that, "On that same night we returned to our tents and had a wine party and enjoyed ourselves, and laughed over the way to catch bullocks and the Shaikh's dodge of stretching out his arm"

Verse

89 Under their variegated robes they have nooses,
See the long arms of those short-sleeved[3] ones

Good God! What was the rank of this boastful simpleton, and what was the degree of the just appreciation, urbanity and gentleness of H M the Shahinshah! For although it was reported universally to H M that this Shaikh in general conversation instead of feeling remorse for his misbehav our gloried in it, he took no notice and did not try to correct him! This Shaikh was the younger brother of Shaikh Bahlul who has already been mentioned as having been put to death by

[1] The interview apparently took place after the Shaikh's return from Agra and his having been coldly treated by Bairām

[2] Short sleeves are a mark of asceticism. See Defremery's Gulistan, Paris 1158 p 337 note

[3] *chīz babahai ān nadāda*, lit gave nothing as the price thereof, but I think it is a phrase, meaning that Akbar ignored the Shaikh's pre sumption, see Vullers I 608a, where baclze nagiriftan is rendered nihili facere I cannot think that it means, as the Lucknow edition says that Akbar gave nothing in return for the cattle

Of the occurrences of this year there was the sending of Bahādur Khān, the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, with a large army for the conquest of Mālwa Let it not be concealed that Mālwa, which is a country with a good climate, with many springs and full of cultivation was governed by Shujā'at Khān, who is generally known by the people of India as Sujāwal Khān After him, his son Bāz Bahādur possessed the country During the tyranny of Salīm Khān, Sujāwal Khān once visited his court After some time he got suspi-
90 cious and went off to Mālwa without taking leave Salīm Khān went there with a large army in order to seize Sujāwal Khān, who took refuge with the Rajah of Dongarpūr Salīm Khān sent men from Mālwa to reassure him, and by dint of promises got him to come to him He then made over the whole Sirkār of Mālwa to men whom he trusted and gave them fiefs, and taking Sujāwal Khān along with him gave him some parganas out of the province After that when Muhammad Khān Adlī came to power he restored Mālwa to Sujāwal Khān, and he remained governor thereof till the end of his life After that his son Bāz Bahādur became governor in his room At this time when the world conquering mind was engaged in knitting together the dispersions of the world, H M turned his attention to the administration of Mālwa. He determined in his mind that if Bāz Bahādur behaved properly he should have the honour of coming to court which was the elixir for obtaining desires, otherwise it would be right to rescue such a fine country from unjust sensualists With these thoughts Bahādur Khān was sent with a number of distinguished officers in order that the auspicious design might be realised, and that the sympathy for and relief of the oppressed, which appertain to sovereignty, might be carried into effect Bahādur Khān went off to conquer the province, but when the army was encamped at Sīrī,[1] the confusion of Bairam Khān's affairs, of which details will be given, became known, and the latter for his own sake sent and recalled Bahādur Khān and his army The conquest of the province therefore remained over till another time, as will be related in its proper place.

[1] Sīrī now Shāhpur is in old Delhi and was founded by 'Alāū d dīn See Harcourt's Guide p 3 But the text is certainly wrong Sīrī is hardly a town and Delhi lay quite out of the way from Agra to Mālwah The variant Seopurī is probably right, that being a town in Gwāliār, I G and Jarrett II, 190 Or it may be Seorha in Bandalkand. Some MSS have Sīprī

CHAPTER XXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 5TH YEAR ILĀHĪ FROM THE SACRED ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, *viz.*, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FIRST CYCLE

Again the heart-expanding spring came with a thousand adornments of the world, and the fifth year Ilāhī, from the auspicious accession of the Shahinshah, which is the year Amardad, began with glory and splendour. In the night known[1] as Monday, after four hours and nine minutes, on 13 Jumāda-al akhiri 967, 12th March 1560, the world-warming sun cast its rays on the sign of Aries and reported to the feeders at the table of the elements the arrival of the new year. The flowers of fortune bloomed anew and from every leaf there came out afresh before the eyes of the gazers on the garden of sovereignty the diploma of dominion The market day of abundance was born for the new-comers to the garden of youth, and the apathetic melancholy of those in the valley of frenzy (of love) was stirred up to activity.

Verse

The earth was of flowers and the grass-plot of rose-bushes, 91
The rose's lamp was brightened by the breeze,
The violet twisted[2] her curl
And made a knot in the heart of the bud
The rose and tulip oped their luminous veils
Regarding from afar the eye of the narcissus,
At the voice of the francolin and the dance of the pheasant
The cypress grew nimble and rose to his feet
The carpet of flowers was spread on the garden
Lovers came out into the fields

[1] *ūrfī* I do not feel sure of what is meant by this word here But A. F probably means that the day is called Monday in common parlance Cf. the use of *bīrū yat* in p 3 of text, 6 lines from foot

[2] *Sir i salfrā khams zada* This may also mean gave a sidelong or downward glance or gesture But I think it has here the literal meaning of twisting and is connected with the tying of a knot in the next line

CHAPTER XXIII.

HUNTING-EXPEDITION OF H.M THE SHĀHINSHĀH AND THE REMOVAL OF THE VEIL FROM THE ACTIONS OF BAIRĀM KHĀN

In this fortunate year, which was the ornamental border of beauty and the beginning of the removal of the screen over this aggregate of the works of the embroiderers for eternity, the garden of Reason came into flower, and the bud of contrivance opened For the expectant world this year was the beginning of the attainment of desires This day gave the revolving sky the good news of the results of its motion and enabled it to obtain repose *It was the commencement of the locating of their aspirations in the bosom of the celestials For* terrestrials the flower of success came forth from the lap of hope and took root Among these things was the circumstance that Bairām Khān, who regarded himself as the unique of the age in regard to courage, administrative abilities, devotion and sincerity, and who in consequence of a crowd of flatterers had got the belief that the affairs of India could not be managed without him, took, from the bad advice of shortsighted associates, the path of destruction, and did shameful deeds such as should not have come from him

It is an old rule that when the wonder working Creator for reasons known to Him, or for considerations which may be partially followed by a sage, casts anyone into enduring affliction, He begins by making him the source of certain acts which do not bear the cachet of well pleasingness to God Accordingly, a man who in this material world makes himself illustrious does not regard Prudence, which is the greatest of Divine gifts, as of no account, but recognises *in the following of it the means of pleasing God And the first thing* which it behoves men immersed in business to look to, is that they give little access to flatterers It is difficult on account of the constitution of the world to be clear of them altogether, it is indispensable that they after using circumspection and insight select one or two servants and intimates who may in privacy tell them the truth, which

may be very bitter, and is indigestible by most dispositions. The numbers of flatterers are unlimited, and busy men have not the courage to distinguish truth from falsehood and right from wrong. The wine of success robs the senses, and out of a hundred thousand successful men perhaps there may be one who from largeness of capacity preserves his mental stability. For instance, this great gift and perpetual table is the fortune of the Divinely nourished Khedive of our age, so that in proportion as his success and world-conquest increase, the degree of his perspicacity becomes greater, and his progress steadier. And though flatterers in this sublime court attain their desires, yet the wise prince holds firmly the thread of discrimination and prudently gives them the go-bye, so that neither is the veil of the reputation of these men rent nor has the flatterer any influence. Do you not know that in former times flatterers have, owing to the insouciance of rulers, ruined houses and families, and what other evils they have done? Doubtless it is in accordance with eternal decrees that there should be flatterers in the workshop of governments, but so also is it that there should be foreseeing wisdom. And this consists in not letting them interfere with root-questions, and not letting go altogether the Reason which unravels difficulties and is the Sulṭān of the material world.

Verse.

There's both road and well, an eye to see, and the sun,
So that man may look in front of his feet,
He has so many lights and yet goes the wrong road!
Let him fall and see his own punishment
Enemies do not work to one another the ill
That folly and passion do to oneself.

Of the improper acts which were done by Bāirām Khān in consequence of bad company there was the putting to death of the Shāhinshāh's own elephant-driver The succinct account of this warning-giving occurrence is as follows: The royal elephant became *mast* and beyond the control of the driver and attacked one of Bairām Khān's elephants. It struck the other elephant so severely that the entrails came out. Bairām Khān was so enraged that he put the driver to death. By such an act as this, which was beyond all bounds, and transgressed both loyalty and respect, he made himself an object

of intrust to men of experience More strange still was what happened then one day one of the Shahinshah's private elephants got *mast* and rushed into the Jamna Bairām Khan was taking the air in a boat, and the elephant, which had got out of hand, proceeded towards his boat The Khan Khanān was much alarmed, but at last the driver contrived to master the elephant and Bairam Khan was saved from the animal's attack When this affair was reported to H M the Shahinshah he, in order to soothe Bairam Kh n had the driver bound and sent to him, though he was innocent The Khan, the time of whose fall was near at hand put him to death and paid no heed to the fact that this driver belonged to the altar of his loyalty and allegiance, and that H M had out of pol teness sent him bound to him Apart from this he did not consider that nothing could be done with intoxication, especially whe i it was a brute that was intoxicated, and that too an enormous beast which was specially apt to become *mast* H M the Shāhinshah, who was a mine of gentleness and wisdom passed over such improper actions as this of which only a few out of many have been described, and abode under the veil of indifference All his genius was turned to this consideration, that those men might take the reins of justice into their hands even if they could not advance some steps on the road of l yalty, and might become travellers on the way of practical wisdom This faction became intoxicated by power, and being unhelped by sound ideas, it daily became worse But so long as the wickedness of those oppressors did not exceed all bounds, H M's sacred soul was not affected by the mean nature of his allowances, for the kingdom of the Lord of the Age was withheld from him and distributed among his (Bairam Khān's) flatterers, and as H M. Jahānbāni Jinnat, Āshiyāni had given Bairām Khan the name of Atālıq, and as H M (Akbar) often called him Khan Bābā, as it is the custom of young monarchs to call old men Bābā (father), he magnanimously observed the meaning of the phrase and overlooked his improper acts He was eager about travelling and hunting, and kept the head of surrender on the ground of well pleasing (to God), and worshipped the incomparable Deity, until, at last, things came beyond bounds, on account of ill fated, maladroit flatterers such as Wali Beg Zū al-qadr[1] and Shaikh Gadāi Kambū He (Bairam) took ruinous

[1] Blochmann 329 He was married to Bairām s sister

ideas into his head, and his crude thoughts ripened When the enlightened mind of H M the Shāhinshāh was aware of the frauds of this ungrateful crew he, before they disclosed their evil intentions, laid his closely hidden secret before the sincere, and united, such as Maham Anaga who was a marvel for sense, resource and loyalty Adham Khān, M Sharafu d-din Husain, and a number of other courtiers, and intimated that he would throw off some of the veils of his world-adorning beauty and would assume sovereignty, and would inflict suitable punishment on Bairam Khān and his assemblage of flatterers, so that they should awake from their sleep of neglect and long mourn over their misconduct. Good God! How could such thoughts enter a human head fore face of the supremacy of Bairām Khān, the largeness of his army and the tyranny of the lords of opposition! But as the world adorning Deity was desirous that this chosen one should throw off one or two of the hundreds and thousands of the veils of his beauty, and should put another veil over his world illuminating countenance, and that he should take his seat on the throne of command, it was inevitable that at such a time thoughts and inspirations such as these should find their way into his truth-worshipping mind On one occasion these considerations were adduced at Biana, whither he had gone for hunting, and the servants of fortune's threshold, partly on account of vexation at the life they led, for these 94
servants of the king were on account of the tyranny of the Bairam Khan confederacy in indigent circumstances just as the king of the Age was, and partly from the glory of a little loyalty, and at this time of the typhoon and simum of disloyalty, a little loyalty made a great show, engaged in proper schemes Maham Anaga communicated this close secret to Shihābu d-din Ahmad Khān, who was governor of Delhi, and a favourite on account of his judgment, loyalty and truthfulness On 8 Farwardin, Divine month, corresponding to Mo idsd 20th Jumāda-al akhiri 967 (19th March 1560) he left Agra with an intention which involved in it the administration of the world, and was a cause of peace and tranquillity Ostensibly he went to hunt a Kūl (Aligharh) and its vicinity, and so crossed the Jumna. As he had no residence he spent that night in the house of Hakim Zanbil[1] As

[1] Blochmann 442. In the Pādshāh nāma, Bib Ind. ed. I, 347, there is an account of his nephew Hakim Ṣadr From this we learn that H. Zambil or

Bairam Khān always showed adherence and attention to Abul Qāsim the son of M Kāmran and as the evil thoughts of the faction always put him forward, he, in accordance with the dictates of reason, sent for him from that side of the Jumna and took him with him on this hunting party in which the game of his design fell into his hands, so that he might not be the staff of the inwardly blind ones of the stage of enmity and rebellion, or a voucher for the wayfarers in the desert of sedition Certainly the idea was a good one, and it was carried out in accordance with H M's inspiration Next morning he arrived, under the guidance of fortune at the town of Jalesar [1] and from there he went to Sikandra [2] Muhammed Baqi Baqlani father in law of Ad ham Khan was there Maham Anaga had for for him and confided the secret to him That low minded, inauspicious one sought exclusion *from the bliss of meeting (Akbar), and not being content with this he* sent news of the scheme to Bairam Khan, but as the time of the expiry *of Bairam Khān's sway was near at hand, and the rulers of the Shahinshāh's* fortune had planned this divine contrivance, Bairam Khān *regarded the report as old, idle tales and paid no heed to it* The sublime standards proceeded from there, hunting as they went, to wards Kul, and as His Highness *Miriām Mahani was in Delhi* and as in somewhat weak health, he made this his motive and went there He came to the town of Khurjah[3] - d *alighted at the Serai of Bahan* kil (?) At this stage Sjihabu d din Ahmad Khān and his brothers and other relatives met him and had the *bliss of welcoming him*

They were made the objects of royal fa our From there he proceeded *to Delhi* and in a *fortunate hour on 16 Farwardin*, Divine
85 month, corresponding to Tuesday, 28th Jumada al akhiri, 27th March 1560, that city received celestial *glory by his advent* Mankind

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Zambil Beg came from Wilayat (Per sia) in the beginning of Akbar's reign and that he was descended from Hānith who was a friend of Muham mad See D Herbelot Bāyazīd Mem 74a mentions Hakīm Zambal in his list of the officers who accompan ied Humāyūn to India

[1] Formerly in the Agra district Jarrett II 183 now in Etah

[2] Sikandra Rao in Aligarh Jarret II 185 and 1G Probably it is to *this expedition that the story belongs* which Akbar told A F Jarrett III 397

[3] Formerly in Aligarh Jarret II 186 now in Bulandshahr 30 miles N Aligarh

obtained their desires and raised shouts of joy to the skies H M became by his God given wisdom the guide of the sincere, and employed them in proper occupations He issued orders to the special retainers of the threshold of fortune, and to the old members of the family, to the effect that as Bairam Khān owing to the pressure of wordly affairs had deviated from the straight path he had disregarded him and come to Delhi Whoever was loyal to H M or was intelligent and wished for his own safety, and desired to attain his desires should on receiving these commands proceed to the Court—the protection of mankind—for everyone would be exalted to high office This was the commencement of the emergence of his (our) dominion conjoined with eternity Fortunate was he who should unite himself to this daily increasing supremacy! Among these orders was one sent to Shamsu d-din Muhammad Khan Atka who was in Bhera[1] directing him on becoming acquainted with the *firman* to come to Lahore and to make over *that city to* Mir *Muhammad Khan Kalān*,[2] and to come himself rapidly to Court He was also to bring Mahdi Qasim Khān for this was the way to fortune Shamsu d din under the guidance of perfect fidelity acted according to the command and hastened to render service Similarly orders were sent to Kabul The imperial servants on every side donned the garb of pilgrimage towards this K'aaba of fortune

When Shamsu d din Muhammad Khan Atka entered upon service he was received with princely favours and the *rank* of his elevation exceeded the degrees of hope In conformity with his loyalty he attained to a lofty dignity which he had *not* even imagined The standard, drum and *tuman togh* of Bairam Khan were presented to him, and he was entrusted with the government of the Panjab Right-minded novices and devoted seniors, and experienced men came trooping in from all parts to the sublime *Court* Shihabu d din Ahmad Khān from motives of vigilance and precaution engaged in strengthening the fort of Delhi and in repairing the bastions and walls and took charge of *political* and financial affairs In a *short*

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[1] In the Shāhpūr district of the Panjab The town is on left bank of the Jhelam

[2] Blochmann 322 and Badāunī III 287 He was Shamsu-d dīn's elder brother and was a poet as well as a man of action He died in 983 1575 76. T Akbarī, 381

time the report of the alienaton of the sacred disposition from Bairām Khan was spread far and near There was a rift in his sway and men began to separate from him The first man to leave the Khān Khānān and to proceed to the throne and the forerunner on the path of recti tude was Qiy i Khān Gang He was an old and able officer After him men came, one by one and two by two to the sublime threshold
96 M l am Anaga was joined with Shihabu d din Ahmad Khan, and being entrusted with the *vakalat* represented matters to H M Everyone who brought sincerity to the threshold was exalted by fitting offices and titles and fiefs

CHAPTER XXIV.

Awakening of Bairām Khān from the sleep of neglect, and his seeking to rectify his affairs, and his going astray

From the auspicious time when the sublime standards were upraised in Agra for the purpose of chasing fortune, until the glorious arrival at Delhi Bairām Khān, in spite of all his wisdom and discernment, was unaware that the throw of the dice had been the reverse of his wish and that the scheme of the world had taken another form, and was unconcernedly beating the drum of power In the complete intoxication of his pride it any report of this came to his ears, he did not believe it, and if an honest friend cast a ray of the truth into his mind, it had no effect, as the wind of arrogance was in his brain, until the time when the comforting mandates reached the officers, and the report of the alienation of the sacred mind was bruited abroad, far and near He became certain that the H M the Shāhinshāh's hunting was this time of another sort, and he perceived that he had been dismissed, and that H M was going to undertake the direction of the Sultanate He dropped the thread of counsel and became confused He inquired after M Abu l Qasim [1] Nothing but sorrow and regret came into his hands Of necessity he put his hand to deceit and sent Tarsun Muhammad Khan, Haji Muhammad Khān Sīstānī and Khwāja Aminu d din Mahmud, who on account of his good service had received from the Shahinshah's court the title of Khwāja Jahān, to the threshold of fortune and submitted a message of submission and supplication for various offences and of excuses in order that he might succeed by smoothness of tongue. He did not know that the Ruler of divulgation was concerned with this display of the Lord of the Age in order that he might emerge from the screen and show his beauty in the guise of administering the terrene and terrestrials, so that the expectants of heaven's court might witness the revelation of power and might arrange for increased exploration, and that

[1] That is he thought about setting up this prince and Kāmrān's son and Akbar's cousin

terrestrials might hope for spiritual and temporal bliss When such is the case what effect can fraud and deceit have or what fruit can they yield except material and spiritual loss?

In short, when the envoys arrived at court they heard the words of wisdom and became ashamed and downcast Accordingly they saw that their own welfare was outside of the reply, (i e, had nothing to do with the reply), and moreover they were not allowed to leave the court When Bairam learnt the state of affairs from their letters, and from the dispersal of his dependants he became astonished and the thread of counsel was snapped in his hand At one time he thought that the general stampede had not yet occurred, and that
97 he would quickly convey himself there, and put matters right Again, when he reflected, the consideration of the words, sincerity and devotion, which he had often taken on his lips, came to stop him, and the idea of going under the guise of loyalty did not fit, and moreover he had no stomach for such a proceeding (?) At last he decided to throw the scarf of loyalty on his shoulder, and to go weeping and wailing, and burning and melting, to the entrance porch[1] of the Court of honour.

When prudent intelligencers reported the true state of the case to the royal hearing, a number gave it as their opinion that whatever form Bairām Khān's coming might take, there was danger and deceit involved in it H M should go to Lahore before he arrived, and should not grant him an interview They were not prepared for open war, and what would be the use of an interview at this stage? If Bairām Khān should come to Lahore, H M should go to Kabul Another number were prepared for war, and did not think the departure of H M the Shahinshāh would be proper After much discussion, that tiger of the forest of dominion and fortune, and that lord of the material and spiritual universe put down the foot of determination and decided on war He sent Tarsun Muhammad Khān and Mir Habib Ullah to forbid Bairām Khān to come, and not to permit him to approach under the guise of friendship, for H M would not see him under such circumstances (When Bairām Khān found this road on which he had advanced, closed, he fell into a long meditation

For to go in fighting order was to act contrary to his repeated avowals Though Wali Beg and Shaikh Gadai, who were the ringleaders of disloyalty, exerted themselves in this direction, and held to the view that he should march quickly, and carry out his object before there should be a general rush, yet from the regard which he had for righteousness he could not decide upon levying war In reality too he was restrained by the "Stand back" (dur bash) emanating from the daily increasing fortune of H M the Shahinshah His arrogant mind too did not admit the idea that the administration of India could go on without him Consequently it seemed better that he should act hostility under the guise of friendship, so that the writing of eternal infamy should not be inscribed in his record He did not see the world adorning, intrinsic beauty of H M, nor was he aware of the guardian courtiers who were adorning the territories of India For these reasons he did not throw off the veil from his actions He saw from men's face that they were going, and so proceeded to give them leave to a part He had thoughts of a fine snare Sometimes it occurred to him that as he had sent Bahadur Khan to conquer Malwah and he had not yet arrived there, he would go with his followers and join Bahadur Khan, conquer that country and there take his repose and get leisure for his designs Sometimes he thought that he would leave Agra and join Ali Quli Khan by way of Sambal and come into the country of the Aghan and collect a force there Sometimes he spoke of a asceticism, and would say that a wish for abandonment and seclusion had seized him by the collar, in order 98
that he might spend the remainder of his life in holy places Now that H M was applying himself to the management of affairs, what better opportunity could he have for carrying into effect his long-cherished wish or for asking leave from the court? In this way perhaps all his desires would be fulfilled At last having determined upon this plan he turned back Bahadur Khan, who had gone towards Malwah and gave him leave to kiss the threshold of the sublime Court In giving men leave he took this into consideration, that if they were disposed to be loyal and of one opinion wi h himself, it was well that such men should be in the royal forces And if they wanted to separate from him, his giving them leave, apart from the fact that to have such men with him would not help his affairs, would be a means of his acquiring a good name, and of convincing all that he had

the intention of retirement. At last, after much talk and little intent, for he spoke of pilgrimage (haj) but inwardly he though of crookedness (haj) he began by sending Iskandar Afghan's son to Ghāzī Khān Tanūr, in order that he might go and stir up *strife in the imperial* territories He also sent secret letters to various quarters, and has*tened towards Alway in order that he might take his family* and proceed to the Panjab. If things did not turn out according to his plan, he would of necessity make preparations for a rule suitable to the time of contest.

when this evil design became known to H M. in as much as *disposition of this great one of the horizons is one of much kindness* and gentleness, he did not approve of the disgrace of Bairam Khān and sent him a firmān *full of kindness* and graciousness. In that wisdom increasing exhortation, an exact copy of which has seen by me, there were the following amon other expression.

"You having taken counsel with a *faction*, which has been the source of this trouble, and being without consideration of final *consequence, have at their instigation and misdirection came forth* and been the cause of putting the provinces in to disorder You have given Iskandar's son and Ghāzī K. *leave to depart so that they make disturbances* in the country And you have sent a letter to Mahdiqasim Khan along with his diwan Mubarak, taking him that you are coming to Lahore and bidding his guard the fort and to make it over to any one else. You have also sent a message to Tātār Khān Par, Bhīya and you have sent instruction in all directions for making commotions. You have also proceeded to Alwarwith the design of going from there to Lahore Though we are certain that as much as you are perfectly loyal, you never of your own record assented to any of these acts not were the author *of the*, and that a faction has been the cause of these errors and has brought loatters so far, yet you *yourself said that it was impossible that after forty year service* with all that loyalty and devotion and after receiving such honours and *favours of this glorious family* had been *famous throughout the*
99 earth for loyalty and fidelity, intot hat of a rebel, and not be ashamed before one's God

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1 Abdurrahmān son of Iskandar he Sikandar SO B 366 *Tanūr is* perhaps Tanwar that is strong bodied

As you are still dear to us, in spite of these troubles and improper and unseemly actions, and we wish your welfare, it appears to us right that, seeing that our meeting is in the knot of delay, and if we bestow on you a province in these territories, whither you may go designing[1] people will again say things to me which will cause us increased grief, you should adhere to the resolution of going to the sacred[2] places which you have intimated to us by a petition, and for which you have asked leave to depart And send persons to convey the presents for these places which you have left in Sihrind and Lahore After that, when you shall have, by the divine guidance and assistance, attained this blessing and have turned your face towards the pilgrimage of service, we shall under these circumstances grant you a favourable interview such as your heart may desire And we shall be mindful of your former services and show you more and more favour And as it is by the infamy of that gang that things have come to such a length, and that your good name has been made a bad one among the people, and as we do not wish that you should have a bad name, beware lest after you have set your foot on the road you turn aside from the right path at the words of designing men! And as by our prestige you have attained the height of earthly desires may you also by our directions become a partaker in final bliss"

Bairām Khān who from foolishness and deficiency in practical wisdom had a boundless reliance on himself and who had been deceived by the sense-robbing wine of success and of flatterers, did not find the road in consequence of this noble missive which was worthy of being the bracelet-amulet of the wise, and the charmed necklace of the fortunate How shall I say that he went all the faster in the wrong path? Māham Anaga in her great loyalty and wisdom took charge of affairs and made Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān and Khwāja Jahān her tools, and exerted herself to soothe those who came, and to hearten every one

Among the occurrences was this, that Māham Anaga for the sake of the welfare of the kingdom and for the better-ordering of the superficial and inexperienced, devised the appointing of Bahadur

[1] This refers to Shaikh Gadāī. Walī Beg and others.

[2] Not necessarily Mecca. Bairām had prepared an exceedingly costly banner for Mashhad. Badayuni Lowe 95.

Khān, the brother of 'Alī Qulī Khān, to the lofty office of Vakīl, and made a reference to this effect to the seat of royalty H M paid regard to the necessity of the time and affected[1] to clothe him with this glorious robe which does rot suit every form Though professionally wise and experienced men who did not get to the bottom of the affair said much about this, and in appearance they were in the right, for perfect capacity, complete experience, great integrity, ample understanding and extreme diligence are required for this great post, and in addition to these qualities there is need of complete independence, so that the holder put aside his own loss or gain and engage with all his strength in furthering his master's work Should the putting to death of his own father be required for his benefactor's service he should not recede but exert himself to bring it about! And together with all this, wh ch constitutes a great gift, he should be at peace with all men For should the Vakīl of the Lord of the Age, whom the world-adorning Deity has brought out from among thousands of thousands of men, and has entrusted to him so many human beings, and has made over to him the education of so many different races and religious sects, not possess such notes (*nishan*), how shall the world be governed? And how shall opposing creeds, and diverse faiths, such as have sprung from the Divine wisdom, have repose? But in realit[y] the words of those men arose from ignorance, for this appointmen[t] was an imaginary (*must'aar*) one, and made for the satisfaction of th[e] superficial, and, apart from this, the intention was to put down com[-]motion, for all the foolish Turks, such as Q yā Khan Kang,[2] Sultān Husain Jalair, Muhammad Amin Diwāna were in league with him (Bahadur), and were attacking Shihābu d din Ahmad Khan, Khwāja Jahān, and such like men The world adorning mind exalted him to the office of Vakīl, in order to extinguish the flames of those malcontents Q yu Khān on account of his old good services

1 ārīyatī borrowed or factitious e g false hair

2 Bāyāzīd 75a describes Qīyā Beg Jīlai who seems to be this Qīya K as a relation of Māham Anaga Beg was a Turkish title, and th s and other indications point to Māham Anaga having been a Turk. She is often called Begī It is true that Shihābu-d dīn who was a Pers[i]an from Nishāpūr was also related to Māham Anaga but this was by marriage Bahādur was an Uzbe[g] and the Uzbegs regard themselves [as] Turks

was given Bahraich and dismissed thither. Sultan Husain Khān and a number of others were imprisoned for some days, and then released after punishment. Muhammad Amīn Dīwāna fled and became a vagabond. When the stone of separation fell among this evil crew Bahādur Khān was given the fief of Etawah and dismissed. And in those days, though Bahādūr Khān had the name of Vakīl, yet in reality the business was transacted by Māham Anaga. O ye worshippers of forms, what do you behold? For this noble work, wisdom and courage were necessary, and in truth Māham Anaga possessed these two qualities in perfection.

Verse

Many a woman treads manfully wisdom's path.



CHAPTER XXV

March of the Shāhinshāh's army of fortune from Delhi to put down the sedition of Bairām Khān and other dominion increasing events

When the world adorning Creator wills that the Khedive of the Age shall come forth from the veil of concealment and display his world decking beauty, assuredly He darkens the judgment and the fortune of the wise of the age who engage in opposition to such a great one Accordingly, the schemes of Bairam Khan and his crowd of wise men by profession came to nought In a helpless condition he came out from Agra, the capital, on the day of Amirin the 30th Farwardin, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 12 Rajab (8th April 1560), and proceeded towards Alwar When he came to the city of Biana he took off the chains of Shah Abu al M'aali and Muhammad Amin Diwana, who had been confined in the fort of Biana in order to suppress their sedition mongering, and set them at liberty Though he professed to tell them to resort to the sublime court, yet his object in releasing such experienced troublers was nothing but to give them the opportunity for sedition When the news of Bairam Khan's having left Agra reached the royal hearing and it appeared that his intention was to proceed in his evil course towards the Punjab, the universe adorning mind determined that the world traversing standards should advance from Delhi and establish themselves at Nagor, so that Bairam Khan might not be able to plant his foot in that region The road would thus be blocked if he in his vain imagination thought of entering the Punjab Accordingly on the day of Azar 9 Ardibihisht, Divine month corresponding to Friday 22 Rajab (18th April), the world conquering army marched from Delhi As the vigilance and caution of the Shahinshah were unwavering, he was not contented with giving such excellent admonitions as have been already described, but on the first stage out from that place he sent Mir Abdu l-latif of Qazwin

who was distinguished for knowledge and fidelity, that he might guide Bairām Khān by righteous exhortations The gist of his words was as follows "Your services and your fidelity to this great family are known to mankind As owing to our tender age, we gave our attention to promenading and hunting, we did not cast our glance on political and financial affairs, and all the business of sovereignty was entrusted by us to your excellent capacity and knowledge Now that we have applied our own mind to the affairs of government, and the administration of justice, it is right that this sage well wisher (Bairām), who ever boasted of his sincerity and devotion, should recognise a Divine gift in this truth, and offer up endless thanks for it. He should for a time gather up his skirts from business and turn his attention to the bliss of pilgrimage of which he was always desirous, and with regard to which he was constantly, in public and in private, expressing his great longing to obtain such a boon We shall grant him whatever place and whatever extent of land he may wish for in India, so that his servants may remit him the proceeds, harvest by harvest and year by year" On 13 Ardibihisht, Divine month of the above mentioned year (22nd April) corresponding to Tuesday 26 Rajab, the standards of glory were planted at the town of Jhajhar[1]

In the meanwhile Shāh Abū al-M'aāli, who was a repository of strife and sedition, arrived with his evil ideas at the sublime court, in order that, as he could not do anything outside, he might effect something under the disguise of service. But whoever cherishes evil thoughts against God's chosen one, is his own ill-wisher, and his affairs worsen daily In order to refresh my narrative I shall here give a short account of Abu al M'aāli from the time of his escape from Pahlwan Gulgaz kotwal's custody in Lahore already described till now

When Shah Abu al-M'aāli escaped from Lahore in the first 102
year of the Divine Era by his own craft, and the carelessness, or avarice and treachery of his custodians, he, by the contrivance[2] of

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[1] Jarrett II 286 and I G It is in the district of Rohtak

[2] Nizāmu d-dīn T A p 623 in his chapter on Kashmīr, says that Abu al M'aāli went off with his chains on his ankles on the shoulders of Yūsuf Ferishta adds that he s t tled matters with Kamāl Ghakkar,

Yūsuf Kashmīrī, who served him, conveyed himself to the country of the Ghakars. There he was imprisoned by the landowner Kamāl Khān. By his trickery he managed to escape and arrived at Naushahra, which is a town between Bhimbhar and Rājaurī.[1] The Kashmīrīs who had seceded from Ghāzī[2] Khān, the ruler of Kashmīr, came there, and about 300 Moghals, who are always opportunists and ingrates, joined them The Kashmīrīs also to the number of about 700 or 800 men joined him, and this filled Abū-al-M'aālī with pride and arrogance Shams-l mulk Cārdara, and Khwāja Hajī,[3] who had formerly been in the service of H. M. Jahānal bānī Jinnat-Ashiyānī came and infused spirit into them Daulāt Cak, the ruler of Kashmīr, who had been blinded[4] by Ghāzī Khān, assembled there along with a number of Kashmīr Sirdārs such as Fath Cak, Hasūbat and Musūbat, the nephews (brothers' sons) of Daulat Cak, Lohar[5] Zhīnkar, the sister's son of Daulat Cak, Yūsuf Cak, who also had been blinded by Ghāzī Khān, but without effect, owing to the contrivance of the Kashmīrīs, and Muhammad Khān Makrī, the father of 'Alī Sher, who is at present in service, they proceeded via Punc and Khāwara[6] by secret passes, called in the Kashmīrī language Ākūdeo,[7] and arrived at Bārahmula From there they hastened to Nūrpūr, and having passed it they fought a battle above the village of Pattan with Ghāzī Khān. As he (Abū al-M'aālī) had turned his back on the altar of fortune, he was defeated, and returned without having effected his object and in a wretched condition by the same route as he had set out, and came to India. He nearly fell into the hands of the

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and that he resolved in imitation of Haidar Mirza to conquer Kashmīr. The expedition was in 965 (1558).

[1] The ancient Rājapūrī See Stein Ancient Geography of Kashmīr, J.A S B for 1899 Extra No, p 123

[2] Both Nizāmu d din and Ferishta give details about this prince in their histories of Kashmīr They describe Abū-al M'aālī's expedition See T A 623, or Ferishta 361

[3] He was Haidar Mirza's Vakīl See T R, Ross and Elias, pp 460 482 and 490

[4] See T A., 622.

[5] These names are doubtful

[6] Probably the Khawarpāra of Jarrett II, 359, 369 Dr Stein kindly informs me that Khāwara is the small tract below Bāramūla on the left bank of the Jehlam, and that Pattan is Patan

[7] I do not know the meaning of this word

victorious standards had reached Jhajhar, when that headstrong and disrespectful one came in his folly and offered the *kornish*[1] from horseback. H M. ordered the mad man to be put in chains and to be made over to Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad Khān in order that he might be sent off to the Ḥijaz On this occasion, too, the spiritual and temporal Khedive, acting on the advice of old servants, and out of consideration of the times, ordered the release of such a sedition-monger. They should have released his futile soul from the prison of the bodily elements Alas, alas! that they should not[2] have freed that essentially and innately wicked one from the burden on his neck (his head). Because his evil soul long remained connected with his body, many wicked deeds of his came to pass He thus became still more the subject of eternal punishment. I now leave this subject and return to my task

It is not unknown to the wise and instructed that as Bairam Khān worsened so did fortune turn away her face from him. Though he ostensibly accepted the admonitions, in his heart he retrograded, and on the day when the imperial camp was established at Jhajhar, the Nāṣir-al mulk Pir Muhammad Khān Shirwāni arrived and made the dust of the threshold of fortune the collyrium of his lessoned eyes. The above mentioned had not yet reached Gujrat when he heard of the overthrow of Bairām Khan's fortune As he was a well-wisher of the Court he hastily came and did homage H.M distinguished him by royal favours and exalted him by the title of Khan and the communication of a standard, and a drum In consequence of his excellent character, which was innate in him, he was successful both temporally and spiritually.

1 Niẓāmu din and Badāūnī say that Abu l M aāli wanted to embrace (or salute) Akbar from on horse back. This is more likely than that he wanted to do kōrnish as A. F says This was hardly possible from horseback. The coming up to Akbar on horseback was a great liberty. At p 275 of vol I, last line, A. F tells us how Hindāl as a special favour was allowed to approach Humāyūn without dismounting The verb used by Niẓāmu-d-din and Badāūnī is *daryāftan* and Dowson and Lowe have rendered this overtake, I think it only means to salute or embrace In the same sentence in which Niẓāmu d din uses the word, he has already used the expression *malāzamat daryāft to describe* Husain Quli Beg's payment of respects

2 The text wrongly has *me* instead of the negative *nah*.

CHAPTER XXVI

RETURN OF THE ROYAL CAVALCADE FROM JAHJHAR AND THE SENDING OF TROOPS TO ARREST BAIRAM KHAN'S PROGRESS

As H M's mind was not at ease about Bairam Khan, proceeding, and it was not fitting that the Shahinshah in person should make the expedition, the world adorning mind resolved that Adham Khan *Sharaud d din* Hussain Mirza, Pir Muhammad Khan Majnun Khan and a large body should be sent to Nagor If it should appear that he did not intend to go to the Hijaz, but wanted to put H M off his guard by this report, and to proceed to the Panjab, which was a mine of resources, and there become a reservoir of disturbance, these brave men were to bind on the girdle of courage inflict punishment on him, otherwise they were to arrange for leaving the imperial domains Nagor and its territory were given to M Sharifu d-din Hussain. The officers proceeded in a proper fashion to perform this service Muhammad Sadiq Khan was sent to put down the sedition of Sikandar Khan's son and of Ghazi Khan Tanar, whom Bairam Khan had separated from himself, when he marched out, and who, in conjunction with Mattar Sen were making a disturbance in the province of Sambal He hastened there and chastised them The troops having been sent off, the imperial cavalcade set out on its return, and on 28th Ardibini, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 11th Sh'aban (3rd May) it arrived at Delhi. The gates of justice and benevolence were opened before mankind

Bairam Khan was in Sirkar Mewat when the news of the approach of the army was spread in his camp At once his flourishing circumstances declined, and men separated from him. Except Wali Beg and his two sons Hussain Quli Beg and Ismail Quli Beg who were related to him, and Shah Quli Khan Mahram, and Hussain Khan and some others, no one remained with him The soldiers separated from him in crowds and came to Court

When the fortunate army was coming in that direction, march by march, Bairam Khan became convinced that it was not possible

for him to remain longer. His heart turned away from power, and he sent a petition full of supplication and various kinds of excuses. He expressed his regret at separation, and begged leave to visit the holy shrines. He also sent some elephants, *tumāntogh*, a standard, a kettledrum and other insignia of office along with Ḥusain Qulī Beg, who afterwards received, by the Shāhinshāh's favour, the title of Khān Jahān, in the hope that by submissiveness he might be able to effect something. To the officers, who had been appointed to dispose of him, he
105 wrote "Why do you give yourselves trouble; my heart has grown cold to the world and the burden thereof. I have sent my insignia to Court." The officers were deceived and returned. Husain Qulī was admitted to do homage in Delhi, and it appeared perfectly clear to everyone that Bairām Khān had set off on pilgrimage. At the same time Shaikh Gadāi the intriguer returned to Court frustrated and lost. Though he was worthy of punishment he was treated with favour. Far-sighted courtiers kept their ears open for the report that perhaps there was some treachery and that such would raise its head again from some quarter, and that it would be difficult to amend it. Just then a report suddenly sprung up that he had turned away to the Panjab and the dust of commotion arose. The evil-minded waiter upon events were pleased for a time. O God, may such runagates never attain their objects!

CHAPTER XXVII

BAIRĀM KHĀN S REBELLION BECOMES MANIFEST HE FLINGS OFF THE MASK AND GOES TO THE PANJAB

On account of the coming of the victorious forces, the Khān-Khānān left the imperial territories and came to Bikanir Rai Kalyān Mal who was the chief of that country, and his son Rai Raī Singh, who is now one of the devoted servants of the Court and is ranked among the great officers, came and visited Bairām Khān He had no place to stay in, and now finding a pleasant residence he remained in that aggreable country He was looking for opportunity raising a disturbance As owing to the royal fortune every plan which he had put together turned away, it behoved him to traverse with blistered feet the stages of auspiciousness and to proceed to the holy places, and thus with a shamed face prostrate himself on the ground of ashamedness But as he was especially an open minded man he was deceived by some miscreants and became overpowered by sorrow and anger The kind of pride and arrogance increased in his head And he in concert with ill-fated, black thoughted ones went towards the Panjab (He withdrew his hand from every plan, and taking the evil of his face proclaimed himself a rebel To the officers on the borders he wrote that he had been going towards the Hijāz, but he had come to know that a faction had spoken words for the purpose of perverting the noble mind of Akbar and had made him a vagabond Especially Māham Anaga, who was a great authority, had wrought this, and was making it her business to ruin him At present his sole desire was to come and punish those evil-door, and to take leave once more and proceed on the blessed journey He wrote such whimsical things and summoned men, and sent Khwaja Muzaffar Ali, who obtained by the royal favour the title of Muzaffar Khan to Dervesh[1] Beg Uzbeg who was one of the great officers of the Panjab and had been educated by him, in order that he might 106

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1. Blochmann 402 Khafi Khān I 146 says he was related to khan Zaman

bring him by filling him with hopes. When the news of this came to the royal hearing, H.M. out of his great kindness sent a letter of advice to Bairām Khān in order that if he wished to be fortunate and happy he might accept these excellent admonitions and exert himself to obtain his own felicity. For the better instruction of the prudent both now and of the future I give a copy of this document.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Firmān of Jalālu-d-dīn u-ad-daniyā Akbar Pādshāh Ghāzī

Be it known to the Khān Khanan that whereas he has been nourished and cherished by this sublime family and his duties of good service to this Court have been ascertained, and as H.M. the king Jinnat Dastgah (Humāyun)—May God be bountiful to him! on account of the good qualities and sincerity which appeared in him, bestowed favours on him, and confided to him the great office of being our guardian (*ataliq*), and whereas, afte that king had departed from the defiles of this world to the wide spaces of the eternal world, he (Bairam) with loyalty and sincerity bound upon his waist the girdle of devotion and discharged the offices of prime minister (*vakil*), we, observing his alacrity in that service, and his seemingly good dispositions left to him the bridle of loosening and knotting to the utmost extent conceivable. Accordingly, whatever he wished, good or bad, was carried out and thus in these five years some improper acts of his came to light which disgusted everyone, such as his patronage of Shaikh Gadai[1] so that he made him Sadr, and in spite of the office's requiring consummate ability and knowledge, he, on account of his own private companionship and intimacy, chose him from among all the men who were fit for it by capacity and lineage. And in addition to making him Sadr and allowing him to endorse[2] decrees with his seal he exempted him from the ceremony of homage (*taslim*), and in spite of his utter ignorance and want of capacity, he gave him precedence in the paradisaical assemblies over all the Saiyids of noble

[1] See Lowe, 22 and 124, and Badaunī III. 760 and D. Akbari 770. For his father Jamal see Ranking 429 and 465. He had a brother Abdul who died in 959 A.H. Ranking 520.

[2] See about Sadrs Blochmann 270 and about their sealing *firmans* 262 last line. About seals, see 52 and 263.

rank and all the distinguished 'Ulama, to whom we paid reverence on account of their rank and qualities He thus showed in the clearest manner his contempt for the purest and holiest family, (that of Muḥammad) in spite of his boasting of his love and affection for that lineage He gave his protegé, who was rejected and despised by every one precedence over those who were divinely nurtured, and feeling no shame or reverence before the holy spirits of all our ancestors, he advanced him to such a rank that he appeared before us on horseback and took us by the hand To his own menial servants, whose conditions and qualities were well known, he gave the titles of Sultān and Khān, and presented them with flags kettle drums, rich fief and productive territories, whilst he with total want of consideration made the Khāns, the princes, the officers, and the trusted servant
07 of H M Jahānbani Jinnat Āshiyāni, whose rank, claims and qualifications are known to everyone, to be in want of even dry bread Nay, he aimed at the life and honour of all of them, and he took no thought for old servants and domestics, who had served for years in hopes (of reward) and had become entitled to kindness and favour and did not provide them with even the smallest offices which might have been a means of livelihood to them As for those who in hunts and expeditions had done service and had undergone thousands of labours and troubles he every now and then fabricated lies against them and thirsted for their blood He committed various immoderate and disproportioned acts If his own servants committed a hundred faults such as murder, theft, highway robbery, plundering, &c, and these were brought to his notice, he from partiality and hypocrisy took no notice of them, whereas if a small thing were done by the Court servants or were slanderously alleged against them, he had no hesitation of imprisoning them or in putting them to death or in plundering them He also practised various kinds of oppression and insults for purpose

1 Gadāī's father was a poet and of high position in Delhi but all the Kambūs were originally Hindus Elliot Supp Glossary I 304 and so were looked down upon by the Saiyids Besides Gadāī was a Shiah

2 See ante about Abū-al M aālī The Lucknow editor thinks that it was Bairām who had this honour by it rather seems to mean that S Gadāī got so high a post that he was entitled to salute from on horseback or from litter

3 Bābari but properly bāīrī Th word has nothing to do with Bābar

of espial, and some in their utter baseness had engaged themselves in his service, and uttered flatteries to him, such as Shāh Quli Naranji,[1] Muhammad[2] Tahir, and Lang Sārbān[3] He in his simplicity believed them to be truth speakers and patronised them, and supported them For instance, Shāh Quli behaved in an offensive manner and did not listen to orders and Muhammad Ṭahir gave such a rude answer that he deserved to have his tongue cut out or rather to be put to death He (Bairām) heard of this and did nothing. Lang Sarbān uttered before a number of people and in his presence such rude expressions that he too was deserving of condign punishment He himself knows what was the position and rank of Wali Beg among the Qizilbashes Without considering his service, his lineage or his position, and mainly on account of relationship, (*viz*, his being his (Bairām's) brother in law,)[4] he brought him and put him over the great officers, so that he even gave him precedence over Saiyid Quli[5] Mirza, who is distinguished for the height of his Saiyidship and for his connection with the sovereign He gave Husain Quli, who has not even fought with a chicken,[6] equal position with Iskandar Khan, Ābdullah Khan, and Bahadur Khan, and gave him cultivated fiefs, while he satisfied the great Khans with waste lands. At these times in many assemblages such deeds were performed by him as to distress and trouble our capacious soul As we wished to please him, and regarded him as a sincere well wisher of our family, and fully relied upon his words and actions we considered all these unseemly actions of his as his extreme loyalty and good will, and knowingly and intentionally passed them over with consummate

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[1] Blochmann 480

[2] Blochmann 424

[3] Lang seems to be a tribe It occurs several times in *Bayazid's* list

[4] *damad* A good illustration of the fact that *damad* in Persian does not always mean son in law Wali Beg had married Bairam's sister

[5] Not I think the M Quli of Blochmann's 385

[6] Cf Bābar 31 p 19 of Shīrāzī edition where Khasrū Shāh is described as not having the spirit to face a barn door chicken Apparently this is the officer who afterwards became so distinguished as Khān Jahān Blochmann, 329 The contemporaneous language used regarding him refers to his extreme youth He could not have been more than 17 or 18 when Bairam promoted him for Bayazid 71a speaks of him as being 10 or 11 in the end of 960

benevolence At last it was represented to us that he at the instigation of the same gang meditated rebellion, and the separating from us of the few who remained with us, and of reducing us to solitude In order to defeat this wickedness we went from Agra towards Delhi, and wrote to him that on account of various acts which had come to light, and of speeches which had been repeated to us we did
108 not hold that he could serve us at this time, and that though we had received many injuries from him, we still continued to regard him as the Khan Khanan, and to style him such, and in order to comfort him we took solemn oaths that we had no design against his life, property or honour But as we were ourselves giving our attention to affairs of government, it was considered that he should take his own position and submit what he judged proper, and that then we should according to our judgment pass orders thereon As we had on various occasions represented that the time had come when we should address ourselves to the duties of sovereignty, it was thought that on hearing of this good news he would be pleased, and that he would be firm and constant in obedience But it came to our knowledge that he had utterly forgotten the favour which had been shown to him while holding his office, and the claims of our glorious family from their favour and patronage of him during forty years, and from their support of him from his cradle, and had hearkened to the words of that rebellious crew They for their own selfish objects wished to enlist him among the rebels, and in this last stage of his life to exclude him from other-world joys and to involve him in eternal disgrace Accordingly, from perfect devilry, baseness and arrogance, they won him over and have carried him off the (right) road He has sent a message to the son of Iskandar to come forward in opposition, and has also sent men to Tatār Khān Panj Bhiya to invite him to come into the Dāmān i-koh and commit violence there and then come out He himself had thoughts of Lahore, thinking that there he might lay the foundation of strife, and come into opposition Into the imperial dominions he has introduced dissension and has endeavoured to extinguish by a cold breath the lamp of the dominion of this family which has been kindled by the eternal radiance, and kept alight by the hand of Divine power Seemingly the veil of pride and arrogance has blinded the eyes of his understanding, and that he does not know that

Verse [1]

> Who puffs a God-lighted lamp,
> Sets fire to his own beard

Since from considering all that sincerity and reliability which were clearly manifested in all his behaviour, it appeared and still appears that these actions originated in wicked men and were in reality far from himself, nor can it be believed that they are his own, for he has been nourished and cherished by this great family, and obedience to our orders is for him right and proper, we directed for the sake of demonstration that he should withdraw himself from these abominable proceedings, and that he should arrest and send to Court this lost and abandoned crew who have been the cause of the destruction of his fortune and honour, and who for their own objects support his rebellion and enmity. As|we, during these five years, have respected his wishes and have not shown any recusancy, and have not gone beyond his good pleasure in anything that he proposed, whether it was acceptable to us, or inacceptable, he likewise should at once submit to this our order, and not be vexed therewith Whenever he acts according to this order, we shall clear our heart with regard to him and entirely forgive his crimes and offences And when- 109
ever he is inclined to serve, and there is occasion for it, we shall summon him to our service, so that the veil over him may be removed And as his services are still appreciated and approved by us, though he has received a thousand favours equal to them, we desire that his name, which has for years been celebrated in all countries and cities for sincerity, devotion, obedience, and reliability, may not become notorious for rebellion, contumacy and sedition, and that it be not included in the list of the Qarāca Qara Bakhts (see *ante*) Accordingly we make known to him the duties of obedience Let him beware of cherishing other thoughts, and let him be assured that if out of ignorance and short-thoughtedness he leave the path, and if pride and arrogance ruin his brain and place him among the seceders,

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[1] This verse was quoted by Abū l makāram to Shaibānī in deprecation of his own folly See Ḥabību s-siyār, and Bābar, Erskine 125 and Vambéry's Hist. of Bokhara, who attributes the remark to Khwāja Yahīa from the mistaken notion that he is identical with Abū l Makāram.

we shall proceed against him with our victorious troops, and attended by dominion and prestige, with the determination to put him down, and by the Divine favour we shall abolish him from the earth There is hope that under these circumstances, when the fortune of our Caliphate is preluding, and his is beginning to retrograde, there will be a *great victory*, and *that he shall be overcome by the army* of fortune and put to shame and made a prisoner Let him not show his folly by thinking that he has bestowed so many favours on his own men during these five years, in order that they might be of use in time of need In his shortness of thought and ignorance he does not know that fortune is linked to the Divine favour Whenever that favour does not exist, an unfaithful servant does not succeed Accordingly, it is transparent that most of those who called themselves sons and brothers, and who, he thought, never would separate from him, have under the guidance of auspiciousness separated from him Those who have remained, are separating, one by one, and coming to Court Gradually they will leave him all alone Under these circumstances, nothing but submission and surrender will avail

Verse

The head must bend and the neck obey
For whatever a just prince does is right

FINIS

The Khān Khānān, whose decline was near at hand, or rather who was going headlong into the dark night of decline, did not receive instruction from these admonitory words which were capable of constituting an auspicious code Shall I say that they increased his disaffection? But he who knows, knows that he by his own endeavours hastened down the precipice of dishonour In short, he went on from the pargana of Bikānir towards the Panjab When he came near the fort of Tabarhinda,[1] which was

[1] In Sirhind See Badāūnī Rank ing 69 note 2 According to the Lubb-at Tawārīkh it is now known as Bithandah the Bhatandah of Jarrett II 295 It is evidently the Tiberhind of Rennell's map Tieffenthaler Vol III map of Hindustan No 2 and of the accompanying 1st or memoir, page 254 It has nothing to do with the Bihand or Waihind of Elliot II 438 which was on the Indus and it appears

in the fief of Sher[1] Muhammad Diwāna, he left his son 'Abdur Rahim and the rest of his family and his baggage in the fort with Sher Muhammad, who was one of his special intimates, and passed on. Sher Muhammad paid more regard to his real benefactor and separated from him. He took possession of all the goods and chattels that were left in Tabarhinda[2] and took Bairām's family to the Court. Darvesh Muhammad[3] Uzbeg imprisoned Muzaffar 'Ali, who had come to fetch him, and sent him to Court, and he himself bound on the girdle of loyalty. He recognised his own liege lord and withdrew from his fictitious benefactor. When he (Bairām?) came near Thārah[4] M. 'Abdulla Moghal put it in a state of defence and prepared for battle. Wali Beg came to Thārah and was defeated. Bravo! Whoever tries to extinguish a lamp lighted by God flings into the fire the harvest of his fortune and felicity! As it was the time of Bairām Khān's fall, whatever he thought to be to his advantage resulted in loss. And as self interest is a veil over the eye of counsel, he did not know what was his own good, and regarding causes of awakening as causes of somnolence, he went to the pargana of Jālandhar.

from Raverty's note, quoted by Ranking that he was unaware that there was a Bathindah in the same Sarkar as Thaneswar though considerably to the S.S.W. of it. Though in Sirkar Sirhind the place lay a long way to the south and its site is I presume now in the Sirsa district of the Panjab. See extract from Major Fowlett's report in I. G. under article Bhatnair, where Bhatindā is mentioned. It is noteworthy that Tiefenthaler spells Bhatindah Tabanda I. 134.

[1] Bairām's adopted son, Blochmann 316 and 524. It was perhaps his subsequent rebellion that made him be called Diwāna. See account of him and of his death in A.N. II. 263.

[2] See later account of him text II. 263. There A. F. says that Akbar regarded his disloyalty to Bairam with disgust.

[3] Bhatinda of Ferishta.

[4] Ferishta says he was in Dīpālpūr. We find from Bayazīd's Memoirs 99a that Muzaffar Alī was kept confined in Darvesh Muhammad's house in Delhi, and that he was released by Akbar on the representations of Afzal Khān (Khwāja Sultan Alī) and Mun'im Khān. See J. A. S. B. for 1898. Muzaffar is there called Bairām's dīwān.

[4] Jarrett II. 295. "It has a brick fort on the Sutlej."

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DESPATCH OF THE KHĀN Ā'ZAM SHAMSU D DIN MUHAMMAD KHĀN ATKA WITH AN ARMY TO QUELL THE SEDITION OF BAIRĀM KHĀN THE EXPEDITION OF H M THE SHĀHINSHĀH IN THE SAME DIRECTION THE KINDLING OF THE FIRES OF BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARMY OF FORTUNE AND BAIRĀM KHĀN AND THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS

During that auspicious time when the capital of Delhi was the abode of the sovereign, news were brought of Bairam Khān's proceeding from Bikānīr to the Panjab, and the royal resolution was taken to send an army to block his progress, so that there might be no cloud of disturbance in the province of Lahore A number of short-thougted ones were of opinion that H M should go in person to prosecute the war, and another party said that the army of fortune should be despatched thither H M the Shahinshah accepted both opinions and decided that the victorious forces should proceed in advance, and that afterwards he should go in person After much discussion, he approved of Maham Anga's maternal solicitude and kept back Adhām Khān Shamsu d-dīn Muhammed Khan Atka and his son Yūsuf Muhammad Khān Kokaltash Mahdi Qāsim Khan, Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishapur, Ali Qulī Khān, Mīr Latif Hasan Khān a relation of Shahābu d din (Khwesh perhaps son in law) Ahmad Khān and a number of other were appointed to the Panjab in order to prevent the Khan Khānān from going there Shamsu d din Muhammad Khan and these great officer went towards the Panjab, relying upon the Shahinshah's daily increasing fortune After they had started H M, as a measure of increased precaution made arrangements for his own expedition

III When in his perfect foresight H. M determined to make the expedition he for the purpose of carrying on the affairs of State, exalted Khwajah 'Abdu l-Majid[1] who had been made Sarif Diwanī

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1 Blochmann 366 and Maasir I 77 I i a Ms of Akbarnama in my Possession a short account of Asaf Khān in inserted here as part of the

by conferring on him the title of Āsaf Khān, and he assigned to him the government of Delhi, as part of the office of Vizier He gave him kingly admonitions, and bade him not to be proud of his own wisdom and dignity, to remember the favours he had received, and to regard his exaltation as involved in his humility, and to consider H M 's grace as the reward of his services, and to withhold his eye his heart, his hand, and his tongue from men's goods The Khwājah understood the precious monitions, and illuminated his auspicious forehead by prostrating it on the sublime threshold He gave his heart to his work and exerted himself sincerely and devotedly

When the uproar caused by Bairām Khān's rebellion arose, an order, consistent with sense and precaution was given for arresting Husain Quli Beg, and he was made over for some days to the care of Adham Khān With the consummate humanity which was one of his characteristics, H M informed Adham Khan that he would be held responsible if any injury happened to Husain Quli On 31 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 20 Zi al-Qāda 12th August 1560, H M left Delhi to put down the sedition As it is in accordance with the Divine decree that noble achievements, such as the world could not imagine, should be accomplished merely by their coming within purview it is clear what happens as soon as H M gives his personal attention to a matter There was a fresh instance of this when the faithful men who had been deputed took leave and went to perform their service They gave no heed to any other considerations, as is the way of old, self seeking servants, but went firmly on without slackening rein till they came to pargana Dikdār,[1] which is near the pargana of Jālandhar and lies between the Sutlej and the Biāh, and blocked the path of Bairām Khan at

text It says he was brought up at Herat, and that in Qandahār he was in M Askari s service and afterwards entered Humāyun s. Nizāmu din and Badāūnī say Husain Quli was put in charge of Aṣaf but all the MSS of the Akbarnāma seem to have Adham Khān.

[1] Not on list of Bet Jālandhar mahals given in Jarrett II 316 but Tiefenthaler I 103 has Dakh and Balsānī where Jarrett has Besālī and Khatteh and an MS of 'Aīn in my possession has Dakha or Dikha The Khulāṣat Tawārīkh has Dardak, which is also a pargana in the Bet Jālandhar, Jarrett II, 110 and 316

Gunācur[1] which appertains to Dikdār Bairam Khān was arranging for the capture of Jālandhar when he heard of the approach of Atka Khān In his pride he did not heed Atka Khān and was eager for battle In his presumption and arrogance he distributed his force into two bodies, and made the advanced one consist of Wali Beg, Shah Quli Khan Mahram, the brothers of Wali Beg, Ism'āil Quli Khān, Husain Khān, (Tukriya) Y'aqub Sultān, Sabz Talkh (?)[2] and a number of men destined to be vanquished Another army was under his own direction and had in front of it nearly fifty famous elephants On the other side Shamsu d din Muhammad khān arranged his forces, and was supported by the Shahinshāh's fortune
12 He heartened his men and advanced He himself took charge of the centre, the right wing was commanded by Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpur, and the left wing by Mahdi Qāsim Khān 'Ali Quli Khān of Andarāb, Qīyā Khān Sāheb Hasan, and other devoted servants formed the vanguard Farkh khān and some brave men formed the altamsh, and Yusuf Muhammad Khān Kokaltāsh with some gallant heroes took post between the centre and the altamsh As Atka Khān was not certain of his men he took oaths and promises from them, and strengthened their hearts before engaging Though Bairām Khān had not many men with him, they were of good quality He also placed much reliance on the royal army, as many from an evil disposition and double tonguedness were sending him letters

When these two forces engaged in the village of Gunācūr in the middle of Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to the early part of Zi al hajja, 23[3] August, there were brave feats on both sides

[1] Not marked Badāōnī has Phillaur which is a well known place S S F Jalandhar Gūnācūr is perhaps the Gancott of Tiefenthaler and Gangot of Jarrett The Ikbal nāma has کورگ ںور Ferishta says Mācīwara and Khāfī Khān Māhī Bejwāra The Darbar Akbarī 186n does not state Blochmann's remark correctly, see B 619 supplementing 317n 1 B says the correct name is Gūnācūr and that it lies S E Jālandhar

[2] The text appears corrupt Perhaps Sabz Malīḥ is the true reading see Vullers II 207b Sabz is a possible name and occurs twice in p 154, vol III A N The Talkh of text may be a mistake for Tālaqar

[3] This is 1 Zī al ḥajja, but apparently A F was not quite sure of the date

Though in the first encounter the advance corps of the enemy displayed such valour that lost of the soldiers of the fortune were put to fight Atkah and any of his own force, and Yusuf Muhammad Khan with a few men stood on the field of battle, and in their astonishment at the hypocrisy and cowardice of their men sought help of courage from the sacred soul of the Shāhishāh. At this time when Bairam Khan's men had driven off most of their foes and were pursuing them and Bairam Khan was advancing with his own army and exulting in the though of victory, the army of Atka Khān, which had been standing behind a ridge, appeared in sight. Bairam Khān advanced to overthrow him, and in the first place sent forward the elephants, of which the leader was the elephant carrying the travelling litter (takht rawān)[1] He himself was in the back part of it (the litter). Suddenly the royal fortune and heaven's help withdrew the veil of concealment from the face of success. Between the two armies there was a rice-bottom[2] and the elephants came into that bog[3] and stuck there. The brave men of the victorious army shot arrows at the drivers, and by the favour of hidden succour one hits the driver of the leading elephant and hangs down from the animal's neck. When Bairām Khān saw that such was the condition of the elephants, which were his mainstay, he sought to come out by their rear, leaving the rice-bottom on his right, and to get to the dry land and make his attack.

Takht rawan, a travelling litter, pparently meaning that it was Bairam s oad-elephant The D Akbari P 187, ays Bairam was riding on the elephant, though it may mean the elephant immediately behind. Perhaps Takht rawan was the elephant s name, and Bairam was in the rear of the line of lephants

2. Shalipaya Shali is an autumnal rice, white and *growing in deep water* It is he aman of Bengal A.F calls it in the Ain shali mash kin See Jarrett II 96 where dark coloured should, I think be musky or gragrant, for A F says, text I 299 that the rice is very white (bas safed) and gragrant. "Ripens quickly" should be soon cooked" (sudpaz) It is the word shali that is used in Ain I 389 Jarrett II 122, where the rice of Benga is described as growing as fast the water rises

3 Jamjama. This explain the passage supra p- 277 of vol I line 5 The mailling *there was a quagmire* The Ikbalnama say the elephants feet stuck in the devouring morass (jamjama ubar)

The Atka Khān in his foresight and courage *perceived* Bairam Khān's maneuvre, and prepared to make the attack himself before it was carried out Yusuf Muhammad Khān said, "Most of our men have thrown the dust of disgrace on their heads and gone off, where is the time for fighting?" The Atka Khān replied, "Though
113 men are few, the Shāhinshāh's fortune is on our side, and beside who do not think of flying, this is a day of killing or being killed (Jān fishānī yā Jān sitānī)" He sent on Yasuf Muhammad Khān with a body of brave men, and made ready to fight himself with another body of courageous combatants At the time when Bairām Khān turned back in order to execute his maneuvre, those seekers of renown draw the sword of vengeance from the scabbard of resolution and attacked Bairam Khān's force His men thought his retreat was a fight, and fell into confusion, and Bairām Khan was obliged to withdraw, and to retreat in disgrace. By the Divine aid a victory which might be the embroidery of other victories, showed her face in spite of the want of harmony, and the discouragement and the disgrace of so many men) The black-fated foe, whether those who had pursued the fugitives, or those who with Bairām Khan were determined on fighting, was dispersed The victorious troops pursued the retreating army and made the repast of the blood drinking blade A number of the wounded and half dead were levelled with the dust The heroes pursued the abandoned crew for two kos Ismāīl Qulī Khān was caught alive Just then news was brought that Wali Beg was wounded and lying hidden in a sugar-cane field He too was seized, and also Husain Khān[1] who had been blinded by an arrow *Yaqub Hamadānī Ahmed Beg and many of the hostile* leaders were caught in the noose of retribution An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants Atka Khān was prudent and did not pursue the fugitives very far It was solely by secret aid that such a victory which was the preamble of other *victories, emerged from the hiding place of fortune*

H M the Shāhinshāh was marching with firm mind, and a contented soul Inwardly he was keeping close to the Divine temple, outwardly he was engaged hunting Near Sirhind the messengers of

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1 This is Husain Khan Tukriya, Badāuni's friend Badauni Lowe 35 says he was wounded with a sword He was not permanently blinded

fortune brought the good news of victory The confused world obtained fresh repose, the materials of praise and thanksgiving were provided, and the rites of joy and pleasure took the upper hand. The affairs of the Sultanate received fresh arrangement The beverage of abundance was supplied to the small-natured. The thread of understanding fell into the hands of the simple and ignorant Dominion was freed from the hands of the proud The kind of the time was released from the oppressive partnership of the non recognisers of right The wisdom of the wise was increased Dominion showed her face, prestige unveiled her countenance The universe received fresh moisture. Time and the terren put on fresh bauty The inwardly blind and the envious descended into the pit of humiliation and scattered the dust of defeat on their heads The old world grew young Justice was born, and the administration thereof became patent Oneveil, which the Khedive of the age threw off from his world-adorning beauty Thou, O heart, sawest and beheldest what was the nature of the great of the world and to what height the greatness had arrived One can infer from this that if several veils more beautiful than this were withdrawn from the face of my subjects and some special glories were shown, what achievements there would be, and what secrets would be revealed. But it seems that permission to show them is not granted, or that display does not come within his far-seeing design. May he remain for generations in fortune and felicity, for such a Khedive has very rarely come into the world's possession Abul Fazl the writer of this preamble of fortune utters' a cry from his bosom and says, "If I were not a dependant and did not wear, the clothes of service I would make some remarks out of my own knowledge But as I am included among the conformists I shall not say anything more because the inwardly blind and prejudiced will regard such words as flattery. This apprehension has no place in the house of my understanding for there tainted worldings do not come It is my feelings that I speak, not my understanding

1 nafsa i maadur barawarda

2 tab y at and fitrat Jarrett says III 4 13 note The d fference between and is that the former signifies the essential nature of individual man, the latter the super induced accidents of temperament which are more under his control Here I think he means to distinguish between his feelings and

VERSE

When shall the envier of light depart
That I may say that 'tis right to say

When H M was encamped at Sirhind,[1] Mun'im Khan who had come from Kabul in obedience to commands, arrived along with other officers such as Muqim Khan, *a relative of Tardi Beg Khan, Qasim Khan* I Mir Bah,[2] Khwajagi Muhammad Hussain his brother, Khwajah Abdu-Mun'im, commonly known as Khwaja Padshah i Mariz Maulana Abdu l *baqi-Sadr*[4] *Malla Zagar, Payindah Muhammad, Shagun Muhammad,* Faridur, maternal uncle of M Muhammad Hakim, Abdu l fath son of Fazi Beg, Mir Muhammad Nishapuri, and many other, including a large number of soldiers They arrived on 27 Shahri Divine month, corresponding to Monday 18 Zi i-hajja, 10 September, and were received with royal favours Mun'im Khan was appointed to the high office of Vakil and styled Khan Khanan and decorated with a robe of honour, while all the officers received favours proportionate to their rank and merits At the same delightful at Shamsu d din Muhammad Khan Atka, and the other loyalists who had done good service and had returned victorious, did homage and were distinguished by favours. The daqu[8] dress (pelisse) and the fattabi[9] dress of Bairam Khan were bestowed on the Atka

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his reason His reason tells him that he is quite sincere and unprejudiced in Akbar s favour, his feelings warn him that he had better suppress his sentiments for fear of being suspected of adulation

1. The T A and Badauni say Mun im Khan *joined* the emperor at Ludiana, Elliot V 267 has Jalamdhar but the Lucknow text and at least one have Ludiana

2 Khwesh This word often means son in law Here it stands for sister's son Blochmann 371

3. Barr in text, but the variant Bahr is right

4 Maris means diseased Perhaps he is the Padshah Khawaja of Blochmann 459

5 He was Sadr in Humayun's time See ante

6 *He has been mentioned twice in* the first volume, originally he was Kaman s servant.

7 He was the son of Qaraca

8 See Vullers S V who says pannus M S laneus villosus The word is of Arabic or gin and means some valuable kind of dress The form daqu is not given in our Persian dictionaries but is given by *Zenker* who explains it as schlafpelz. See B 333 n

9 fattahi Apparently the robe of victory

Khān, and he received the title of A'zam Khān. Some wretches, who had been made prisoners on the battle field, such as Walī Beg, his son Ism'āīl Qulī, Husain Khan, Ahmad Beg Turkomān and others were produced with chains on their feet and necks, together with abundant spoil, also the standard which was embroidered with gems and intended for the shrine of Razavī of the holy Mashhad, but had not been sent. The arrival of this standard was looked upon as the beginning of happy omens for the Shāhinshāh. Muhammad Qasim Khān Nishāpurī, Abu-l Qāsim, brother of Maulānā Abdu-l Qādir Akhūnd and a number of others who had got leave to go to Multan before the news of Bairam khān's rebellion, Multan having been taken from Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlās and given to them, were now despatched to Multan. Among those who were captured on the day of battle, Walī Beg, who had received severe wounds, died in prison and his head was sent as a warning to the eastern provinces. The others were kept in prison until they were released by the intercession of intimate courtiers, and afterwards showed loyalty and obedience and were raised to dignities. The particulars of each of them will be related in its proper place.

God be praised! Whoever was more wicked and more seditious (than others) received separately condign punishment, above all Walī Beg, who was the substratum of sedition and strife, received such a punishment as might be an increase of the devotion of the right seeing and right acting. Owing to the overthrown fortunes of Bahādur Khān, what might have been a source of instruction and auspiciousness became a cause of increased wandering and error. When the brainless head of Walī Beg was brought by a Tawāci to pargana Itāwa, which was the Bahādur's jagīr, the inward dissension and disloyalty of that ingrate were revealed. He inflicted martyrdom on the Tawāci.[1] Several unbecoming actions were exhibited by this disloyal one. For some days his loving companions induced him to feign madness (lit. pointed the way of madness to him). Nay, nay, his real madness was the commission of this shameful act. Afterwards, in truth they brought him from madness to sense, and so saved him. The imperial servants, who doubtless were neither hypocritical nor negligent knowingly concealed so improper an act. Though some in

[1] Perhaps the meaning is that his friends suspected him of madness.

their black-heartedness regarded such conduct[1] as a kind of loyalty, yet to the eyes of investigation is most disloyal. Accordingly, after a little consideration, they revealed the mystery.

[1] The concealment to wit of Bahādur's misconduct.



CHAPTER XXX.

Arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Lahore, and other events.

When a great blessing had been conferred, and the extirpation of Bairām Khān was assured, and the Atga Khān had been honoured by a reception H.M. decided to leave the army and to proceed towards Lahore, hunting as he went. In this way there would be both the pleasure of hunting, and Lahore would again be made illustrious by H.M's advent. Accordingly the army was left there (Sirhind) under the command of Mun'im Khān, and H.M. set out. On the 4th Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 26 Zī al hajja 967, 17th September 1560, he alighted in Lahore, and the Atga Khān held great feasts. H.M. the Shāhinshāh exalted him by royal favours a d made over the choicest 116
parts of the Punjab to him and his brethren. During the period of H.M.'s stay at Lahore the Khān Ā'ẓim fell ill, and H.M. kindly left him there and proceeded to the army which had been placed under Mun'im Khān.

CHAPTER XXXI

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to the Siwālik mountains, and the completion of the affair of Bairām Khān

When it was ascertained that Bairām Khān had gone to Rājah Ganes[1] at Talwāra,[2] which is a strong place in the midst of the hills, and was seeking protection there, the spiritual and temporal Khedive proceeded towards the Siwāliks on 18 Mihr, Divine month corresponding to Tuesday 10 Muharram 968 1st October 1560, under the Divine protection, in order that the affair might be concluded without the chicanery of designing persons, and that the world might obtain tranquillity The great camp was in Māciwāra awaiting the arrival of H M, when the Khedive of the earth came there, march by march Mun'im Khān and the other grandees went out to welcome him, and were exalted by performing the *kornish* From thence they proceeded to carry out their object On the way the Mīr Munshi and Khwāja Sultān 'Ali, who had fled at the time of the affair of *Tardi Beg Khān*, and had undertaken the journey to the Hijāz, were permitted to kiss the threshold When the standards had been set up in the Siwāliks, an army of brave men entered the defiles and pressed forward Many Hindu troops and their leaders, *viz*, hill Rajāhs and Rayān, opposed their march, and were were several contests between them There were great onsets on both sides, and Sultān Husain Jalāir of the victorious army had the good fortune of martyrdom The Rajāhs were defeated and fled, and many of those ill omened hill men were made the harvest of the sword

When the rumour of the proach of the victorious standards reached Bairam Khān knowe the th ink of his latter end and placed

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[1] Nizāmu-d din has Gobind Ch nd The Khulāṣat T has Gones zamindar of Dānāpur who lived at Talwāra. See also A N II 159 where he is described as zamīndar of Vandān Bāyazīd 94b says the p inc pal Rajah of the hills (Siwalik) was called Takht Mal

[2] Jarrett II 318

the head of justice in the collar of shame and repentance. He sent Jamāl Khān, a trusted servant, with a request for pardon of his offences, and made excuses, viz, that on account of various occurrences which were the result of compulsion and not of his free will, the sweat of shame was on his brow, and the countenance of penitence on the earth, if H M would complete the skirt of fortune by affixing thereto the hem of forgiveness and would raise from the dust him who had fallen on the road of wretchedness, his was the head of supplication and here was the dust of the threshold. Jamāl Khān arrived at the Shāhinshāh's tent and delivered the petition He also stated *vivâ voce* the purport of Bairām's desires. H M the Shāhinshāh on account of his general benevolence, and special kindness, and in gratitude for so great a blessing, listened to his unheard of excuses, and, because his noble nature relishes forgiveness, he with an open brow and an expanding heart drew the line of pardon over all his offences In order to assure him, he sent Maulānā 'Abdullah of Sultānpūr with some of his intimates along with Jamāl Khān, in order that they might comfort Bairām Khān with the good news of pardon and favour and bring him to kiss the threshold. The deputies performed their office, but Bairām Khān's mind was not consoled He said that he was ashamed and downcast for what he had done, and was deserving of every kind of punishment His heart was at rest as regarded the graciousness and glorious kindnesses of the Khedive of the age, but he was in trepidation on account of the Caghatai grandees and the other imperial servants If Mun'im Khān would come and give him assurance and make oaths and vows he could by his instrumentality come forth from the rebels and perform the prostration Then, having got leave, he could spend the remainder of his life in holy places, and could seek in humiliation and self abasement the amendment and atonement of his crimes As the sea of beneficence was in effervescence this request of his was also granted The standards of fortune were pitched in the town of Hājīpur[1] which is near the dāmān-i koh, and between the Satlaj and the Biāh, and Mun'im Khān, Khwājah Jahān, Ashraf Khān, Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī were sent to assure Bairām Khān by promises of favour and to bring him to do

[1] Jarrett II. 316

homage The envoys went with a few men into those wild defiles where he had taken refuge There was a rush (or a crowd) of the zamindārs, and with a chivalry[1] (*hamiyat*) which is rooted among the zamindārs of India they stood determined to sacrifice their lives. The envoys threaded the defiles and entered the fort where Bairām Khan was As soon as Bairām Khan saw Mun'im Khan he became reassured, and knew that the message which they had brought from H M the Shāhinshāh was genuine He came forward hopefully and embraced him, and showed excessive shame Mun'im Khān encouraged him by promises and covenants and took him towards the sublime threshold, Babai Zambur and Shāh Quli Mahram laid their hands on Bairam Khān's skirt and wept and lamented, saying that there was perfidy, and that he should not go Though Mun'im Khan and the other envoys soothed them, they were not satisfied Apparently they were under apprehensions about themselves Consequently when Mun'im Khan said to them, "You remain
118 here this night and wait for news, and after that, when your minds are composed, you will come and do homage," they let Bairam Khān go, and themselves remained behind Bairām Khān went on to the threshold of fortune The royal army was waiting in the confines of the hills in expectation of events, and the opportunists (wāq'i'a talabān) were making various remarks when the goodly company (*'aizza*[3]) made their appearance The royal army raised

[1] Apparently this is a reference to the practice of *johar*

[2] It appears from Bāyazīd 9ob that Baba Zambūr *was the elder brother* of Shāh Qulī

[3] Perhaps this specially refers to Bairām There is a long description of Bairām's surrender in Bāyazīd who was present on the occasion, in attendance on Mun'im Khān See pp 94a *et seq* He mentions the death of Sultān Husain Jalāir which had such an effect on Bairām (Blochmann 317 and Badāūnī, Lowe 39) Bāyazīd 95b calls him Sultān Husain Beg and says he was the son of Sultān Bāyazīd who was Humāyūn's *qūrcībegī* He adds that Akbar was very fond of him and *that he had no equal among* the Caghatāīs for courage and beauty He was killed in the Siwāliks in a sally made by the Hindus from the fort where Bairām was The place was a bambu jungle and as Sultān Husain was unsupported he was killed Next day Bairam sent out a letter to Mun'im Khān who it seems had also the name and title of N'iamat Lagh Bāyazīd gives the contents of the letter In it Bairām refers with

a shout and there was general rejoicing. The day was unpropitious to the sedition-mongers and their faces were blackned. He (Bairām) turned his face towards the sublime court, and in Abān, Divine month corresponding to Muharram 968, he flung a handkerchief round his neck and made the prostration of shame and contrition He laid his dust strown head at the sphere-traversing feet of H M. the Shāhinshāh, partly with pain, partly with shame for his crimes, and partly with joy at his pardon, and wept aloud. H M. the Shāhinshah accepted his excuses, and with his sacred hand raised Bairam Khān's head from the ground of humiliation and embraced him. He took the cloth (fauta) from his neck and wiped from his face the tears of penitence and the dust of shame. With his gracious lips he inquired about his health and bade him sit on his right hand, as had been the rule when Bairām Khān was prime minister (vakīl). He bade Munim Khān sit down beside him, while the other officers took their places according to their rank. With his gracious lips he uttered such words of kindness and favour, that the dust of bashfulness and the mist of shame disappeared from his brow Yet the word remains true.

Verse

Though the crime be forgiven, shame abideth.

Thereafter he rose up and bestowed on Bairām Khān a glorious robe which he was wearing over his own breast, and gave him permission to go to the Hijāz. In accordance with vigilance and foresight, which are the basis of every act, especially of acts of sovereignty, he gave him as companions Tarsun[1] Muhammad Khan and Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī. They were to be his guides to the confines of the empire, and were to conduct him safety ever the dangerous roads. They returned from the territory of Nagor.

One day Bairām Khān reproached Hājī Muhammad Khān Sistānī, saying, "No one's opposition and infidelity hurt me so much as yearso you forgot all your old obligations." Hājī Muhammad Khān replied

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regret to the death of Sultān Husain. He writes When to my sorrow a man like Sultān Hussain was killed yesterday, how can I be pleased with this unnecessary quarrel. If H M and the nobles wish for a spoonful of my blood I am ready to give it (sijl kardam Blochmann 342.

"You in spite of all the claims to loyalty which H.M. Jahanbānī Jinnat 'Ashiyānī possessed, and all his nurture of you, and all the kindnesses which you had received from H M the Shāhinshāh, showed yourself a rebel and drew the sword, and then occurred what has occurred If I have left your society, what is there extraordinary? and what have I done?" Bairām Khān felt ashamed, and *made no rejoinder I have heard on good authority that* Bairām Khan continually during that journey felt the pain which these forcible words had given him

119 God be praised! The magnanimity and innate kindness of H M the Shāhinshāh made an impression on all hearts This simple man, who was proud of his courage and his sagacity, awoke from his sleep of negligence and emerged from the whirlpool of rebellion The sincere were exalted and the market of the seditious fell flat The age received lustre, and mortals wore the face of joy A letter from the Khān A'azim Atga Khān has come to light, and as it gives accounts of various events, I give an exact copy of it in this Iqbālnāma (record of fortune), so that the wise may receive instruction

Petition of the least of loyal servants, Shamsu d din Muhammad Atga

"After prayers and expressions of devotion he represents that when this well wisher arrived at Delhi, and when your Majesty bestowed royal favours on him and gave him the flag, the kettledrum and the *tuman togh* of Bairām Khān and made him governor of the Panjab, it appeared right that this well-wisher should perform service corresponding to such favours and preferment, so that none of the loyal might say anything against his promotion. When the news came that the disloyal and seditious had by letters and messages brought Bairām Khān into the neighbourhood of Firuzpur, an order was issued that the pillars of the empire should assemble and should represent what should be done for the welfare of the state In that meeting the letter of Bairām Khan to Darvesh Muhammad Khān was produced It was there written, 'I am the slave and bondsman of His Majesty, but I *wish to take vengeance on H M's vakils*' Each well wisher stated at that meeting what he thought should be done to baffle Bairām Khān As two days ago the paraphernalia of the said Khān's dignity had been bestowed on

this well wisher, he decided that the occasion for doing good servic had arrived There was much talk and discussion among the pi lars of the empire—and both small and great were gathered there—and this *faqir* claimed the right of move (*dāv talbid*),[1] and propose that the affair of Bairām Khān should by God's favour and th unending auspices of the king come to him, and added, that wherever he met him, or came in sight of him he should slacken i his advance, he would be less than girls or catamites The pillar of empire said "the putting down of Bairām Khān is a great ur dertaking So long as H M does not go in person it will not b possible to capture him" When the pillars of empire were of th opinion, your servant did not say much, but represented to hi Lord that Muhammad Qāsim Khān and Mahdi Qāsim Khān ha got leave and gone towards Multan and Lahore It might be tha this servant could also go in the employment of a scout of hi Lord (*mukhdūm*) and report day by day everything that occur red This well-wishing servant's application was favourably receiv ed, and an order was given that he should go, accompanie by the great officers, and suppress Bairām Khān An orde was also given that a thousand men should be enrolled[2] as auxiliaries He took leave and halted four or five days in the neighbourhoo of Rohtak and in *pargana* Māhim,[3] but there was no sign of th auxiliaries On a representation being made to his Lord fif teen men, out of all the thousand, were sent As there wer many veterans[4] present, the anxieties which are part of war fare came home to them As also it was the rainy season, and there was mud and water, there was some delay in marching Men mad use of the "Mother"[5] as a go-between, and told a hundred thousan

[1] An expression taken from chess or from play with dice The Iqbālnama uses it with reference to the slave Fūlād's being told off to assassinate Akbar

[2] *Kumak navīsand*

[3] Jarrett II 295 Mihim in Ell Supp Glossary II 133

[4] *Kahna suwāran* Apparently the meaning is that they knew what war was, and so were cautious

[5] *Walida* The petitioner speak lower down of his regarding M Anaga as his mother and so I have i doubt that the reference here i to h r and not to Muamm m k uf The author of the Darbar Akbar has translated the letter, p 7 0 and he takes the passage as referring to Maham Anaga

tales, such as that the Atga marched every day two *kos* and did not advance because he was afraid, and that matters would not progress in his hands He should be deprived of his fief and allowances The "Mother" acted upon what men said, and without giving weight to (my) twenty years' service and affection represented (to Akbar) whatever they said Your Majesty knows that this was so My son 'Azīz Muhammad could not stand men's words and allusions, and wrote" "Father, men's words have killed us Whatever is your fate will happen By all means act quickly and dispose of the affair of Bairām Khan"

This well wisher knew what was designed[1] In reliance upon the Divine favour and the king's fortune he advanced to suppress Bairam Khan Now the affair of Bairam Khan has been disposed of by your Majesty's fortune, a number of his attendants and leaders (sultanān) have been killed, and all his relations have been arrested and brought to court God deliver us! if things had turned out otherwise, one knows what would have happened Probably the truth of the case has been represented to you by Bairām Khan

After the victory, all the well wishers who were not present at the battle, and whose services are known to your Majesty, received tenfold presents and favours As yet no one had asked after the well wishers who were in the engagement, when Jān Muhammad Sultān Bahasudi, who was two days in Jālandhar fort, was recommended and received the title of Khān Besides him, everyone has received presents and pensions tenfold more than their services When after all these this well-wisher and his son Yusuf Muhammad, who wielded his sword in that great battle had their turn, the favour shown to them was the order of the first day that the name "Atga" should appear on the *firman* (i e, bulletin of victory)! Protector of the world! this well wisher regards the Bega (Maham Anaga) as a mesner and says no evil of her May God make lawful what I am about to say! This well wisher took his life in his hand for the behoof of your Majesty, and taking with him his twelve year[2] old son encountered Bairam Khan and his ten to twenty relatives,

[1] By his enemies

[2] The Mass r and Mr Blochmann have taken this as referring to Yūsuf but this cannot be if Yūsuf was the elder son for his younger brother Azīz was born in 949 and consequently was then 17 or 18 years old. The twelve year old son must be

servants and sulṭāns None of the great officers came from their parganas to help me, and the men who were with me acted in a way which Bairām Khān has probably represented. In such a manner did they behave to this old servant. All the body-guards (*qūrcīān*) of Bairām Khān, who were in your Majesty's service as spies,[1] have by your Majesty's favour received titles, and grants of two or three *krors*. Yūsuf Muhammad Khān encountered with the sword Bairām Khān, and his Khāns[2] and Sulṭāns, and your Majesty gave him the title of Khān. The authorities gave him an order for one *kror*, but it has no assignment (*tan*).[3] They gave one *kror* as a reward to this servant who has been exalted by the title of Khān Ā'ẓim. Out of the whole of it the authorities assigned (only) forty lakhs on Fīrūzpūr. Protector of the world! all the retainers of this well-wisher have for a lifetime been serving with their brothers and sons in expectation (of reward) And now by your Majesty's good fortune each has been exalted by the title of Khān and Sulṭan. As the flag, kettle-drum and *tuman-togh* of Bairām Khān have been presented to this humble one, and as after the victory over Bairām Khān his *dāqū* and *khil'at-i-fattāḥī* (robe of victory?) and the insignia of his dignity have been granted, and his rank bestowed upon him, he is hopeful that his office also will be assigned to this humble one."

some younger child that the father took with him, unless, indeed, twelve years old be a colloquial expression for a youngster

[1] Meaning that some of Akbar's servants were really spies for Bairam.

[2] I do not think that Haibat and Sultān are proper names here The MSS vary.

[3] *tan nanamūdand* Perhaps it means they have not shown him where he is to get it, i.e., on what estate or province it has been assigned See below, where the petitioner seems to say that only 40 lakhs of his grant had been localised.

CHAPTER XXXII

March of the Shāhinshāh from the Panjab to Agra, his casting the shadow of fortune over Delhi, and from thence proceeding by water to the capital

When H M the Shahinshāh had by the might of soaring fortune removed one screen from the face of his actions and had set before himself the management of political and financial affairs, when the shops of the short-sighted and ill fated had been overset, and each one of them had retired to a corner, ashamed and downcast and when the holy soul was by heavenly aids freed from these affairs, he turned his rein towards the capital His object was that by increasing his attention to the administration of justice, new vigour might be given to the perturbed universe, and that certain regulations should be established which should be codes for the use of administrators, present and future As the standards of fortune were pitched at Sihrind the order was issued that the camp should proceed by the direct road to Delhi, while his own cavalcade should, for the purpose of hunting, proceed towards Ḥiṣār Fīruza When Hiṣar Fīruza became the seat of the standards, the huntsmen represented that there were in the neighbourhood jungles containing *yuz*, which in Hindi are called *cīta*, and that the method of catching that ravening animal was one of the most remarkable of the arts of hunting Accordingly the sacred heart, which is a decorated mansion of sports, mental and physical, turned its attention towards this charming spectacle An order was given for making the necessary arrangement In a short time all the apparatus was got ready, and sundry pits, which in Hindi are called *odi*[1] were dug according to a special plan (of Akbar's, see Blochmann 286) Several heads of *cita*[2] were caught there and then a Akbar's cavalcade moved towards Delhi Though before this many *cita*

[1] The spelling is given in the Aīn I 207, top line Apparently it is a corruption of the Sanskrit *ūdar*

[2] *qilada* lit necklace or collar but used, like *zanjir*, to express number of elephants or leopards See Vullers s v

had been collected fo the royal establishment, this was the first time that H M hunted them in person. On 11 Āẕar, Divine month corresponding to Saturday 4 Rabi'al awal 968, 24th November, 1560, the standards were set up in Delhi, and mortals attained the materials of tranquillity

Among the occurrences of this time was the despatch of a body of troops under the command of Abu l fath brother's son of Mun im Khan to Kabul, The short account of this is that at the time when Mun im Khan came to the foot of the throne under the pressure of the Shahinshāh's commands he made over Kabul to his son Ghani Khān, and appointed his in his own stead In order to help him and instruct him he left Haidar Muhammad Ākhtabegi Owing to the incapacity and childishness of both of them things fell into disorder When the imperial cavalcade alighted at Delhi, a petition from Ghani Khan came to court disclosing the unsatisfactory character of Haidar Muhammad Ākhtabegi Accordingly, on the recommendation of Mun'im Khan, Haidar Muhammad was summoned to court, and in order to help Ghani Khān, Shagun the son of Qaraca, Darvesh Muhammad, Khwaja Dost, Khwajagi Muhammad Husain, brother of Muhammad Qasim Khan and a large body of troops were sent to Kābul under Abū l fath s command

In short, H M the Shahinshah after passing some days in Delhi proceeded on the day of Āzar 9 Dai, Divine month, correspond ing to Friday 2 Rabi as sani, 21st December, to Agra, and he made the journey by water The nobles and pillars of the empire accom panied him, while the great camp proceeded in the same direction by land H M arrived at Agra on the day of Farwardin 19 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 12 Rabi' as ṣani, 31st De cember The gardens of the hopes of the sincere bloomed The wounded ones of the age obtained healing plasters The market of justice grew brisk Fortune embraced the truthful, and a time of joy came to the good The sapling of fortune shot up The bud of prestige began to expand The world adorning mind of the Shahinshah gave its attention to the education of the spiritual and temporal world under the guise of inattention He took up his abode in the fort, which is the best building in the city The foundations of delightful dwellings were laid The house of Bairām Khan was given to Mun'im Khan Khan Khānān All the other

123 courtiers and servants commenced to build pleasant houses on both banks of the Jamna, and so the city became adorned In the interval Mun'im Khan Khān Khānān gave a royal feast and begged that H.M. would honour it by his presence His prayer was granted, and his mansion received celestial glory by the radiance of H.M. the Shahinshāh's advent. The Khān Khānān tendered rare and exquisite presents and stood ready to sacrifice his life for H.M (lit stood with the coin of life in his palm)

One of the instructive events which occurred at this time and was an eye salve to the fortunately minded was the killing of M. Ibrāhim, the son of M Sulaimān, and the latter's having recourse to the world-protecting court Inasmuch as the truth founded purpose of the Shahinshāh is the portico to fortune's summit, it follows that whoever opposes and contends with him, receives punishment therefor from the superintendents of fate, even though H M the Shahinshāh courteously passes such opposition by, and apparently takes no notice of it, and is compelled to take help from his court For the punishment for raising the head of disaffection, and for letting stream the flag of pride is that such an one receives fitting chastisements and is brought into the ignominious abode of want, so that he may awake from the sleep of negligence and be active in service The state of M. Sulaimān is an instance of this In the beginning of the reign he displayed such improper conduct, as has already been mentioned, and the world adorning Deity placed the retribution thereof in his bosom, and inflicted so great a defeat upon him, and made him a suppliant of this court He sent a petition by one of his confidants, who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs At this time the said ambassador had arrived and was waiting to pay homage He obtained leave for an audience after H M. had alighted at Mun'im Khan's house and was exalted by performing the prostration The petition of M. Sulaiman was presented along with appropriate presents. The purport of it was the expression of shame and contrition for past offences, an account of the killing of M Ibrāhim, and a request for assistance against his enemies The account of the event is briefly this M M Sulaimān and Ibrāhim had in the beginning of the reign taken the road of destruction and sown the seed of their own overthrow, though victory had several times shown her face to them in their contests with the Uzbegs, and

so was a cause of increasing their arrogance Among these successes was the falling into their hands of the son[1] of 'Abbās Sultān who was continually coming from Hisār and making forays on behalf of Timar Khān who was the ruler of Hisar, and was his cousin At length they brought an army against Hisar and captured the outer fort Timar Khān shut himself up in the citadel, and was spending his days in stratagems He was waiting in expectation of assistance from the Uzbegs, who had been summoned from various quarters As the Mirzas knew that help was near at hand they returned from Hisar to Badakhshān In the fifth year of the Divine Era corresponding to 967 of the lunar year, the Mirzās collected an army of their servants and Aimaqs and marched against Balkh The shrewd and far seeing were not favourable to this expedition, as the march against Balkh was unreasonable For the army of Balkh was larger than the army of Badakhshān, and their military leaders were more numerous. A lesser army may engage with a greater if it have more leaders, but in the Badakhshān army there were only two, *viz*, Mirzās Sulaimān and Ibrahim, while in the hostile army there were Pīr Muhammad Khan, and many princes It was therefore not right to make this expedition Though what the acute said was reasonable, their words did not find admission to the ear of reason, as the Mirzas were drunken with the wine of arrogance Rather their haughtiness was increased and they pressed on the expedition more than ever The truth is that the eternal managers wished to punish them for their improper behaviour to H M the Shahinshah, so that by becoming intoxicated with insouciance they might with their own hands throw themselves into the pit of destruction

When Pīr Muhammad Khān heard of the enterprise of the Mirzas he sent messengers to call for help, and at the same time sent an experienced ambassador to the Mirzās and proposed an agreement The ambassador declared that Pīr Muhammad Khan

[1] We learn from the Iqbalnāma that his name was Waqās Sultan and that Sulaimān treated him kindly and gave him his daughter in marriage. 'Abbas Sultān was the runaway husband of Gulcahra, a daughter of Bābar but this could hardly be her son It appears from the M aaşir I 438 that Abbas was half brother of Jānī Beg and son of Yār Muhammad Khān.

would surrender Khulm and Aibak to the Mirzās They sent M. Beg Barlas, who was an old and confidential servant, on an embassy, and said that if Pīr Muḥammad Khān would give them Khulm and Aibak, and put peace on a firm foundation, there would be an end of disputes When they themselves marched out of Badakhshan they decided that for two reasons it would not be right to proceed against Balkh First, because they had sent an ambassador Second, because they would go and take along with them the Aimaqs[1] of Balkh, the hill country[2] of which is towards Khurasan, and get them into their power Then the affair of Balkh would easily take shape If they did not take this course, Pīr Muhammad Khan would strength en the fort, and collect troops from all sides In pursuance of this design and in palpable oblivion of rectitude, they took their route by the foot of the hills left Balkh behind them and proceeded towards Khurasān, and brought under their control the Aimaqs who inhabited the wolds (ṣaḥar n sḥ ›)

Meanwhile n ᐟ came that M Beg had been killed, and that Pīr Muhammad Khan had collected an army and was preparing for war The story of this catastrophe is that the Mirzas had on their march to Khurasan advanced to near the Cul i Zardak (the brownish

[1] Tribes See Jarrett II 401n and Elphinstone s Cabul

[2] *bālā ruyīa* i-ū I think that this *must mean hill country* The ex pression is used again in the next page of text and is there opposed to *payān ru la* The Farhang Rash īdī however says that Bālā is a name given by Ind ans to tl e quar ter of Irān and Khurāsan It seems that the Mirzas made a very ad venturous and lengthy expedition and left their own country and presumed base of their operations far behind The southern part of Balkh is hilly and they marched by the foot of the hills leaving Balkh on the north that is on their right intending *to go westwards to* Khurāsān Apparently they took this course in order to deceive Pīr Mu ḥammad for their object in send ing an ambassador was to gain time just as his was Balkh they *thought they could take afterwards* on their return from Khurāsān, and when they had got the assistance of the A māqs who presumably were disaffected to the Uzbegs and incl ned to side with tl e Aimaqs in the Mirzās army The words *ba sal ws canin ṣahir* which I have translated in palpable oblivion of rectitude are ambiguous Per haps they only mean "palpable blundering The Iqbālnāma helps us here a little by rendering the phrase by an untrue intention.

desert?) which is known by the name of Sān[1] Cārek, and had passed the Casma-i-Gāzarān, and were purposing to go on still further when the news came that M. Beg had left Pīr Muḥammad Khān's house after finishing[2] a great piece of work, when at a sign from Pīr Muhammad Khān, Khusrū[3] had killed him with a sword (Pīr Muhammad's view was) "what weakness is there in us that we should give up our own territory," and his whole intention in proposing peace was to procrastinate, and to collect his forces Now that assistance had 12
come he had marched across country and headed the Mirzās When the Mirzās heard this news they took counsel among themselves Men of experience said that the proper course was to bend round

[1] This is marked on the govern ment map as Sang Charak It lies S S W of Balkh So far the account is clear, but I do not under stand the next clause which says that they had passed the Casma i Gāzarān, i.e., the washermen's well, for that lies W N W. of Sang Chā rak and is marked on the map a little to the east of Sar i pul. I think there must be some mistake either in the text or on the part of the author, for it seems evident from what follows that the Mirzas had not got as far as the Casma-i Gāzar ān when they heard that the Uz begs had come across country (from Balkh) and were there blocking their advance towards Khurasan. Sulai mān tried to force his way through the Uzbeg entrenchment but failed and turned off and eventually managed to get back to Badakhshan Ibrahīm came up after him and was less fortunate and fell into the enemies hands It would seem that Ḥaram Begam the masterful wife of Sulaimān, was bitter against him for having as she considered, de serted her son, for she referred to it many years afterwards when speak ing to her grandson Shāhrukh See A. N III 151, last line It may be noted here that Sān is given in the B. Q. and in Vullers as a town in Kābul, while Steingass, founding apparently on the Farhang Rashīdī, says it is in Balkh The latter says, "a town or district of Balkh near Cārīt."

[2] *Muhimmsāzī gūna karda* I do not understand this, and have adopt ed the reading of several MSS which is, *kota karda*, *kota kardan* meaning to finish an affair, to abridge it, it is perhaps used here ironically The unfortunate envoy thought he had cut short or dis posed of a great piece of business Possibly, however, *gūna karda* may be used as = *bās gūna karda* as hav ing upset a great affair and the ex pression should be taken along with Pīr Muḥammad. *Gūna* may also mean "after a fashion and the phrase rendered "having after a fashion done a great piece of business."

[3] The Iqbālnāma has Khusrū Sul-ṭān.

(*urib shuda*) and make a rapid march to the shrine[1] (Ribāt) of Mi Rūzadār The Uzbegs would be left behind If it should come to a fight that too would be advantageous But to march on to meet them was in no way expedient The Mirzās did not accept this opinion and went on to meet the enemy The Uzbegs with great dexterity struck the bank[2] of the Casma i Gāzaran, which has a winding course[3] and dug trenches, and constructed a wall in front of their position, and having lined them with musketeers and archers remained ready for battle The Mirzās quickly put their troops into fighting order and were approaching the spring (*sar i-casma*) in ignorance of the fortification, M Sulaimān coming by the low ground near the river, and M Ibrahim by the upper route M Sulaimān advanced against the enemy but could make no impression As he did not know what to do he retreated, and perceived that to go on towards Khurāsan and its neighbourhood would lead to nothing but his being captured Then he turned round and by great management got out of the ravines[4] (*jarha*), and passing the enemies' rear (*arqa*,—the back, the rear, *Turki) went on to the desert (dasht csl*) which is on the side of Badakhshān Many of his men perished M Ibrāhīm came to the spring and attacked, but could make no impression *He drew bridle* and *stopped, and many of his men* were killed by bullets and arrows Muhammad Qulī Shighālī[5] ran up to him and said, "What time for standing is this? Your father *has got out*" The Mirzā asked his own people what they advised Many of his warriors said, "It will be very difficult to get out The proper thing is to fight in this very place and see what the result will be" Muhammad Qulī spoke roughly and said, "It is a

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[1] I have not found this place. It may be Ziārat Hazrat Imām or it may be Mazār Sharīf

[2] *It is on account of this passage* that I think there must be a mistake *in the previous statement* that the Mirzās had passed the Casma-i Gāzarān Possibly however A. F may use this expression for the whole river and not for a particular point on it.

[3] *ki mārpīc uftada ast* Perhaps the meaning is that there was a defile or bend in the river here which *made it suitable for a fortification*

[4] Possibly it refers to the trenches dug by the Uzbegs.

[5] Apparently he had been with Sulaimān's force and perhaps had remained behind to point out the way

fixed principle with military men that whenever soldiers have gone a bowshot away from the enemy it is difficult to come to close quarters with him again. "Why do you unnecessarily bring the Mirzā into destruction." After much talk the Mirza came out from that place and proceeded to retreat He fell into the enemies' country and many of his men dispersed. He shaved his head and face and went on with a few men, thinking that in this way they might perhaps get out When they had gone some way their horses became tired out. They took to their feet and marched for two days more. Then getting ponies they came to a village in order to get something to eat Meanwhile the brother of Kul Kāfir recognised the Mirzā and arrested him with the aid of the villagers and took him before Pīr Muhammad Khān He confined him for some days and spoke of releasing him. The impure wretches of Transoxiana came in numbers to visit the Mirzā on account of a similarity of disposition. Pīr Muhammad Khān grew suspicious and hastened to put him to
death. The chronogram of this occurrence was Kūrāk kusht (Kūrāk 12
killed, 967) Kūrāk was the name of an executioner. M. Sulaimān found the chronogram *Ko nakhl-i-umed-i-pidr* ("where is the sapling[1] of a father's hope," 967). Two days before this event M. Ibrāhīm composed an ode (*qaṣīda*) of which the opening lines were—

Verse.

I went to the land of regret like a tulip with a scar[2] on my heart,
At the resurrection I'll rise from the clay with a scarred heart!

A wonderful thing was that before this march M. Ibrāhīm was always troubled about a dream which he had had, and was divided between fear and hope M. Ibrāhīm used to describe the dream as follows "One night I came to wait upon H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī I was gazing on his beautiful countenance, and was in a

[1] The Iqbālnāma remarks that if the *ko* be omitted we get the date of Ibrāhīm's birth also for he was 26 when he was killed, and *ko*=26 See Ethé Catalogue I O L. e 420 No 583 Ibrahīm was born 941 It appears from the Haft Iqlīm s. v made by M Sulaimān. The two chronograms, one for 941 and the other for 967, appeared in an elegy composed by a dear man *'azīzī*.

[2] Alluding I suppose to the black spot at the bottom of some tulips, or perhaps only to their varied mark.

reverie, being much in contemplation of the Divine halo From time to time a longing to have his features took possession of my heart One night I saw myself in a dream, possessed of his features, and was rejoicing thereat, but when I put my hand on my beard and eyebrows, I found that they were all rotten and came to pieces, so that in a short space of time I had no beard, or eyebrows or eye-lashes I awoke grieving at this, and the sorrow for it will not leave me It appears that some harm will come to me"

When M. Sulaimān had crossed the ravines (*jarha*) he went towards Badakhshān by way of Wakhsh[1] and the desert of Mahmud With a few men he came amongst the people of the Hazārajāt and had to fight He gave proof of courage and went on attacking, whatever loss he incurred (*kushta kushta*) Two and thirty times they blocked his progress He personally fought and gained deliverance When he reached Badakhshān, he got the news of the Mirzā's mishap The gates of sorrow were opened on his days Especially did Haram Begam, the daughter of Sultān Wāis Qibcāq and mother of the Mirzā fall into prolonged sorrow She put on blue clothes and wore them as long as she lived One of the eloquent recited this quatrain—

Verse.

Ah, ruby of Badakhshān, thou has gone from Badakhshān,
Thou wentest shining from the protection of the sun,
Thou wert in the world like Sulaimān's ring,
Alas, thou hast gone from Sūlaimān's hand

Assuredly whoever fails to recognise the power of the lord of the age, and becomes intoxicated with the heady wine of the world, will see such days This is the first stage that has been reached Give ear to me, for among the occurrences I shall describe the down fall of M Sulaimān,[1] so that the wise may take warning The brief statement now is, that on the day when Mun'im Khān, the Khān Khānān gave his feast the ambassadors were introduced And when the protestations, the laments and the apologies for crimes of the Mirzā had been made known, the heart of the Shāhinshah which

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1 Sulaimān apparently crossed the Oxus and made an immense detour for Wakhsh lies to the N of Fayzābād

is an ocean of kindness, accepted the excuses, and after making kind 1 inquiries he expressed compassion for the Mirzā He used lofty utterances, and the whole of that joyful day was spent in mental and physical pleasures

During this auspicious year a large number of aspirants left their homes and came to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune, being attracted by the reports of the justice and liberality of the Khedive of the age They succeeded in their objects and made the eulogium of H M the Shāhinshāh the amulet of their faith and fortune Among them came the blessed feet of that bowl of knowledge and deposit of truths—Khwāja Abdu shahīd, the son of Khwāja 'Abdulla, who is known as Khwājagan Khwāja who again was the son of Khwāja Nāṣiru d-dīn Ubāidullah, who is known as Khwāja Ahrār[1] Khwāja Abdu shahīd had external accomplishments and also internal gifts He obtained the exultation of joining the sublime assembly, which is an auspicious elixir of things temporal and spiritual, and H M the Shāhinshah who was inwardly a student in the Divine school, came forward with reverence and did him honour That reservoir of instruction, Maulāna S'aid[2] Turkistāni, who was at the head of the learned men of Transoxiana, and who had spent a lifetime in the society of Maulānā Ahmad Junaid[3] also made the acquaintance of H M the Shāhinshāh The Maulānā also was imbued with inward knowledge Though he had not plunged so far into the niceties of Divine wisdom, or into physics and mathematics, yet he had attained a high rank in those sciences which are current in Transoxiana and had not made his knowledge a cause of trouble and disturbance At this auspicious time, when the management of political and financial affairs and the expansion and contraction of the affairs of the Sultanate were illuminated by the radiancy of H.M

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[1] Blochmann 539 and Badāūnī Lowe 166 and 174 also Niẓamu-d dīn The author of the Iqbālnāma states that he was born in his grandfather's lifetime and two-and-a half years before his death So he must have been born in 1488 or 87 (Khwājah Aḥrār died in 1490) and was over seventy when he came to India

[2] Blochmann 540 Badāūnī II 49 and III 152 He died in Kābul in 970 and Badāūnī represents him as returning from India unappreciated

[3] Badāūnī and some MSS of A. N have

Shāhinshāh's supervision, various ranks of men and skilful persons o every country came and were successful spiritually and temporally By the felicity of the attention of God s shadow the transactions of the Sultanate took an upward course The market of administra tions became brisk A lofty foundation was given to faith The world's springtime became more adorned The masters of religion received support Slanderers lost their trade Worshippers of the creature received eyes to see with The morning of auspiciousness breathed for the worshippers of God The real world became re vealed The outer world acquired splendour

Among the events of this time was the marriage of M Sharifu d din Husain The auspicious minded Shāhinshāh, who from out ward signs knows secrets constantly distinguishes by royal favours and raised to lofty rank a number of persons who come before him, and are noted for good services and loyalty, and in whom high lineage adds to their intrinsic merits By causing them to revolve continually in his presence he observes and studies their character For the well founded idea of the Shāhinshāh is, "Perchance a knave has put on the garments of the honest and has come into the
128 lists of the elect, and there may occur a fault and a fissure in the pillars of the sovereignty through his wickedness" It was on the same principle that the sages of old, when they would strip the veil of secrecy from hearts, poured reason robbing wine into their mouths and made them intoxicated, so that their weak heads gave out from drunkenness whatever secret there was in their minds

Verse.

Men try man by the test of wine

And when the intention is right, to give wine of this kind as approved by the dicta of the wise To overthrow such knavish in telligence and to test it is befitting to world adorning religion In the same manner the principle of this world adorning Shāhinshāh is that when he desire to know the calibre of anyone's talents and disposition he primes him with the man overthrowing wine of the world (i e, prosperity) and makes him mad with the world s in ebriety, and then reads with the eyes of insight the nature of his character Short sighted men, whose eyes do not fall on the ob

and are whirled round in the trough of error shoot out the tongue of reproach saying, "Why was such confidence reposed without inquiry?" While they who know the degrees of perfection recognise in this practice the use of the mirror of characters and eulogise such testing An instance of this testing is M Sharafu d din Husain, who was of very exalted lineage, and whom H M looked upon with the eye of promoting, and to whom he gave lofty rank in order that he might be a prop of the Sultanate As the high connections and the reputation of the Mirza were visible to all the world, some of the imperial servants, who only looked to external rank, judged him to be sound inwardly as well as externally, and gave him in marriage the cupola of chastity, the holy fruit of the Sultanate, Bakhshi[1] Bānu Begam, who was H M the Shahinshah's pure sister By this alliance the position of the Mirza was enormously exalted Soon afterwards he obtained leave to go to Sarkār Nāgor which was his fief

One of the occurrences of this year was the sending M Qarā Bahādur Khan, the brother[2] of M Haidar Gurgan, to conquer Kashmir As it is a proper part of the rules of the administration of justice and of world sway that whenever a ruler engages in his own pleasures, and spends his time in gratifying his lusts, and does not attend to the cherishing of his subjects and to symphathising with the oppressed, and to overthrowing the oppressors, the Lord of the Age, to whom Almighty God has given power and made him the governor of the terrene and terrestrials, should for the sake of thanksgiving to God, strive to uproot that tyrant, and to make over the inhabitants of his country to the prudent and just-minded, and should consider that as the preamble of elect devotion, so, acting upon this principle, an order was issued this year that a force be put under the command of M Qarā Bahādur, a relative of M Ḥaidar, and one who was acquainted with the country, and that he be sent to conquer Kashmir,

[1] She had previously been married to M Ibrāhīm whose death occurred in the previous year

[2] The word *baradar* is used here loosely He really was Ḥaidar's cousin From an incidental remark of Gulbadan Begam to the effect that Gulcahra was in Qarā Khān's house when her brother Hindāl died it seems probable that Gulcahra had been married to Qarā Bahādār This might account in part for his getting this command

inasmuch as the disturbances by intriguing Kashmīris, and the injustice of Ghāzī Khān, the ruler of Kashmir, had been brought to the royal ears. A large body of men were nominated to assist Qarā Bahādūr. At this time Ghāzī Khān, the son of Kācī Cak, was the ruler of Kashmir, for the government thereof had come to him after his father. But the truth is that he was the son of Husain Cak the brother of Kācī Cak. When the measure of Ḥusain Cak's days was filled, Kācī Cak, either swayed by lust, or influenced by political considerations, took to himself his pregnant wife. Two or three months after the marriage Ghāzī Khān was born.[1]

As Qarā Bahādūr was not skilful nor laborious he proceeded on his service after long delay, and arrived at Rajaurī in the height of the hot season Naṣrat Khān, Fatah Cak, nephew of Daulat Cak, Lohar, Ankari, Najī Rīnā, the brother of 'Īdī Rinā, Yūsuf Cak, son of Ramakī Cak, and Khwāja Ḥājī came and joined him. As they saw that the army was not well constituted, Naṣrat Khān, Fataḥ Cak, Lohar and Ankarī[2] fled to Kashmīr. The army remained for three months in *Lāh Khokar, near Bimbhar, waiting for the coming of the* auxiliaries. As the leaders of the force were old servants, they took the longer time in arriving. It is not by such slowness and heaviness that the entrance into Kashmīr is to be effected, for the roads of that country are of such a nature that if the ruler get news a few days before of *the approach of strangers and seize the passes,* it would be difficult, or rather impossible, for an army adorned with thousands of Rustams to get possession of the country. Ghāzī Khān, who heard of the coming of the army, and some months had passed meanwhile, so strongly fortified the roads and passes that there could be no idea of getting through them. He also sent[3] his infantry down from the hills M. Qarā Bahādūr, after fighting for some days near Rajaurī, was defeated and turned back. It was not solely the strength of the Kashmīris that effected this. The season of ague, the beginning of the rains and the non-arrival of the auxiliary force were the principal causes of the defeat. A wonderful fight

[1] A similar account is given by Niẓāmu d dīn in his account of Kashmīr, and he gives details of Ghāzī Khān's reign.

[2] The T. A., p 620 seems to call him the son of Sahū At p 624 Lohar is called Deo Harī.

[3] The T. A says, he himself stayed at Naurūzkot and sent on his infantry

occurred on this occasion. On one side were musketeers, and on the other archers Though the royal soldiers were few in number, yet by heavenly aid they did great things and gave proof of their courage Kucak Bahādūr, a Rustam hearted man specially distinguished himself At last as the thing was an impossibility and as the superintendents of fortune had reserved the conquest of this delightful country for another time when the world cherishing Shāhinshāh should throw off the veil over his world adorning beauty and undertake the management of affairs without the partnership of the destructive and contumacious they did not on this occasion gather together the materials of victory Qarā Bahādur made such arrangements as he could and came to the fort of Daira[1] near Rajauri Kūcak Bahādur was wounded with an arrow He became a prisoner and was brought before Ghāzī Khān As the Kashmiris had seen his valour, Ghāzī Khān received him with kindness and made him over to the physicians But as remedies were of no avail he took the path of annihilation[2] Next day Qarā Bahādur arrived at Naushahra At this time of increasing dominion H M the Shāhinshāh in accordance with the suitability of the time was engaged in Agra, the capital, in rendering thanks for the glorious favours of God and under the disguise of inattention to the affairs of the sovereignty, for every day the notes of fortune and felicity were coming into evidence In every direction countries were being conquered, and the news of victories was arriving From all quarters the lords of sincerity were congregating in crowds Dominion was increasing, and fortune was adorning Understanding was becoming far-sighted, and men were becoming devoted What place in that holy festival could be held by such news as that of what had happened to Qarā Bahādūr? And what dust[3] of loss could it raise in that sublime sanctuary?

Among the occurrences was the coming of the news that Bairām Khān had passed away) As the holy personality is a fountain

[1] There is the variant Dātara and several MSS have Danra, so it may be the Dansor marked in Dr Stein's map see J. A. S. B for 1899 as N. E. of Rajapūrā.

[2] But the defeat was a very serious one The T A tells us Qarā Bahādur had a large army and nine elephants, and that 500 Moguls were killed The T A. gives particulars of Ghāzī Khān's reign See also Jarrett II 390

of generosity and humanity he expressed regret at this event in spite of the things that had taken place, and of which a few out of many have been related I do not know if this event was the retribution of past deeds, or if his mind was still polluted by evil thoughts, or if his prayer had been answered, or whether the favour of God released that good man from the heavy burden of shame In truth Bairām Khān was in reality a good man, and of excellent qualities. On account of bad company, which is the worst evil for mortals, his excellencies were first perceived by him, and his infatuation was increased by excessive flattery For, whenever one fixes his eye on his own goodnesses and abilities there becomes a brisk market of flatterers in the antechamber of his heart And he takes every flattery that reaches him to be true, and becomes a self worshipper, and a self-adorner Consequently when the time came the true beauty of the Lord of the Age remained hidden from Bairām Khān, because it was screened by the tender age and the absence of practice in political matters While searching for the defects of others he did not consider his own But the house of flatterers did not do him so much harm as did his honest but inexperienced and short-sighted friends At length, as he in reality belonged to the band of the auspicious of mind and awakened of fortune, he by good guidance did not end in rebellion and contumacy, and lived to repent. By the blessing of service and the grace of pardon he attained to happiness, and the king of the world became pleased with him and was gracious He set off on a pilgrimage to the glorious places, with honour, accompanied by his family, and provided with goods When he arrived at the city of Pattan,[1] which is the nearest city of Gujrat, and used formerly to be called Nahrwāla, he stayed for some days in that delightful neighbourhood in order to take repose. At that time the governor[2] of the city was Musā Khān Fuladi, and he was firmly established there A number of Afghans had assembled round him, and were disturbers of the country Among them was Mubārak Khan Lohāni, whose father had been killed in the battle of Māciwāra when Bairām Khān was in command A desire for revenge took possession of that mad Afghan, and he resolved to kill

[1] Jarrett II 262 and Bayley's Gujrat, 25

[2] On behalf of the king of Gujrat See Bayley's Gujrat, 453

Bairām Khān Moreover[1] a Kashmīrī wife of Selīm Khān, the son of Sher Khān, and her daughter by him, were in the caravan, and were intending to go to the Hijāz along with Bairām Khān. It had also been arranged that Bairam Khān should marry his son to the daughter, this too was displeasing to the Afghans.

While Bairām Khān was in Pattan he was continually visiting its gardens, &c, and one day he went on the great pond,[2] which is a delightful excursion, and has within it a pavilion[3] which can be reached by boat At the time when he disembarked and was about to mount his equipage, that ignorant, unrighteous one and 30 or 40 other Afghan wretches came to the bank of the pond to attack Bairām Khān It appeared as if they had come to pay their respects to him, and so he called them to him When that villain went up to him he incontinently drew his dagger and struck Bairam Khān on the back with such force that the point came out at his breast Another wretch struck him on the head with a sword and finished

[1] It seems probable that Islam Shāh s wife joined Bairām at Pattan, and that his stay there was partly on her account Pattan was full of Afghans and Islām Shāh s wife may have come there with Hājī Khan Alwīrī Probably it was he and Mūsā Khān who disliked the marriage proposal, for if they did not connive at Bairām s murder they seem to have taken no steps to protect him or his family It is Badāunī, Lowe 40, who tells us that Hājī Khān was at Pattan when Bairām came there He says that Hājī Khān and Mūsā treated Bairām with respect and hospitality, but this feeling may have changed afterwards, and certainly the Afghān governor seems to have been very remiss in providing for the safety of Bairām s family

The passage in Elliot V. 268, describing the Rānamand temple, is not in the Lucknow edition, nor in a MS in my possession

[2] Known as the Sahasnak or Sahaslang The word really is Sahasralinga i e, the thousand lingam-temples The lake was made by Siddha Rajah Jai Singha who belonged to the Solankhī or Chālukya dynasty and reigned from 1094-1143 A D The Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Part I, 179, says 'The remains of the Sahasralinga lake at Anahilapura show that it must have been a work of surprising size and richness well deserving its title of *Mahāsarah* or great lake See also Bayley s Gujrat, p 35

[3] *Nishīman* a bower or nest Cf Spenser s ' It was a chosen plot of fertile land amongst wide waves set like a little nest." The Bengalis call such a place a *jalūnghī*. Apparently there is no word in English exactly corresponding to this, though "water-pavilion" may give the idea.

him. In such a condition did he, fortunate in his end, depart from this world with the words Allah Akbar (God is great) on his lips He had the bliss of martyrdom which was ever his wish, and for which he asked in his morning prayers and for which he sought the prayers of the men of God One day, in the very midst of his authority, one of the simple minded Saiyids[1] said, as he rose up to quit his levee, that he would say the Fātiha[2] with the intention that the Nawāb should obtain martyrdom, Bairām Khān smiled and said, "My good Sir (Mir) why this commotion, and why this regret, we wish for martyrdom, but not in such a hurry"

In fine, his companions were disconcerted and confused at this and dispersed, and Bairām Khān lay in the dust and in his blood till some faquirs and poor men lifted up his bloody corpse and committed it to earth in the precincts of the tomb of Shaikh Hisām[3] who was one of the great Shaikhs of his time On the day[4] of Bād 22 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 14th Jumāda al awal 968, 31st January 1561, this catastrophe occurred [5]Qāsim Arslān made the following chronogram —

Verse

132 When Bairām donned the pilgrim's dress to visit the K'aaba
His martyrdom by the way fulfilled[6] his object

[1] The *M'aasir* I 380 explains this by saying that the Saiyid had heard of Bairam's practice of shaving and bathing every Wednesday in prospect of martyrdom Wednesday is a lucky day and Bairām's practice might have to do with this and also have a reference to the Akhir Cārsambha a Masalman festival which celebrates the last time (the last Wednesday of Safar) that Muhammad bathed See Hughes Dict of Islam 12 2

[2] The first chapter of the Qurān The phrase say the *fatih* is used figuratively for entering upon an undertaking Badauni Lowe 229 note

[3] The Iqbālnāma says he was a disciple of Nizāmu d dīn Auliya.

Hāji 'Aārif Qandhārī was present at the murder and tells us in his history that he completed the pilgrimage

[4] Firishta says (Beveridge's Hist of India I 124) the assassination took place in the morning but Badāunī says it was at the time of evening prayer This is more likely Bairām had evidently been spending the day at the nishīman or islet

[5] Blochman 609 Badāūnī III 178

[6] *Kar tamām* also has the meaning of 'was killed *lit* "his business was done Badāūnī II, 45 has a different reading

An *invisible angel uttered this chronogram*
Shahid shud Muhammad Bairam
(Muhammad Bairām became a martyr, 968)

Afterwards the body was removed to Mashhad by the exertions of Husain Quli Khān[1] the Khān Jahān and buried there On the occasion of this strange catastrophe the vagabonds of Pattan plundered Bairām Khān's camp, and left nothing undone in the way of insolence The horror of the murder produced great affliction among the people of the deceased Muhammad Amin Diwāna, Bābāi Zambur and Khwāja Mulk brought away 'Abdu r-rahim, Bairām Khān's heir, and who was then four years old, from the scene of the catastrophe along with his mother and some servants, and went off to Ahmadābād A crowd of Afghan wretches quickly followed them, and the unfortunate sufferers had to fight the whole of their way through to Ahmadābād They stayed there four months, and then Muhammad Amin Diwana and some servants took the proper course and set off for the mankind protecting court, taking with them Abdu r rahim Before they had kissed the threshold, news of Bairām Khān's death had reached H M the Shāhinshāh, and a gracious order was issued for the attendance of 'Abdu r rahim This order reached Jālor[2] at the time of friendlessness and orphanage and was healing for broken hopes The purport of the order was that he should come to Court and be reared by the Shāhinshāh Several true men such as Bābāi Zambūr, Yādgār Husain,[3] brought that new fruit of loyalty to Agra in the middle of the sixth divine year, corresponding to the beginning of 969, September 1561, and submitted him to the testing eye of H M, and exalted him by prostration on the threshold H M the Shāhinshāh, in spite of evil-speakers and evil thinkers received that child of lustrous forehead, in the lines of whose brow there were the notes of nobleness and

[1] It seems that the body was first removed to Delhi and that it was taken to Mashhad in 985 1577 It would be interesting to know if the tomb is still recognisable there I may here remark that the best biography of Bairām Khān which I have seen is that contained in the Darbar Akbari pp 157 196 The important letter from Bairām quoted there at p. 183 comes from Khāfi Khān I 147

[2] A town in Jodhpūr

[3] Blochmann, 437 and 516.

of the faithful bled, and how their livers melted? The shopkeeper spirits of business-men became disturbed. After some days some pimples, which were like rue[1] to the disease, came out on the surface of the skin, and Almighty God decreed, as was fitting, the preservation of that great one whom He himself had formed. In a short space of time that commotion died down, and that note of loss was erased, and there was complete health. The sick world became well, and the troubled minds of the good were refreshed. For the sake of thanksgiving for the Divine bounty, there were gifts and largesses. Want departed from the country of the poor, longing subsided in the hearts of the supplicants. The imperial servants showered gifts in proportion to their condition and loyalty, and were bestowers of joy on mankind.

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[1] *Sipand*, "Herb of grace." Badaūnī, Ranking, 476 note.

CHAPTER XXXIII

Conquest of Malwa

Worship and devotion are incumbent on every class of the sons of Adam, and the worship which befits the household of sovereignty, and the thanksgiving which is prescribed for the princely dispensers of justice is that they be continually meditating the tranquillity of 1
their subjects, that they apply their royal energies to the raising up of the injured and oppressed, and that they free the heads of those distressed ones from the heavy burden of tyrants and troublers First, let them take proper measures for appointing right thinking, right speaking intelligencers If the collecting of such a band cause delay, let them, by the strength of their understanding and foresight, appoint individuals who have no mutual acquaintance, and let them by this excellent means learn the characters of high and low Secondly let them bring to bear that steady contemplation which has in it a divine illumination, and let them observe right reason both in their wrath and in their levity Thirdly, let them by every method which their lofty intelligence may suggest practise extensive views and wide sagacity, and give power and influence to men of talent who have partaken of the sweet waters of sincerity, and let them increase their authority and preserve their own dignity. Let them not take microscopic views on great occasions, and let them treat every member of the tribe of the disloyal according to his deserts Let them, after warning, inflict suitable chastisement on the seditious and intriguing who have uplifted the head of troubling and who for the sake of their own lusts regard corruptions as emendations And as mighty princes maintain such principles within their own territories, so, too, do they in other countries exercise such administration of justice and build their world conquests upon this foundation so that their glory and their dominions increase day by day As these world-adorning qualities are not acquisitions, but are innate in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh, he at this auspicious time, when he was becoming prominent, and was opening the gate of joy for mankind, gave

some measure of attention to the affairs of sovereignty and took to bestowing light and justice on the darkened world

When the facts of the oppression of the people of Malwa and of the injustices of Baz Bahādur, of whom an abridged description has already been given, were brought to the Shāhinshāh's notice, his justice demanded that an army should be prepared and dispatched against that *intoxicated right disregarding one, and that the classes of humanity in that country, who are a grave trust from God, should* be delivered from the evils of the time Stringent orders were issued to those charged with the administration of affairs to make ready a large army commanded by brave and loyal officers and to employ it in this lofty service In a short space of time the administrators prepared an army in accordance with these orders In the end of the fifth Ilāhī year, and beginning[1] of 968 Pīr Muhammad Khān, 'Abdullah Khān, Qiyā Khan Kang, Shāh Muhammad Khān Qandahārī, 'Aādil Khān his son, Sādiq Khān, Habīb Qulī Khān Haidar 'Alī Khan, Muhammad Qulī Toqbāī Qiyā Khan Sahib hasan (the beauti-
135 ful?), Mīrak Bahādur, Samānjī Khan Payanda Muhammad Khān Moghal, Muhammad Khwāja Kushtīgīr[2] (the wrestler), Mihr 'Alī Sīlduz, Mīram Arghun Shāh Fanāī, and other sincere heroes and devoted men were appointed under the command of Adham Khān to proceed southwards and display justice and liberality and to be balm for the wounds of the oppressed ones of Malwa If the ruler of that country should awake from his negligent slumbers and be prepared to amend his ways, he was to be made hopeful of the royal clemency and to be exalted by kissing the lofty threshold, so that he might be treated in accordance with his behaviour If his foot was slippery from the *wine of insouciance and could not convey him* swiftly on the highway of obedience and service punishment was to be brought home to him (*lit* be placed in his bosom) so that he might be a lesson to other stiffnecked ones The victorious troops

[1] *Mubadi* But there must be some mistake for the fifth Ilahī year ended in March 1561 and 968 began in September 1560 and *in the next* chapter we find the beginning of the sixth Ilāhī year corresponding to the 24th of the sixth month of 968 Firishta, in his account of Malwa, says the expedition took place in the end of 968 Perhaps for *mubadi* we *should read masaeī equal to*

[2] Several MSS and the Iqbālnāma have *kafgīr*

tightly bound the strap of courage according to the rules of service and set forth to conquer, placing their feet aright on this highway. They did not march so fast that the camp-bazaar could not keep pace with them nor did they go so slowly that anyone could suppose they were sparing themselves

Verse.

He's no traveller[1] who whiles goes fast and whiles goes slow.
He's a traveller who goes slowly and steadily.

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[1] *Rahrū* Often applied in a religious sense; a pilgrim

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Beginning of the sixth year from the sacred accession, viz., the Ilāhī year Shahriyūr of the first cycle.

At this time of smiling fortune the standard of the procession of the New Year shone forth spiritually and physically, and the flag of the new spring-morning reflected mirrorwise the countenance of dominion and fortune. After 9 hours, 59 minutes of what is commonly[1] called the night of Wednesday, but which was really Tuesday, 24 Jamāda-al-akhirī 968 of the lunar year, 10 March 1561, the great Light and Illuminator of the universe cast its rays on the glorious mansion of the Ram and came into the increasing realms of the Shāhinshāh, and the sixth year from the holy accession, viz., the Ilāhī year, Shahrīyūr began. The troops of flowers displayed their effulgence, and the odours of the gardens insinuated themselves into the brain of joy.

Verse.[2]

The night-wandering winds brought back the zephyr from the stream,
The New Year clouds again unfurled the flags from the hills.
The former came swiftly like messengers of good tidings.
The latter were like jewel-laden elephants moving in line.
Hail the fragrance in which the perfumer ('Aṭṭār) has no part.
Glorious the broidery whose embroiderer is hid.

The heavenly bodies gave the good news of peace and tranquillity from the prolongation of the shade of daily-increasing

[1] This may explain text, p. 8, six lines from foot. A.F. counts his days from midnight.

[2] The Lucknow edition has an useful note on these lines. The night wind is represented as bringing back the breezes of morning, and the clouds are described as coming from the hill-country and as resembling elephants.

sovereignty. The movements of the spheres conveyed to time and terrene the news of the conquests of new territories.

When the victorious troops, who had girded up their loins for the conquest of Malwa, approached that country and ascertained the infatuation and arrogance of Bāz Bahādūr, who had exercised his power with highhandedness and tyranny, they drew up their ranks in proper array. Adham Khān and Pīr Muhammad Khān were in the centre, 'Abdullah Khān and a number of others were on the right wing, Qiyā Khān Kang and others were on the left. The vanguard was commanded by Shāh Muhammad Khān of Qandahār and Sādiq Khān.

From innate insouciance Bāz Bahādūr did not concern himself with public affairs. Wine, which experts have prescribed, in small quantities and at *fixed times*, in consideration of the arrangement and composition of their bodily elements, for certain temperaments and constitutions, was made by this man, who was immersed in bestial pleasures, a cause of increased folly, and he was continually indulging in it, without distinguishing night from day or day from night, and was continually using it. Music and melody which the wise and farsighted have employed at times of lassitude and depression, such as arise from the press of business and the burthen of humanity, as a means of lightening the mind and of cheerfulness, were regarded by this scoundrel[1] as a serious business, and he spent upon them all his precious hours—for which no exchange is possible. In the arrogance of infatuation he wrought works of inauspiciousness, and regarded not what has been said.

Verse.

Observe some secrecy in your meetings
Lest the watchman come in with sword-play.

When the army of fortune came near to Sārangpūr, which was the fool's paradise of this drunkard, he awoke in some measure from his insensate slumbers and came out from Sārangpūr, crapulous and wine-stained and took post three kos beyond it. He put his army in

[1] A.F. describes Bāz Bahādūr as an unrivalled singer. Blochmann 612. The Iqbālnāma says the same thing and adds that he had 400 musicians in his service.

order and prepared for battle. He gilded the centre (*qalb*)[1] with the base copper of his personality, and Selīm Khān Khaṣa-khel, the governor of Raisīn and Canderī, commanded the right wing. Adam[2] commanded the left wing. Tāj Khān Khāṣa-khel and Sūfī who had the vapours of audacity in their brains commanded the vanguard. The armies faced one another at the distance of two or three kos, and the braves on both sides were continually coming out and encountering They put the observance of the rules of wariness into the charge of men of skill while they themselves displayed intrepidity in combat. Every day a troop of gallant and capable men headed by an experienced loyalist, who possessed both abundant sense and abundant courage, proceeded to the flanks of the enemy and stopped the egress and ingress of the rebels, and especially of the convoyers of grain who in the language of India are called Banjāra They made the position of the enemy difficult. One day it was the turn of Shāh Muhammad Khān Qandahārī, Sādiq Khān, Payanda Muhammad Khān Moghal, Shāh Fanāī, Mihr 'Alī Sildūz, Samānjī Khān, and Muhammad Khwāja Kushtigīr. They set out after one watch of the night and losing their way they got on the other side of a body of the enemy and came near their stations Of necessity a fight took place; and there was a fierce hand to-hand engagement. When news of this was brought to the imperial camp, 'Abdullah Khān, Qiyā Khān Kang and a number of others galloped up and took part in the fight Though at first Adam came out and fought like a Rustum and repulsed the victorious army, yet Sādiq Khān and a number of others skilfully took possession of a ravine[3] and remained
137 firm. The imperial troops came up and discomfited the enemy. A hand-to-hand fight took place between Qiyā Khān and Selīm Khān, and the former was victorious, Ṣādiq Khān and Qiya Khān joined their forces and repulsed Bāz Bahādur who had driven off the troops in front of him.

A watch and somewhat more of the day had passed when the breeze of victory blew from the vent of fortune and the bud of

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[1] A.F. puns on this word which also means matrix and substance

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Bāz Bahādur's *taghāī*, i.e., mother's brother.

[3] *jarī rā girifta* Apparently this means taking possession of a fissure in the ground The Iqbālnāma has *darreh* before *girifta*.

conquest bloomed on the rosebush of hope. Owing to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and the excellent qualities of the Khedive of the age a glorious victory was gained, such as might be the embroidery of great successes. Bāz Bahādūr, wine-stained and disgraced, hastened off towards Khandesh and Barhānpūr. All his goods and chattels, his seraglio, and his singing and dancing women, who were the material of his pleasures and the decoration of his life, fell into the hands of the victors. The wretch, when he was about to face the victorious troops, had in accordance with the Indian custom placed confidential men in charge of his wives and concubines and had arranged that if they got sure tidings of his defeat they were to put all of them to the sword that they might not fall into strangers' hands. When the form of Bāz Bahādūr's defeat appeared in the mirror of results those devil-born ones acted according to the arrangement and with the water of the sword wiped out some of those fairy-framed puppets from the page of life. With the knife of injustice they erased from the world's folio the life-records of those innocents. Some were wounded and yet retained a breath of life, and for many the turn of slaughter had not come, when the victorious troops hastily marched into the city. The villains had not time to lay hands on these innocent women. The chief of them was Rūpmatī, renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm. Bāz Bahādūr was deeply attached to her and used to pour out his heart in Hindī poems descriptive of his love. A monster who had been left in charge of her uplifted the sword of wrong and inflicted several severe wounds on her. Just then the army of fortune arrived and brought out that half-slaughtered lovely[1] one. When Bāz Bahādūr had fled Adham Khān came in all haste and excitement to Sārangpūr to seize the buried and other treasures, and the seraglio with its singers and dancers whose beauty and melody were celebrated throughout the world, and whose heart-ravishing charms were sung of in the streets and markets. He took possession of all Bāz Bahādūr's property, including his concubines and dancing girls, and sent people to search for Rūpmatī. When this strain[2] reached her ear her faithful blood

[1] Ān ṣaid nīmbismil. The Iqbālnāma says that she was at first at her own request conveyed to the house of her spiritual adviser, Shaikh 'Umar.

[2] A.F. ironically calls it naghma, i.e., a soft, musical melody.

became aglow, and from love to Bāz Bahādūr she bravely quaffed the cup of deadly poison and carried her honour to the hidden chambers of annihilation ![1]

When Adham Khān had become victories by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh has innate infatuation increased, and the cap of his pride was set away by the wind of arrogance, that is, by his folloy and ignorance. His brain deteriorated and whatever Pīr
138 Muhammad Khān, his disinterested preacher, said to him in the way of advice was unheeded He personally returned thanks to God for so great a victory,[2] and performed the rites of thanks giving (i e the distribution of alms, etc. to the extent of his ability In order to gratify the imperial officers he inaugurated a great feast and made presents according to his own pleasure to all the servants of fortune's threshold who were in his company. Thereafter the whole of the conquered territory was parcelled out. Sarangpur and some select parganas were assigned to Adham Khān who was the ostensible leader Mandu and Ujjain were assigned to the real leader, Pir Muhammed Khān Sarkar Hindia was given to Qiyā Khān, and Mandesur and its appurtenants to Sadiq Khān Abdullah Khān Moghal returned to his fief of Kalpi Ādham Khān reserved for himself all the rare and exquisite articles as well as the stores and buried treasures of their country which were the collections of ages, and many of the famous dancing girls and beauties whose loveliness and grace were bruited about in all the nine heavens, as well as many singers and musicians and occupied himself with delights and pleasures He set apart some elephants out of the spoils of fortune and sent them to the world protecting Court along with the reports of the victory

1 The story of Rūmpatī is told with greater detail by Firishta in his account of the rulers of Mālwa Lucknow edition 274 of the 5th part Blochmann p 429 says that both Baz Bahadur and Rūmpati are buried in one tomb in the middle of a tank in Ujjain But this seems doubtful See Dorn History of the Afghans. p 173 See also for picture of Rūmpati's palace, etc Captain Barnes's account of Dhar, Mandu and Bombay Branch R A S XXI app 155 271 288 etc

2 Badaūni was present at the victory and describes the cruelties of Pīr Muhammad He seems to have been in attendance on his friend Mir Air-Sildaz Lowe 42

Among the glorious victories which made this year illustrious was that won by Khān Zamān over the Afghans Though Alī Qulī Khān Zamān had no portion of the sweet waters of loyalty—nay, did not understand his own loss or gain and was always regardless of the Shāhinshāh's kindness and favour and was swiftly careering in the whirlpool of error, yet as the veil over his actions had not been withdrawn, and he was giving himself out as one of the officers of eternal dominion he was, by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune successful in all his undertakings At the time when Bairam Khān had left the scene the black hearted and short sighted Afghans thought they had their opportunity and exalted the son of Mubariz Khān, commonly known as 'Adalī, and gave him the name of Sher Khān They gathered themselves together and determined to march against Khān Zamān and abolish him Khān Zamān was aware of their designs and set about strengthening the fort of Jaunpur He sent information to the neighbouring officers and, with the exception of Sikandar Khān Uzbeg he collected them all together *viz*, Bahādur Khān, Ibrāhīm Khan Uzbeg, Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl, Shaham Khan Jalāir, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Kamāl Khān Gakhar and others As the enemy was very strong, and had nearly 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, and 500 elephants, it was not judged prudent to advance and engage them The Afghan wretches thought the respite was to their advantage and marched with a large force, and a complete equipment against Jaunpūr, and encamped beside the Gumtī on whose bank the city is situated On the third day they, being drunk with the wine of presumption, crossed the river with their forces in battle-order Sher Khān and Fatah Khān and a large body of troops proceeded towards the mosque of Sultan Husain Sharqī They sent off on the right a large detachment under the command of Y'aqūb Khān, Fattu, Saiyid Sulaiman Selim Khān Kharwar, and Jan'har Khān towards the Lal Darwāza and despatched Hasan Khan Bacgotī, and Adam the son of Fatah Khān with a number of vain glorious blackguards to the left towards the *band*[1] of Shaikh Bahlul Khān Zamān kept his men in hand according to rules and tactics

[1] This embankment is described in the Jaunpūrnāma ed 1899 p 7*b* It was N E the city and was put up by Shaikh Bahlūl who is apparently the confidential friend of Humāyūn who was put to death by Hindāl

(*baluzuk u-yasāmīsh*) and made ready for battle Brave men who had their hearts in their hands and were ready to sacrifice life for honour came forth on every side and engaged in hand to-hand combats Grand heroes fell upon Ḥasan Khān Bacgoti and he chose the disgrace of fleeing before the hair splitting archers At this moment Sher Khān came up with a body of brave men who were eager for battle and fought valiantly He drove off the victors into the city lanes The black hearted Afghans thought they had won a victory and turned off in another direction Meanwhile Khān Zamān took the lead with a number of determined men and retrieved the defeat He assailed the enemy in the rear with arrows and destroyed the futile success of the Afghans By the Divine aid, which supports the eternal dominion, a great victory soon declared itself Much booty and many noted elephants fell into the hands of the imperial servants When partizans of the glorious dominion who are not pure of heart or possessed of right dispositions can rear such victorious standards, merely from their being connected therewith, how can the extent of the victories of the sincere and loyal be reckoned up?

CHAPTER XXXV.

RAPID MARCH OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO MALWA, HIS CASTING HIS JUSTICE-DISTRIBUTING SHADOW OVER THE LAND, AND HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL

Whenever the world adorning Deity establishes the pillars of an auspicious one He totally subverts his opponents He overthrows those who begin by showing wheat, but who sell barley,[1] together with the open and secret foes, and in order that the rule "the most important and then the next most important[2]" may be observed, he begins by trampling in the dust of contempt the openly and inwardly perverse and sends them as outcasts to the realm of annihilation Then He despatches the inwardly worthless to the abyss of ruin and so cleanses the world of those who with vulpine trickery come in the guise of loyalists and do the work of enemies In brief, when God the world adorner made such a victory fall to Ali Quli Khān's lot He increased the stock of his infatuation He did not send to court 14
the spoils of this celestial victory, which was a gift of God The world conquering mind of the Shāhinshāh wished to visit the eastern provinces so that the Khān Zamān's infatuation might not become madness But as he knew that the correction of Adham Khān, who after the Mālwa victory was become seditious, was the most important matter, he determined on visiting and regulating that province which was one of the glorious gifts of God The excellent idea of the king, who in the beginning of things ever looks to the termination, and his far sightedness which in the commencement of cases considers how they may be happily ended, demanded that he should, in the first instance gallop the steed of intention towards Mālwa so that the actions of that evil doer might not be irremediable He was occupied with these thoughts when Sādiq Khān came to Court and told

[1] A proverbial expression for deceivers

[2] *alahamm falahamm* An Arabic phrase meaning that when there are many things of great importance to be done we must first take the most important of the most important

the real state of affairs This confirmed His Majesty in his resolution, and the officers were ordered to make the necessary arrangements for the expedition It was his innate kindness which inclined his heart to the amendments of Adham Khān *The desire to see* that delightful country and to arrange its affairs became fixed in his far seeing mind He left Mun'im Khan Khan Khanan, Khwāja Jahān and a number of others in Agra and without informing the great officers and Eyes of the State he went off with a band of special attendants in an auspicious hour of the day of Sarosh 17 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 11th Sh'aban 968, 27th April 1561

In passing near the fort of Rantambhur, of which Rai Sarjan was the governor, he did not think of taking it but continued his advance Rai Sarjan, when he heard of the approach of the victorious cavalcade, sent suitable presents by able officers and paid the homage of submission When he halted near the fort of Gāgraun[1] which is one of the strong forts of Malwa it transpired that Baz Bahadur had made it over to one of his confidants and that it had not yet been captured It was also reported to his Majesty that Adham Khān intended to take it in person One day while His Majesty was encamped there, the conquering heroes had been ordered to invest the fort (lit to inhoop that bezel of strength) When the governor became aware that the Shahinshah was casting the shadow of conquest over the fort he, inasmuch as he was able and for seeing made the keys of the fort the adminicle of his safety and became exalted by kissing the ground He was honoured by royal favours His Majesty loft Khaldin in charge of that strong fort and went on in the end of the same day He travelled rapidly
141 all night and in the morning which is the time of expanding hearts, and augmenting life, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Sarangpur He made the long march (from Agra), in which there were so many ascents and descents, in sixteen days and planted his darkness dispelling standards in the district of Sarangpur on the day of Bahman 2 Khardad Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday the 27 Sh'aban (13th May)

1 I the Rajputana State of Jhalawā See I C Jarrett II 09 and the Rājputana Gazetteer II 08

One of the wonderful things was that on the same day Adham Khān had marched out from Sarangpur with the intention of taking the fort of Gagraun, and had advanced two or three kos He had no knowledge of the Shāhinshāh's expedition Though Maham Anaga had sent off swift couriers to inform him of the expedition and to enable him to make proper preparations for service, yet the rapidity of His Majesty was such as dream messengers could not keep pace with what then could be done by hard-riding couriers? Adham Khān had arranged his forces and was tranquilly proceeding towards Agraun when the world lighting gilded balls (kaukabā) were seen in the distance Although but few of the victorious troops were on that night in attendance on His Majesty's stirrup, yet throughout the whole of those plain and deserts there were, by reason of the armies of the Divine favour, such a press and aggregation of soldiers of the invisible world, and horsemen of the heavenly land, that they appeared to the eyes of the companions to be beyond count. Some Adham Khān's soldiers, who had gone ahead of him, suddenly came upon the royal escort When their glance fell upon His Majesty they involuntarily threw themselves from their horse and did homage. Adham Khān was amazed when he saw his men so confused and flinging themselves off their horses "Good God, to whom are they paying such reverence?" In this astonishment he urged to his horse, and came nearer. When his eye fell on the world illuminating beauty of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh he became confounded, and like a bewildered moth dismounted and did homage. He placed the face of servitude in the dust of supplication and was alted by kissing the stirrup As the rule of kindness to servants and of ignoring their faults is innate in His Majesty, he received Adham Khān with favour and dismounted there for a while in order that the latter might be re assured and also that the other followers who had come with Adham might obtain the bliss of doing homage Then he remounted proceeded to Sarangpur. By alighting at Adham Khān's quarters in that city he made them the envy of heaven's mate. Adham Khān stood on the carpet of servitude and brought forward things rare and beautiful, but he had not comprehended the extent of His Majesty's nurturing care and kindness, and had raised his foot above his degree, the enlightened soul, which is a divine and truth revealing chalice, did not open out towards him.

Devotion's law is that when there is material absence there is
142 real and spiritual presence, and that due respect and reverence are still paid to one's master and that one's private wishes are forgotten in the pleasing of one's benefactor What am I saying? Devotion is a priceless jewel It does not deck every head, nor is imparted to every heart. Whither had calculation gone? And what had become of business considerations? What sort of dexterity is it to trick out the booth of disguise and dissimulation in the face of such fostering and kindness? Assuredly, he who out of wickedness plays the game of deceit on the board of honest men casts the dust of destruction into the cup[1] of his name and fame! When Adham Khān was making his hypocritical fawnings the acute mind of the Shāhinshāh felt no pleasure, and whatever Adham did was not approved of by the holy soul. Among other things he had produced clothes in order that His Majesty, as he had come off a dusty ride, might put on fresh attire But as Adham's behaviour had not cleansed the fine dust on the skirt of the pure and holy soul His Majesty disdained the garments of hypocrisy Adham Khān stumbled into the net of agitation and confusion In the abundance of his distress he sought the aid of each one of the favoured courtiers, and displayed humiliation and self-effacement At length His Majesty, who is a mine of gentleness and pity, took compassion on his misery, and, yielding to he own magnanimity, he favoured his servant by putting on the fresh clothes which he had brought He also spoke pleasantly to him. As on that day his chaste ladies had remained behind and had not come with the cavalcade, His Majesty slept that night on the roof of Adham Khān's house That evil, inauspicious wretch was lying in ambush and was waiting for his opportunity, as perhaps the glance of the holy one might fall on his harem, and so the villain might make this a pretext and slay him His Majesty's holy mind which is a spiritual rose-garden was void of such thoughts, and as he had made a long march he indulged in a long repose Adham Khān's ill-omened harem house was a thing of which that wise and chaste one never thought As the Divine protection ever watches over that spiritual and material cynosure, that black-hearted and ill-fated one had no power or pretext (for injuring him) and the

1 Kāsa i sir The cup of the head i e, the skull

Avaunt" of real and spiritual sovereignty protected him in his oneliness.

Next day Māham Anaga brought the zanāna which had remained behind and arranged a great entertainment. Adham Khān was roused from the sleep of negligence by that able dame and recognised the supreme honour of the advent of the Khedive of the world He tendered gifts and prepared a feast. He produced before His Majesty whatever had come into his hands from Bāz Bahādur's estate, whether moveable or immovable, as well as all the wives, dancing girls and courtezans. His Majesty in accordance with his general benevolence accepted them, and presented him with some of them. He stayed four days in Sārangpūr and on the day of Khardād Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 2 Ramẓān (17th May, 1561), he set out on his return to Agra. At the first stage, which was in the district of Sārangpūr and was called Patāncor, Adham Khān gave way to evil thoughts and disgraced himself for ever and ever. As Māham Anaga was dear to that appreciator of service, and connoisseur of jewels he winked at the affair and said nothing. The details are briefly as follows: As folly and blindness of heart were the confirmed qualities of Adham Khān he intrigued with his mother's servants who waited in the royal harem, and spirited away from the Shāhinshāh's enclosures two special beauties from among Bāz Bahādur's women and who had been recently exhibited to His Majesty. He indulged in the vain thought that as everyone was at this time engrossed with preparations for departure no one would follow up this trail. From this foolish idea he elected to place such a blot on his fortune's forehead. He became marked with an eternal curse and was disgraced for ever. When this scandalous proceeding came to the royal hearing an order was given to stop the march for this day and to send off swift messengers to search for the lost ones. Able men undertook the service, and by making proper search they caught both of them and brought them back Māham perceived that if these two women were introduced to His Majesty the veil over her acts would be raised, and her son's treachery be revealed. She therefore caused these two innocent ones to be put to death for "a severed head makes no sound." The Khedive of the age overlooked this gross outrage, as the veil was not yet removed from his world-illuminating countenance, and regarded the done as

not done. I laud the ocean-drinking capacity which in its abundant affection and plenitude of wisdom can regard such shocking crimes as uncommitted!

From the time when the news of the arrival of the sublime cavalcade reached the officers of Mālwa everyone of them came from his fief and carried the countenance of sincerity to the princely threshold. On the day when the tents were pitched outside of Sārangpur Pīr Muhammad Khān, Qiyā Khān, Ḥabib 'Ali Khān and other officers came and were exalted by doing homage. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh distinguished each of them by favours and exalted their rank. Adham Khān, Pīr Muḥammad Khān and the other Mālwa officers obtained leave after doing obeisance and went to their
144 fiefs. The royal cavalcade proceeded towards the centre of sovereignty. His Majesty went on, stage by stage, hunting and shooting, but also going on rapidly. When his crescent standards cast their rays on the territory appertaining to the fort of Narwar, a tiger[1] such as might terrify the leopard[2] of heaven came out of the forest with five cubs and on to the track by which the cavalcade was proceeding. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh, who had the strength of the lion of God in his arms and the coat of mail of the Divine protection on his breast, went alone and without hesitation in front of that iron-clawed,[3] fiery natured wild animal. When the spectators beheld this the hair on their bodies stood erect and sweat distilled from their pores. His Majesty with swift foot and alert arm attacked the brute and killed it by one stroke of his sword.

Verse

'Gainst him whom God defends
Who is there that dares contend
If he assail a tiger or other beast of prey
He easily strips their skins from their bodies

[1] The variant *babarī* a lion is supported by several MSS and is probably correct for the *babar* is described as an animal which fights with the leopard. See Lane's Dict. s v

[2] *palang-i-gardun*. Perhaps A.F means the constellation Leo or he may mean that of the lynx or of the camelopard.

[3] *Lit* iron haired but the Lucknow ed no doubt rightly explains the expression as referring to the claws

The wild beast, so great and terrible, fell bleeding to the dust before the strength of his arm and the might of his courage, and a shout arose on all sides. This was the first beast of prey which His Majesty personally attacked. Its cubs[1] were killed by the swords and arrows of a number of brave men who were in attendance on the sublime stirrup.

Among the excellent occurrences that happened during this journey was the designating of the Mīr Munshī Muhammad Asghar by the title of Ashraf Khān.

In fine, Agra was made fortunate by His Majesty's arrival on the day of Dibādīn, 23 Khardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 19 Ramẓān, 968 (4th June, 1561), and the gates of joy were opened for mankind. This great expedition was completed in one month and seven days. The going[2] took sixteen days, four were spent in Sārangpūr, and seventeen were occupied in returning. In it the degrees of courage were fulfilled, and the stages of wisdom revealed. The dues of grace and kindness were paid, and breadth of capacity and greatness of soul were manifested.

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[1] Here again the word is *babar* in several MSS.

[2] It rather detracts from the swiftness of Akbar's march to Sārangpūr to find that Māham Anaga and the other women-folk were only a day behind him. His halt at Gāgraun may have enabled them to come up.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ACCOUNT OF THE STRANGE STORY AND OF THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURE WHICH HAPPENED TO HIS MAJESTY THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

The great Vicariate demands that just rulers should without ostentation of personal motives enter into affairs to the full extent of human power and should not delegate them to another For scrutinising intellect only employes lieutenants and agents in those affairs of human concernment to which it cannot personally attend Most secular rulers confine their attention to the choice of a Lieutenant and then delegate the care of mortails to others and give themselves upto pleasure His Majesty the Shāhinshāh from his abundant wisdom and universal benevolence derives his satisfaction to an extent which the human capacity cannot comprehend from the soothing of mankind and personally takes part in most matters of business And, as one of the Chief duties of sovereignty is to know the condition of the people, and as of all worldly pursuits this is the one in which corruption is most patent, for it is a pursuit which has chief to deal with the mean, the low and the base who are specially addicted to mischief, covetousness and lying—for how are truth, honesty and dis-interestedness to be expected in low natured subjects of inquiry who such qualities are at present dare rare in the great?—His Majesty mostly uses in this work his own sublime genius, and gives to it his special attention And although the kindly office require that the holy personality of sovereigns should be guarded in a thousand iron fortresses, yet the Khedive of our age relies on the Divine protection, and after asking support from godly ascetics he many times goes out in a mode which no known and a dress which no one recognizes and makes perambulations He gets information about hidden matters and so arranges for the administration of human affairs By the influence of Desert traversing knowers of God who are a note of the Diving protection, he is protected from the dangerous of such journies, as he is guarded from other perils.

VERSE

For protection a devish's oldskirt
Is stronger than hundreds of Alexander's Walls.

Now that this preface has been set forth give ear to me with a mind unstained by the fog of capriciousness. In the town of Bahraich is the grave[1] of Salar Mas'aud Ghazi who was one of the martyrs of the armies of Ghaznin It is a custom[2] in India for the people to make flags of various colours and convey them along with numerous presents to that place Accordingly a large contingent starts from Agra for this renezvous and keeps[3] awake for several nights in the neighbourhood of the city There is a great concourse, and both the good and the bad assemble there Abūl Fazl, the writer of this auspicious record, one day heard from the sacred lips of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh that one night when there was a very large assemblage of this kind near Agra he according to his excellent habit crossed[4] over to it under a special disguise He was contemplating the various sorts of humanity when "suddenly a vagabond recognised me and said so to others When I became aware of this I without the least delay or hesitation rolled my eyes and squinted and so made a wonderful change in my appearance In a sense that they could not image I was a spectator and was observing[5] the ways of destiny When those good folks looked at me they, on account of the change in my appearance could not recognise me, and said to one another. 'These are not the eyes and features of the kind'. I quietly came away from them and went to my palace". 146

1 He was sister's son of Mahmūd
2 The festival is still kept up I G art Bahraich and Beale s Oriental Dictionary M asāūd was killed in 1034 See Oude Gazetter,
3 Ahiyā cand shab mīkanand
The use of ahiya is not given in our Persian dictionaries but occurs in Red House and in Zenker, and in Dozys v hai From what follows it appears that the city referred to is Agra and not Bahraich
4. 'abūr ba Enjā ittifāq uftād Apparently the meeting was on the other side of the Jamuna and Akbar crossed over to go to it Pilgrims going from Agra to Bahraich would naturally begin by crossing the Jamuna The Bahraich fair is held on the first sunday in the month of Jaistha, so Akbar's adventure occured in May, probably
5 These words are used again by A F on p 130 nine lines from foot, in speaking of Akbar s habit of contemplating the outer world.

telling the story His Majesty imitated the disguise he had assumed, and so made our wonder the greater In fact it was a very strange performance

One of the blessed influences of the sublime Khedive at this time was that which occurred while he was hunting in the neighbourhood of Agra A jackal attacked a fawn and the weak was about to be injured by the strong The fawn's mother saw what had happened and fell into the net of perturbation She summoned up her courage and ran to the place, and boldly assailed the jackal several times. He had a bad time, and flung himself into a pond and so made water his fortress When the ray of His Majesty's attention was directed to this a shout arose from among the spectators At this time, while the standards were pitched at Agra though in appearance he inclined to various forms of sport and especially to the hunting with leopards, which is one of God's wonders, and made them the veil of his beauty, yet he constantly engaged in State affairs, in the conquering of countries, in promoting and exalting the loyal, and in casting down the evil minded and the insincere and in testing every one's merits, and in furthering and checking those according thereto He did not leave untouched the smallest minutiae of business. At length the news arrived of the infatuation of the Khān Zamān, and he turned the rein of his intent towards the hunting of that country and determined to proceed thither

CHAPTER XXXVII

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHAH'S TO THE EASTERN PROVINCES, THE SUBMISSION OF THE KHĀN ZAMAN AND THE RETURN TO AGRA

It is not hidden from the far seeing who understand the pulse of the age, and comprehend the character of the multiform world, and who contemplate its entrancing banquet, that success victory over opponents, the collection of able assistants and the accumulation of the world's goods produce increase humbleness in a nature which is allied to real nobility and which is innately good and well intentioned and is continually perusing the daily record of its actions. For such an one they are the materials of increased watchfulness and for returning thanks to his benefactor. And as he knows that fidelity and good service are the constituents of thanksgiving, he goes on developing single heartedness. He becomes both more humble toward the Creater and more complaisant to the creature He both augments his loyalty and service to his Master and 147
also is from appreciation of performances more amiable towards servants But he who has no part in humanity except the outer form, and no share in nobility except in name shows effects the contrary of all these With a little reputation and distinction he places his real rank in the alcove of oblivion, and he, in the first place, ignores his duties towards the author of his being Secondly, he assumes airs of grandour and hauteur with his benefactor and master, who is his quasi God, and lets destructive thoughts pass into his mind Thirdly, he behaves arrogantly towards his comrades and equals and conducts himself in an intoxicated fashion Fourthly he shows himself oppressive and tyrannical towards all mankind The unhappy wretch thinks in his folly that he is constructing the materials of his own greatness but the wise know that he is dressing the arena of his own ruin The case of 'Alī Qulī Khān, commonly known by the name of Khān Zamān is a repeated illustration of these truths Physical courage, in which thousands of unreasoning brutes are victorious rivals, was made by him a motive for self exaltation

nd increased arrogance, and he ascribed to himself his success which was a ray from the fortune of the Khedive of the Age, and so made it a cause of increased infatuation Accordingly, a hint has already been given of his intoxicated ways

The *pride of this* wicked man increased when the son of *'Adli*, who had gathered round him a number of vagaband Afghāns, had been defeated by him, and the veil over his actions was nearly altogether withdrawn. The perfect reason and great affection of the Shāhinshāh impelled him to proceed to that province on the pretext of hunting The words which passed from his lips were, "If any portion of goodness remain in that evil nature, and he awake from the slumber of negligence and hasten to do homage I shall draw a line of forgiveness over his offences and come back, for he is a plant which we have grown, and the noblest quality of princes is the acceptance of excuses, and the forgiveness of faults, for man that is born of woman is a confection of intoxicants and restorations If auspiciousness does not guide him, and he does not show an appreciation *of the bliss of service he will be disposed of before* his disease shall have become chronic, and its remedy difficult, and the inhabitants of that country will be delivered from the hands of several oppressors." In accordance with these administrative ideas the sublime cortège proceeded under the Divine aid to the eastern cities on the day of Shahrayūr 4 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday the 4th Zi l-Q'ada 968 (17th July, 1561) The protection of Agra was committed to M'uinu-d-din Aḥmad Khan[1] Farankhudi. Mun'im Khān Khānkhānān, Khwāja Jahān and many servants of the threshold of fortune attended *His Majesty*) *He marched* stage by stage, diffusing the light of his justice, in appearance he was hunting, but inwardly he was with his God

When the camp arrived at the territory of Kālpī, 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg made a petition through the courtiers in waiting that the spiritual and temporal leader would cast a glance of favour on the lowly and eternally glorify by his advent the hovel of this attendant · "should His Majesty do me this honour what impropriety would there be in the Sun of fortune's cherishing a mote" That world of urbanity granted his petition and enlightened his lodging

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[1] Blochmann, 434

the holy light of his splendour. 'Abdullah paid the respects 148
obedience. The whole of that day His Majesty held high festival
his house, which was situated on the banks of the Jamna, and
ent the time in joy and delight. From thence he turned his rein
wards Karra, which is on the Ganges As the suburbs of that city
came the place of his encampment he turned his attention to hunt-
g in the neighbourhood. It chanced that he spent several days in
at delightful land The Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur
ān, as the time of their rending the veil had not yet come, awoke
om the slumber of negligence and proceeded to do homage They
e exalted by doing so and presented the varieties of the country by
y of peshkash They tendered noted elephants such as Dilsankār,
lta, Dalil (?), Sab-dilia and Jag Mohan (world fascination), every
e of which was a heaven in his world, and they with shame and
pentance made the dust of the threshold the collyrium of their
es. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in consequence of his right-
unded principles treated their past evil acts as unacted and reward-
them by special favours. With his truth interpreting tongue he
id that the wondrous tree of humanity was the precious nursling
God How unpleasant it is to uproot flowers and grasses (gashtar-
bati) It may be judged[1] then what will be the result of uprooting
ch a tree (as man) He accepted the coin of their shame and sub
ission as an intercessor for their acts and made the ocean of his for
veness boil over!

At this time 'Abdu-l Majid Āsaf Khān was sent off with a
umber of warriors towards Pannah[2] against Rajah Rām Cand. If
e behaved properly, and seized and sent to court Ghāzī Khān Tanūrī
nd a number of broken men who had gone to that country, and if
e himself bound on the girdle of obedience and good service, they
ere to return after having treated him in a conciliatory fashion.
s it was the rainy season, the Rajah was obstinate and the holy
arriors returned and went to their fiefs. After His Majesty had
pent twenty days in Karra, and his mind had become tranquil about

[1] The literal meaning seems to be, it is clear what fruit will be yield d by the uprooting of such a tree." Perhaps, as the Lucknow editor says, Akbar wished to contrast flowers which will bloom again with the tree of man which will never yield fruit again.

[2] Pata in text, but corrected in Errata. See Blochmann 367 and 618.

the affairs of that country the noise of a return to the capital reverbearted The two brothers waited on the stirrup for three stages and took leave after receiving countless favours His Majesty the Shahinshah traversed much territory in ten days, and on the day of Mihr 16 Shahrayur, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 17th Zi-l-hajja, 968 (29th August, 1561), he alighted at Agra. He completed this auspicious expedition in one month and fourteen days He was fourteen days in goving and he halted twenty days, and in returning he took ten days When the shade of His Majesty the Shahinshah's glorious umbrella fell upon the metropolitan district the noble spirits went out to welcome him and to show their loyalty. Everyone received favours in accordance with his merits. There was a new daily market of justice, and a new springtime for the world Time and tim-'s creatures gained fresh joy. The culmination of service was revealed[1] to the imperial servants in the districts and borders of the dominions From every quarter men donned the pilgrim garb of honour and came to kiss the threshold of fortune

In the end of Aban, Divine month, of this year, corresponding to the beginning of Rabi al awwal 969, November, 1561, Shamsu-d-din Muhammad Khan Ataga, who had been distinguished by the title of A'azine Khan, came from the Panjab and did hommage He fulfilled[2] the destined worship in the guise of serving his spiritual and temporal master He presented splendid gifts, such as were befitting his loyalty, and was exalted by the glorious favours of the Shahinshah He undertook the management of affairs, political and financial, and disposed of matters relating to the army and to the civil population according to his own sound judgment. Maham Anaga, who from her excellent services, abundant wisdom and exceeding devotion regarded herself as the substantive prime minister, was displeased at this Mun'im Khan Khan-Khanan too, who was the ostensible vakil and sat on the masnad as such, was inwardly grieved at this. Where were the judiciousness, the independence of mind and the disinclination for wordly affairs which would have regarded the

1 Apparently the meaning is that the provincial officers had on opportunity of seeing Akbar and so had the head (or perfection) of service, Sir i khidmatguzari revealed to them

2 The meaning seems to be that Shamsu-d-din performed the obligatory duty of going on pilgrimage by appearing before Akbar

presence of one who took up and placed on his head the burden of the world's business as a great gift from God and as something to be thankful for, so that when the Khān A'ẓim in his straightness and loyalty undertook the service of the Shāhinshāh, Mun'im Khān and Māham Anaga should have looked upon him as a providential helper and have rendered thanks for the boon from the bottom of their hearts, instead of being so grieved and vexed? For in the antechamber of right-dealing the true principle and that which is *approved by the wise is that one should hold oneself fettered to* external work until another who can take charge of it makes his appearance, and the office of pleasing the master by the management of affairs shall have been entrusted to him by acts and not by words When one is given to understand by the tongue of actions that his service has been entrusted to another and that a servant who is chief manager has arrived on the scene, it is folly to be vexed, and such conduct is to allow oneself to be overcome of his desires Rather it is to overset oneself, and to damage oneself by one's own hand

One of the ennobling events in the Shāhinshāh's fortune which in this year applied collyrium to the eyes of the simple-minded aspirants after auspiciousness was that Cunār, which is an impregnable *fortress*, came into the possession of the imperial servants Certainly it has seldom come into the hands of princes by force of arms or by abundance of stratagem. For on account of its height and strength the hand of the external foe cannot reach it, and owing to plenty of food and water those inside are not dependent on the outer world. The brief account of this event is that when 'Adili's son became a vagrant in the wilderness of ruin the fort of Cunār, which had been his abode, came into the hands of one Fattū[1] who belonged to his clan (*khāṣa khel*). He regarded this inaccessible fort as his refuge and laboured to strengthen it. When the standards of fortune returned from the town of Karra and were set down at Agra, Khwāja 'Abdul Majīd Āṣaf Khān was appointed to take the *fort* As Fattū had some proper feelings, and some good sense he perceived that the day of the Afghans' defeat had arrived, and so sent a number of people to express his submissiveness. He humbly

[1] Blochmann 502 and 531 The Iqbālnāma says he had the title of Fataḥ Khān Masnad 'Alī.

represented to the world protecting court that if Shaikh[1] Muhammad were to take him by the hand and bring him to kiss the threshold of fortune he would assuredly deliver the fort with a contented mind to the imperial servants and would bind himself to the saddle-straps of the Shāhinshāh's fortune His petition was accepted and the Shaikh went in accordance with a lofty command, and brought him by princely kindnesses to perform homage The forehead of his auspiciousness was brightened by his prostrating himself at the court of the refuge of the world His Majesty exalted him by favours and gave him the rank of an Amīr Hasan 'Alī Khān Turkaman was appointed to the charge of the fortress

Among the occurrences of this time was His Majesty the Shāhinshāh's mounting the elephant Hawāī and engaging it in a fight. The life giving and world adorning Creator was daily exalting his degrees of greatness by new methods and new lights and was making the spiritual and physical perfections of this sole one of unity's Court perceptible to the superficial and short-sighted. The Age's Khedive was contented with rendering thanks inwardly and continued to wear a veil over his actions Whenever owing to a Divine decree a veil might be removed from his world adorning beauty, His Majesty by the might of his own far seeing meditation fashioned some other yet more beautiful and wonderful veils. He was at once a spectator of the system of Divine decrees, and an administrator of the world according to the best laws Secretly he was testing the sincerity, the large mindedness and business-capabilities of men, ostensibly, he was prosecuting hunting and elephant-fights which the ignorant regard as a kind of neglect of the duties of sovereignty, but which the wise regard as the cream of practical skill In those very amusements which led the superficial into this error there appeared certain actions which involuntarily brought such superficialists into the highway of devotion and made them travellers on the path of true knowledge Among them is the following extraordinary occurrence The story of this instructive affair and of this

[1] This is Muhammad Ghaus of Gwaliar and he is so called in the Iqbālnāma He was then nearly 80 years old, and he died in the following year See Badāunī and also the very good and full account in the Darbār Akbarī p 775.

pener of reason's ear is as follows The elephant Hawāī[1] was a mighty animal and reckoned among the special elephants In choler, passionateness, fierceness and wickedness he was a match for the world Strong and experienced drivers who had spent a long life in riding similar elephants mounted him with difficulty, so what could they do in the way of making him fight? That royal cavalier of 151 bravery's plain and tiger hunter of audacity's forest one day without hesitation mounted this elephant, in the very height of its ferocity, on the polo-ground which he had made for his pleasure outside of the fort of Agra, and executed wonderful manœuvres After that he pitted him against the elephant Ran Bāghā which nearly approached him in his qualities The loyal and the experienced who were present were in a state such as had never happened to them before

As the courtiers who were witnesses of this dangerous scene were disturbed by its continuance and were unable to remonstrate, it all at once occurred to them that a remedy might be found if the Ataga Khān who was the prime minister were brought, and if he by prayers and entreaties could withdraw His Majesty from this dreadful occupation, the contemplation of which turned the gall-bladder of the lion hearted to water When the distracted Ataga Khān arrived and saw the state of affairs he dropped from his hand the thread of endurance and bared his head He cried and lamented like oppressed suppliants for justice Great and small raised hands of entreaty and implored from God the safety of that sacred person which is the principle of peace and tranquillity for mankind When His Majesty perceived the Ataga Khān's perturbation he said to him, "You must not make all this lamentation, and if you don't stop I'll at once throw myself down from the elephant" When the Ataga Khān saw that His Majesty was bent upon the business he at once obeyed and from deference outwardly composed his agitated mind The lion hearted Shāhinshāh calmly went on with his terrifying pursuit until the elephant Hawāī by the strength of a hidden arm, and the Divine fortune, got the victory over his opponent Ran Bāghā let fall the strong cable of steadfastness and turned to flee Hawāī looked neither behind nor before and disregarded heights

[1] This was the name of Hemū's elephant

Majesty the Shāhinshah a cause of increased knowledge, of augmented wisdom, of abundant prudence and watchfulness In virtue of the Divine purposes, and the irresistible decrees of the incomparable Deity, many of the world adorning excellencies of this spiritual and temporal prince were concealed even from his own acuteness I have heard this many times in the days of my childhood from my honoured father when I was engaged in acquiring knowledge He (too) was a fountain of blessings and an assemblage of spiritual and material perfections and one who spent his days in the hermitage of retirement And I learnt this also by myself when I came to have the bliss of serving him who is the elixir of the capabilities of the masters of wisdom. By reason of this fact to wit that his world-illuminating spiritual beauty was hidden from himself, he would seek from others what he should have sought for in himself and which he should have brought for the use of mankind and so been a guide to those wandering in the wilderness of error Continually he made the pain of seeking after God, which is also capable of becoming perfect health, the hem of his heart, and kept the mobility of his holy soul Hunting, which is a bracelet on the arm of joy, was made by him a constituent of the pain of search and made him traverse alone city and country In his abundant carefulness he sought for truth among the dust-stained denizens of the fields of irreflection—and most of the really great study it under this disguise—and consorted with every sort of wearers of patched garments such as *jogis*, *sanyasis* and *qalandars*, and other solitary sitters in the dust, and insouciant recluses. From their outward ways and conversation he got at their real natures. Similarly he inquired after the Truth from the learned, and the distinguished who were bound by the chain of science and reputation, and who trick out the petty shops of schools and colleges He recognised the adulterateness and false metal of the impostors among these classes but infolded these things in his own wide capacity He put the dust of concealment over those deceitful Satans and did not lay bare the reputation of those ministers of the truth In spite of these results there was no falling off or slackening in this world king's quest Rather he increased his endeavours and was more restless than ever in his search for physicians of the soul who might be guides on the path of attainment.

Verse

For years the heart seeks from us the cup of Jamshid
It seeks from an alien what itself possesses

If a commentary were to be written in this style, a separate book would be necessary so that I might depict what I have learnt from the beginning of my service It is better then that I return 15 from this world, and proceed with my record of this hero of the age.

One night His Majesty went off to Fathpur to hunt and passed near by Mandhākar which is a village on the way from Agra to Fathpur A number of Indian minstrels were singing enchanting ditties about the glories and virtues of the great Khwāja, Khwāja Mu'inu d din, may his grave be hallowed! who sleeps in Hazrat Ajmir Often had his perfections and miracles been the theme of discourse in the holy assemblies His Majesty who was a seeker after Truth and who in his zealous quests sought for union with travellers on the road of holiness, and showed a desire for enlightenment conceived a strong inclination to visit the Khwāja's shrine The attraction of a pilgrimage thither seized his collar

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Brief account of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn Cistī. May his grave be holy.

The Khwāja came from Sīstān, and they write him Sijzī[1] which is the Arabic for Sigzī. His honoured father who was named Khwāja Ḥasan and who was a contented husbandman died when he was in his fifteenth year Shaikh Ibrāhīm[2] Majzūb of Qandūz's attention was drawn to him and by the blessing of his glance the pains of inquiry seized the Khwaja's soul, and cut away outward ties He hastened to Samarqand and Bokhāra and for a time applied himself to the acquisition of knowledge From there he went to Khurāsān and there he grew up In Hārun which is a dependency of Nishāpūr he made the acquaintance of Shaikh Osman Hārūnī and became his disciple. For twenty years he practised strenuous austerities in the Shaikh's company, and undertook journeys, and sojournings in strange lands He became acquainted with many saints of the time, such as Shaikh Najmu-d-din Kubrī In short, he is one of the great men of the Cistī order He is three[3] removes from Khwaja Maudud Cistī and nine from Ibrāhīm Adham

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[1] Wrongly printed in text as Sinjarī The mistake is corrected in the Errata. A.F's account should be compared with the Safīna-al aulīya of Dāra Shikoh, his sister Jahānārā Begam's life of the saint (B.M MS Or 250), the long biography at the end of Firishta's history, the Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā, and Dorn's history of the Afghans, Part II, book 3, p. 2., and also with A.F's account in the Āīn, Jarrett III 361.

[2] See the story in Jahānārā Begam's biography

[3] The text says there were two persons between the saint and Maudūd, i.e., he was three removes from him, and eight between him and Ibrāhīm Adham Firishta says that Osmān M'uīnu-d dīn's teacher was disciple of Ḥājī Sharīf, who again was disciple of Khwāja Maudud But there is some mistake about the saint's being only eight removes from Ibrāhīm Adham The latter died some 365 years before M'uīnu-d-dīn's birth and according to Firishta, eleven saints intervened

Before M'uizzu-d din, the son of Sām, came from Ghaznin to India,[1] he took leave from his Pīr and came to that country He established himself in Ajmir, where Rai Pithorā, the ruler of India, resided. Certainly the Khwāja was a lord of austerities and spiritual conflicts and had waged great wars with his carnal spirit. Though many miracles are related of him what miracle can be more glorious than the contest with the desires of this carnal spirit which is the father of excesses? Khwāja Quṭbu d din Ushi of Andijan became, in Bagdad, in the month of Rajab 522,[2] in the mosque of Imām Abu-l Laiṣ[3] of Samarkand and in the presence of Shaikh Shihābu-d din Sahrawardi, of Shaikh Uhadu d din of Kirman and of a number of other saints, the disciple of Khwāja M'uinu-d din. Shaikh Farid Shakrganj, who is buried in Patan,[4] is a disciple of this Qutbu d din, and Shaikh Nizāmu d-din Auliyā, who was the 1' Pir of Amir Khusru, gave his hand of discipleship to Shaikh Farid. In short, many of the perfect masters have risen up from under the skirts of the Khwaja's[5] teaching May God sanctify their souls!

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[1] He took Delhi in 1193

[2] There is some mistake here though all the MSS seem to have 5?2. M'uinu-d-dīn was not born till 537 (1142) as A.F himself informs us in the Aīn and Qutbu d dīn was not born till 585 In the Aīn we are told that Qutbu d-dīn became M'uīnu-d-dīn s disciple at the age of 18 which would give 603 as the year In Dorn s account he is said to have been 25 when he became a disciple. Firishta says the initiation took place at Ispahan though some say it was in Ūsh and when Qutbu d-dīn was 20 The Khazīnaul-aṣfiyā also says on the authority of Farīd Ganjshakr that the initiation took place in Ispahan, Vol I, 2?8 At p. 267 in the account of Quṭbu-d-dīn it says he was 17 years old. Probably A.F wrote 522 for 602 by mistake, or his copyists have misread him Ūsh is in Farghāna some miles S E Andijān The Sairal iqtāb Newal Kishore s ed p 144, describes the initiation as taking place in Abū Laiṣ's mosque in Bagdad.

[3] See D Herbelot s v Abou Leith Candi.

[4] This is Patan or Pīr Patan near Multan See Beale

[5] M'uinu-d-dīn is regarded as the proto-saint of India Akbar presented an immense cooking pot to his shrine which is said to be still in use. Dārā Shikoh s account of the saint is interesting as he refers to his own birth in Ajmīr and expresses a fervent hope—not to be fulfilled, alas—that his subsequent career would be blessed. His sister Jahān Ārā terminates his biography by an account of a visit that her father and she paid to the shrine

CHAPTER XXXIX

His Majesty's visit to Ajmīr, and his marriage with Bihārī Mal's daughter

As the Shāhinshāh's holy soul searches after knowers of the Truth and is inquisitive about reputations founded on reality, he determined on the very hunting ground to pursue spiritual game, and though his followers urged that he should not go to remote places, and spoke of the dangers of them and the numbers of refractory persons there, he did not give heed to them, for his mind was set upon going, and only became more determined to make the expedition. On the day of Shahriyar 4 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 8th Jamāda al awwal (14th January, 1562), he set off to Ajmīr with a few attendants who belonged to the hunting-party An order was also issued that Māham Anaga should convey the seraglio to Ajmīr by way of Mewat, and in accordance with it she hastened thither When His Majesty reached the village of Kalavalī (?)[1] Caghatai Khan, who was an intimate courtier had means of speaking to him, represented the facts of the loyalty of Rajah Bihārī Mal who was head of the Kacwāha clan which is a distinguished tribe of Rajputs The Rajah, he said, was eminent for wisdom and valour and had always been loyal to the sublime family and had done excellent service He had in Delhi kissed the threshold and had conducted himself as one of those who were firmly bound to the sublime saddle straps For a long time he had been apprehensive on account of his bad treatment by Sharifu-d din Husain Mirzā and had taken refuge in the folds of the hills If a ray from the sun of the Shāh were to fall upon him and he were raised from the dust and so freed from the tribulations of the age, perchance his services would be approved of by the holy glance which is an elixir of auspiciousness

[1] I have not found this place Perhaps it is Karauli the Caroli of Tieffenthaler I. 172.

The brief details of the oppression that he had suffered are that when Mewāt was made Mubam[illegible] [1] Sharifu-d-din Husain's fief, he wanted to take possession of the town of Amber which is in Mārwār and was the seat of Rajah Bihārī Mal's ancestors. At this time [illegible]ujā the son of Pūran Mal, the Rajah's elder brother, out of wickedness and because he wanted the chiefship for himself came and paid his respects to the Mirzā and raised troubles. The Mirzā led an army against Rajah Bihāri Mal and as the times were unfavourable and the Rajah had not a large force he came to terms. A fixed contribution was laid upon him, and his son Jagannāth, Raj Singh, the son of Askaran, and Kangār the son of Jegmal, who were the Rajah's brothers' sons, were taken as hostages, who in Hindi are called ol.[1] The Mirzā then went off to Ajmir and Nāgor, and this year it was his fixed intention to collect troops and to extirpate the family.

When the tale of the loyalty of this old family had been communicated to His Majesty he graciously gave permission for the introduction of the Rajah. When the cavalcade reached Deosa[2] most of the inhabitants fled from fear. His Majesty said, "We have no other intention than to do good to all mankind. What can be the reason of the flight of those people? Apparently these rustics of the valley of desolation have drawn an inference from the oppression they have undergone from Sharifu-d-dīn Husain and so have run away." At the close of the day Jaimal the son of Rūpsi, Rajah Bihāri Mal's brother and the headman of this district, came and was introduced by the courtiers and did homage. They represented that the son of the headman was coming into service. His Majesty said "His coming cannot be taken into account, Rūpsi must recognise our advent as a great gift of God and himself come and kiss the threshold." Of necessity Rūpsi came in person and made the dust of fortune's threshold the antimony of the eye of auspiciousness. He was exalted by royal favours. Next day when the village

[1] [illegible] See Wilson's Glossary. Perhaps the meaning is not that a tribute was laid upon the Rajah but that a price was set upon the heads of his bewa.

[2] دوسہ The Dausa of the Rajputana Gazetteer II. 156 and of the I.G. It was once the capital of the State.

of Sāngānir[1] was made the camping ground Caghatai Khān introduced Rajah Bihārī Mal together with many of his relations and leading men of his clan. Rajah Bhagwant Das, the Rajah's eldest son, was excepted as he had been left in charge of the families H s Majesty with his discerning glance read devotion and sincerity in the behaviour of the Rajah and his relatives He captured his heart by kindness and exalted his rank The Rajah from right thinkin and elevated fortune considered that he should bring himself of the ruck of landholders and make himself one of the dist n guished ones of the Court In order to effect this purpose he thought of a special alliance, to wit that he should by means of those who had the right of entrée introduce his eldest daughter, in whos forehead shone the lights of chastity and intellect, among the atten dants on the glorious pavilion Inasmuch as graciousness is natura to His Majesty the Shāhinshah his petition was accepted and His Majesty sent him off from this station along with Caghatai Khān in order that he might arrange for this alliance, which is the ma terial of the eternal glory of the family, and quickly bring his daughter

One of the dominion increasing events of this time and which was an instance of the daily increasing distribution of justice by the Shāhinshāh, and a cause of tranquillising a crowd of the terri fied inhabitants of the district, was the punishment of a leopard-keeper (*citaban*) The brief account of this is that as the Shahinshāh made the hunting with the *cita* one of the veils of his world adorning beauty and showed a strong passion for it and often indulg ed in it, one of the *citabans* waxed proud in his ignorance and forcibly took off a man's pair of shoes and appropriated them The owner was lamenting, and accidentally his cries came to His Majesty's ears and the truth was discovered The redresser of injusti ice as soon as he heard of the tyranny, ordered that the *citab* should be seized and brought to him. An order was issued for cuttin off his feet, and this was a warning to men of the world, and a lesson in wisdom to the savages[2] of the fields of heedlessness I became known in the country and afterwards no one thought f

[1] A town in Jaipur 7 miles S W of the capital

[2] This clause refers to the wild people of the country

running away or becoming a vagabond Peace and tranquillity appeared in the country When the standards were pitched at Sāmbar Sharifu d-din Husain Mirza had the bliss of doing homage, and brought suitable gifts. His Majesty the Shahinshāh demanded Jagannath, Raj Singh and Kangar, whom the Mirzā had taken as hostages in order that Rajah Bihāri Mal ight be entirely free from apprehensions The Mirzā agreed to surrender them, but put off the time of doing so by subterfuges. His Majesty thought the excuses were genuine and waited in expectation of the arrival of the hostages At this stage Adham Khan came from behind and joined the camp From here the expedition went with all possible speed to Ajmir and arrived at that bliss-conferring city in an auspicious hour The visit to the illustrious shrine of his holiness the Khwāja was performed, and the persons in charge of that sacred city were the recipients of fortune Maham Anaga brought the ladies by way of Mewat and had the bliss of accomplishing her service His Majesty decided that the return journey should be quickly undertaken. Sharafu d din Husain Mirza to whom the task of taking Mirtha had been entrusted ignorantly suggested that in order to his accomplishing this work His Majesty should go thither to hunt When he was convinced that this plan was impracticable he fell into the notion that His Majesty would remain encamped at Ajmir for some days But as the holy heart was bent upon returning to the capital all the officers who held *Jāgīrs* in the neighbourhood such as Tarsun Muhammad Khan, Shāh Budāgh Khān, his son 'Abdu l Matlab, Kharram Khān, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and a number more were appointed to assist the Mirzā, and His Majesty moved towards Agra A stringent order was issued for the production of the hostages and when the camp had been pitched at Sāmbhar the Mirzā brought before H Majesty Jagannath, Rāj Singh, and Kangār Rajah Bihāri Mal from the sincerity of his disposition made the arrangements for the marriage in the most admirable manner and brought his fortunate daughter to this station and placed her among the ladies of the harem For the purpose of holding the marriage feast the imperial cavalcade halted for a day in Sāmbhar At the same place leave to depart was given to Sharafu-d din Husain, and His Majesty set off rapidly on his march. When

he came near Rantanbhur,[1] Rajah Bihārī Mal and all his children and other relatives were exalted by doing homage. Mān Singh, the son of
158 Rajah Bhagwant Das, the heir of Rajah Bihārī Mal was then exalted by the auspicious ray of H s Majesty's glance, and was made a permanent servant. Rajah Bihārī Mal wished that His Majesty the Shāhinshāh should honour I house by visiting it so *that* the promotion of his family's glory might obtain completion. As His Majesty was fixed in his intention of rejoining Agra and was in a great hurry the fulfilment of this wish was put off to another time. The Rajah was encompassed with favours and given leave to depart. Rajah Bhagwant Singh, Mān Singh, and a number of their officers and relatives attached themselves to the stirrup of fortune and proceeded on to the capital. The long distance was accomplished in less than three days and on the day of Isfandārmaz 5, Isfandarmaz Divine month, corresponding to Friday 8 Jamādia al akhri His Majesty arrived alone (*masfarid*) at the capital. The city received celestial exaltation by the halo of the advent, and the eyes of the spectators gained the glory of stars from the rays of his. The camp proceeded in his wake, stage by stage, and all, h and low, uttered congratulations and thanks to God for the ad ent. The Khedive of the age sate on the *masnad* of rule, and undertook the discharge of the intricacies of administration. As the daily increasing fortune glorifies the state every new day confers a special blessing. Wonderful regulations were promulgated. As the principles of the rule of the Lord of the Age were good, the results appeared in the return of a time of auspiciousness. Every class obtained a career suitable to its condition and worldly aspirants had their desires gratified.

[1] The Lucknow ed. has Ratanpūr and Blochmann 329 has Ratan but Rantambhur is probably correct as it is in Jaipur.

CHAPTER XL

BEGINNING OF THE SEVENTH ILĀHĪ YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, *viz*, THE YEAR MIHR OF THE FIRST CYCLE

This time which was the beginning of the spring[1] time of the spiritual king was the beginning of the earthly spring (Rabi') There was a spiritual as well as a physical banquet of joy The Great Light, the lamp of the universe, entered his house of exaltation (Aries) with a thousand blessings and felicities after the elapse of three hours and forty nine minutes of Wednesday the 5th Rajab, 969 (11th March, 1562) The force of vegetation was set in motion, the door of abundance was opened anew before the world The procession of King Rose (*Khasru i gul*) arrived after his orbicular course and he displayed his splendour on his garden throne The birds of the meadow and the garden upraised the strains of Bārbad and Nagisa[2] (Nakisa) The vernal clouds washed and cleansed the cruits to the armies of fragrant plants

Verse[3]

The heart of the flower with the tongue of verdure
  Gave thanks to God for spring's balminess
In the production of living forms
  The stars became dyers and embroiderers
The branches were necklaces full of pearls
  The buds like the musk-bags of the deer

From the sun's bounteous entry and blissful enthronement the physical and spiritual world received special prosperity, and

[1] 5 Rajab was Akbar's birthday d so I suppose that ملک معنی eans the spiritual king but per ps the words here mean spiritual untry as they do at the top of the

[2] Two musicians of Khusrū Parvez See Mr Browne's paper, R.A.S.J. for 1899, p 54

[3] The note of the Lucknow ed. on these verses should be consulted.

things outward harmonized with things inward The youth of wisdom and wakefulness received discipline, and the yerrMihr, the 7th of the Ilahī era began The hand of Divine power withdrew the veil from fortune's countenance The hope of the right seeing, right acting members of creation's workshop is that the most high God will make the Shahinshāh's holy personality, prosperous outwardly and inwardly for a length of time and will year by year grant him a fund of increased life and fortune so that the world may remain protected from the animosities and conflicts of a variety of rulers, and may be illuminated by the justice and equity of this unique one of horizons who is worthy of universal empire So may the true arrangement of the links in the chain of things human and Divine be revealed, and the great religion, which consists in binding the multitudes of the inhabited world on the thread of unity, be advanced!) May dominions grow and knowledge increase, concord be established, sincerity become current, the dust stainedones of the plains of heedlessness who are throughout the world under an obscuring veil come forth into the fields of discriminat on, so that aptitu de have an open market and the seekers after things pure and genuine receive into their hands the coin of their desire !

One of the glorious boons of his Majesty the Shāhinshah which shone forth in this auspicious year was the abolition of enslave ment The victorious troops which came into the wide territories of India used in their tyranny to make prisoners of the wives and children and other relatives of the people of India, and used to enjoy them or sell them His Majesty the Shahinshāh, out of his through recognition of and worship of God, and from his abundant foresight and right thinking gave orders that no soldier of the victorious armies should in any part of his dominions act in this manner Although a number of savage natures who were ignorant of the world should make their fastnesses a subject of pride and come forth to do battle, and then be defeated by virtue of the emperor's daily increasing empire, still their families must be protected from the onset of the world conquering armies No soldier, high or low, was to enslave them but was to permit them to go freely to their homes and relations It was for excellent reasons that His Majesty gave his attention to this subject, although the binding, killing or striking the haughty and the chastising the stiff necke are part of

the struggle for empire—and this is a point about which both sound jurists and innovators[1] are agreed—yet it is outside of the canons of justice to regard the chastisement of women and innocent children as the chastisement of the contumacious If the husbands have taken the path of insolence, how is it the fault of the wives, and if the fathers have chosen the road of opposition what fault have the children committed? Moreover the wives and innocent children of such factions are not munitions of war! In addition to these sound reasons there was the fact that many covetous and blind-hearted persons[2] from vain imaginings or unjust thoughts, or merely out of cupidity attacked villages and estates and plundered them, and when questioned about it said a thousand things and behaved with neglect and indifference But when final orders were passed to the abolition of this practice, no tribe was afterwards oppressed by wicked persons on suspicion of sedition As the purposes of the Shahinshah were entirely right and just, the blissful result ensued that the wild and rebellious inhabitants of portions of India placed the ring of devotion in the ear of obedience and became the materials of world empire Both was religion set in order, for its essence is the distribution of justice, and things temporal were regulated, for their perfection lies in the obedience of mankind

One of the glorious events was the [illegible] Mirtha[3] by the [illegible] given to the [illegible] cies that they [illegible] come within the measure of judgment. A fortunate one who is sustained by a real relationship (to Akbar) i e, a genuine sincerity accomplishes in the most perfect manner whatever he undertakes, and succeeds with ease in enterprises which yield with difficulty to the ruler of the world. Do you not perceive that when the outward—and selected who have no share in the blissful abode of loyalty, undertake enterprises the Almighty God hath regard to this outward

1 Text nauhyin, but the true reading seems to be nawam the plural of namus.

2, A.F was probably thinking of such expeditions as those of Husain Tukriah which are admiringly described by his friend Badayuni.

3 Mirtra, In Jodhpur R G II, 281 and Tod 's Rajistan.

relationship to his elect one, and makes them successful? The caseir Sharafu-d din Husain Mirzā's capturing the fort of Mirtha, which *occurred in the beginning of this auspicious year, is a proof of this* The particulars of this delightful event are as follows It has already been recorded that when His Majesty the Shāhinshāh was returning from holy Ajmir he sent Muhammad Sharafu-d dīn Husain to take this fort and to make the conquest of the territory A number of great officers were sent with him as auxiliaries At, that time Mirtha was in the possession of Rai Māldeo who was one of the most powerful of Indian rajahs He made over the fort to Jagmal,[1] who was one of his leading men, and left with him Deo Dās a Rajput who was famed for his valour with a chosen body of 50C Rajputs to assist Jagmal, and guard the fort When the who standards left the blessed country of Ajmir and spread their glorious shade over Agra, Muhammad Sharafu d din Husain who had recently had the bliss of kissing the stirrup and who was buttressed by the eternal fortune of the Shāhinshāh, led, accompanied by other officers, an army thither and set before his genius the task of conquering that country When the army of victory arrived at the town the soldiers travel stained as they were and with their swift coursers all in a sweat donned the armour of endeavour and upreared the flag of daring and without hesitation advanced to the foot of the fortress The garrison crept into the fort of fear and did not venture to come out Meanwhile four champion horsemen of the army, advanced the foot of boldness and discharged some arrows against the gate of the fortress Suddenly the Rajputs became restless under the discharge of arrows and came out on the walls They made the battlement their shields and discharged confusedly bricks, stones, arrows and bullets, and also boiling pitch Two of the horsemen obtained martyrdom and the other two came bacl wounded Muhammad Sharafu d din Husain and the other officer saw wisdom in proceeding slowly and so they established them selves in the city of Mirtha and put stations here and there They applied thought and deliberation to the business of taking the fort and cautiously invested it They erected batteries according to proper rules, and drove mines on various sides of the fort The

[1] *Called by Nizāmu d-dīn Jaimal*

garrison opposed them and every day there were hot engagements Occasionally, they watched their opportunity and made sallies, and after showing their valour again withdrew themselves At length, a mine, which had been carried up to under the tower was filled with gunpowder and set fire to The tower fell to pieces like cotton when it is carded and a great breach was made The heroes of fortune's army got an open road for battle and rushed on The Rajputs washed their hands of life and made a hot resistance There was a great shock of battle, and all day long there was a brisk market of war Both sides gave proof of courage The holy warriors quaffed the goblet of martyrdom and gained eternal life, and many of the foe drank the bloody water of death and became intoxicated by the cup of destruction When the veil of night intervened, every one went back to his battery and during the night the enemy repaired the breach But a fort which has been opened by the might of fortune cannot be closed again by the craft of rebels Soon the garrison were in straits and the fort became their jail Though a number came down and begged for an asylum, and tried to get out, yet Muḥammad Sharafu d din did not consent After much coming and going, and consultation of the officers it was agreed that they should come out after leaving behind all their property As accepting the petitions of supplicants is a part of the rules of conquest the heroes of the victorious army withdrew in accordance with the stipulations Next day Jagmal came out and carried off half his life Deo Dās from ill fatedness and a darkened mind set his mind upon dying and perversely set fire to his property Like a snake curled up and emerging from an inner fire he came out of the fort and audaciously came in front of the army with 4 or 500 horse The Rajputs such as Jaimal and Lonkaran who were among the victorious soldiers and had an old quarrel with the garrison, said to Muḥammad Sharafu-d din Husain that these men had broken the compact and had burnt their goods The agreement was that they should come out after leaving their goods As their part of the compact did not stand good it was far from foresight to let such evil minded, wicked men escape when they had been conquered Muḥammad Sharafu d din approved of this view and drew up his forces He himself was in the centre Shāh Budāgh Khān, his son 'Abdu-l-Matlab and Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh were on the left wing.

and Jaimal, Lonkaran, Suja and other Rajputs were on the right They followed after Deo Dās When he became aware of the advance of the victorious army he out of utter daring turned his rein and fell upon the centre A great fight took place which bore on its face a mark of the story of Rustam, or rather it was one which rolled up those old pages and placed them in the alcove of oblivion The end was that Deo Dās fell from his horse and was assailed by a number who cut him to pieces The victorious troops returned with success and glory Some said that Deo Dās came out of this battle, wounded, and some ten or twelve years afterwards a person appeared in a jogi's dress and assumed this name Some acknowledged him, and many rejected him He lived for a while and then was killed in some adventure In short, the other Rajputs escaped half-dead from that battle field, and the fortress of Mirtha *together with all its territory came into the possession of th* imperial servants, and was included among the dominions

Verse

Heaven's eye ne'er saw nor shall see during its existence
Such victories as the Shāh Jahān achieved
Every victory whose result is fixed by heaven
Is when looked at, the preamble to others



CHAPTER XLI.

The battle of Paronkh[1] which His Majesty the Shahinshah personally conducted

The Almighty inflicts punishment on every evil-doer at certain *times and occasions in accordance with His supreme wisdom* The wise become acquainted in some measure with this mystery and increase their wisdom The foolish fall into the briny desert of error and having their heads turned by vain imaginings become more foolish. It is like the effect of world-illuminating day which to the sound eye is a cause of increased vision First, it produces recognition of the various Divine favours Secondly, it inflames the spirit of thanksgiving and makes this more active and more searching. To owl-like natures which have defective vision it is a cause of increased blindness, and makes them ignoble and obscure Night, which is day's defect, helps the vision of low, mean, owl-like natures and keeps them under the screen of imperfect sight. In brief, the 16
inhabitants of the hamlets of the town of Sakit,[2] which is about thirty kos from Agra, had not their equals for refractoriness and ingratitude. Especially eight villages of that pargana, which were known by the name of Athgarha[3] were for insolence, robbery, manslaughter, boldness and turbulence such that the eye of the world had not seen their like For they were both ruffians[4] and occupiers

[1] On the Isan in the Mainpūrī district 9 kos S of Sakīt Proceedings A.S B for 1874 p 104

[2] In the Etah district S E Agra It used to be in the Kanauj Sarkar Jarrett II 183 It was notorious for its robbers down to recent times

[3] Called by Blochmann Athgah 324 note In his index spelt Athgarh. The text has Athkanih اتهکهیر See Proceedings l c Most MSS seem to have Kīra, and so has the Iqbālnāma but at least one MS has Athkhīra and as khīra means hamlet in Hindustani, this is probably the true reading "The ruins of the Paroukh fort situated in the midst of a *khera* (i.e., a mound) are still visible

[4] Apparently A F puns on the double meaning of *qalb* which signifies inversion and adulterate and also is used to mean a rough or inaccessible place.

of rough places, and they lived by audacity which the ignorant call manliness The officers of the quarter were continually complaining of their wickedness At last the Shāhinshāh went towards that village for the sake of hunting At that time the pargana was in the fief of Khwāja Ibrāhim Badakhshi [1] A brāhman of the name of Hāpa obtained an interview through the huntsmen and represented the oppression practised by those stubborn ones, stating they had killed his innocent son and plundered his property The spiritual and temporal king, who made hunting a means of inquiring into such matters, became indignant on hearing the victim's complaint and announced that he would next morning proceed there and chastise the evil-doers At dawn he went off to hunt, attended by a few men, and sent off a party ahead. He reached the village at morning. Those who had gone on ahead came and reported that the rebels had heard of the Shāhinshāh's coming and had fled. The flame of majestic justice rose higher, and an order was given that the jeopardisers of their lives should follow them up to whatever defiles the recalcitrants had gone, and that he himself was coming on in reliance upon God His Majesty proceeded to do so and put his horse at the gallop On the way Qarātāq[2] the chief huntsman came and reported that he followed the fugitives had killed one who resisted and had bound another and brought him. As he had not orders to proceed further he had turned back
64 His Majesty urged on his horse the faster, and after 1½ watches of the day had passed he arrived at another village which was called Paronkh. The scouts reported that the men of the other village had fled and taken refuge here When His Majesty approached this village, one of the inhabitants came out and paid his respects and denied that the recalcitrants had come there His Majesty in his magnanimity sent again someone to guide those lost ones into the right path As the life-cup of those who were drunken from the goblet of contumacy was full, and the wheel of retribution for their offences for so many years had revolved they fortified their

[1] Blochmann 135 For inscription on a mosque built by him at Sahit in April 1562 see Proceedings, A S.B l c, p 105.

[2] Blochmann 516 Qarataq appears in Bāyazīd's list 77a as the slave of one Ibrahim

village and stood prepared for turbulence and war It is a fixed rule that the number of horse and foot which accompany His Majesty on hunting parties should not exceed one thousand men On that night when the order had been passed for pursuing the fugitives the heroes and riskers of their lives had dispersed in all directions. Nearly two hundred men waited on the royal stirrup, and two hundred elephants had also followed and come up The number of the rebels was more than four thousand His Majesty the Shahinshah indicated to the brave sacrificers of their lives that they should gain the victory, spiritually and physically A hot engagement followed, but as the enemy was numerous and the loyalists waiting on the royal stirrup possessed but a small share of his good fortune, the work did not advance Suddenly his holy glance perceived that a number of his men had on account of the strong wind, and of the fire which had arisen in different sides of the village, taken shelter under the trees and were looking out for a safe corner The royal wrath blazed forth Though it was a case for showing severity to those men he from his innate graciousness winked at their misconduct and advanced in person on the elephant Dilsankar As there was much fire in front of the village, and it was hard for the elephant to go forward they took the mountain form round by the back of the village

His Majesty told me the story with his own holy lips in this fashion "When the elephant had been driven into the narrow places of the village I saw a yellow cuirass appearing on a roof Dastam Khan had such a cuirass and I thought it was his I urged on the elephant and got near the roof Meanwhile there was a rain of sticks and stones and arrows The Divine protection (which is the Shahinshah's coat of mail and which ever watches over him) became more and more marked When I got close up I saw that the mail-clad man was Muqbil Khan,[1] and that he had gone up and was wrestling with one of the stiff necked ones, and trying to throw him off the roof. A number of unruly spirits had run to help, and to finish Muqbil Khan" Just then His Majesty the Shahinshah pushed on the

[1] Blochmann 408 Bayazid calls him Maqbul Khan and describes him as a *chela* of Akbar Mem. 143a. See a reference to him in Badayuni, Lowe 122.

elephant and at the same time he called to the men to get up on the roof Banda 'Alī,[1] the qurbegī of Mun'im Khān and elder brother of Sultān 'Alī Khāldār, ran up on the roof.—The wretches fled The opponent was quickly disposed of. At this time the elephant's forefoot went into a grain-pit and Jujhār Khān Faujdār who was on the elephant and behind His Majesty fell on the top of the latter His Majesty by his divine strength brought the elephant out of that abyss and tried to get on to the house where the rebels had fortified themselves At this time none of the attendants was present except
165 Rajah Bhagwant Das and Rajah Badicand[2] As His Majesty suffered from thirst Rajah Bhagwant Das served him with his own supply By chance in the same lane where his Majesty the Shāhinshāh was advancing towards victory, a Hindu drew his sword and struck with it The blow fell upon the iron ring which is placed on elephants' tusks for strength and for show the clash made sparks fly out, and the elephant in a rage doubled up the swordsman and trod him under foot Just then a boy of fifteen, in his agitation flung himself from a roof on to the elephant Jujhar Khān wanted to kill him, but His Majesty in his mercifulness did not permit him to do so When they came near the house they saw that the special faujdars[3] had come and were standing in astonishment at the amount of the work His Majesty advanced and drove the elephant against the gate A Rajput was shooting arrows Seven hit the Shāhinshāh's shield He used to say that five went through and through the shield to the extent of three and five fingers and that two stopped in the shield without traversing it The Divine protection was another shield which protected him 'Alawal Khān faujdār did not recognise His Majesty and called out from a distance, commending him and saying ' Who are you, that I may praise you to His Majesty " His Majesty showed[4] him his face and made that lucky one utter thanksgivings At this time Tātar Khān[5] cried out " My king,

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[1] Blochm nn 499

[2] Blochmann 404 He was Rajah of Magarkot

[3] Superintendents of elephants Blochmann 126

[4] Rūī Khudrā as nuqāb barāwarda and B renders this 'lifted his visor and adds politely thanked Atawal for his good intentions

[5] He was a native of Khurasan and his proper name was Khwaja Tahir Muhammad

where are you going in this rain of arrows " Jajhār Khān rebuked him saying "What time is this for crying out and mentioning names?" At last His Majesty the Shahinshāh broke down the wall and entered the dwelling Three or four other elephants joined in this work and a large number of the audacious rebels were killed Many shut themselves up in the house In accordance with orders the root of the house was broken and fire flung in The breath of these illfated ones was converted into smoke Nearly a thousand of them were sent to the abode of annihilation by the fire of the Divine anger There was less than a watch of day remaining when this pious work was completed The eyes of a great many rebels and sedition mongers were opened [1]

An account of Sakit and a free translation of this chapter by Mr Blochmann appears in the Proceedings A S B l c Local tradition gives another account of the cause of the attack but is evidently wrong as Fathpūr Sikri was not built then But possibly the legend is only wrong as regards the place whence the crown jewels were stolen

CHAPTER XLII

THE APPOINTMENT OF 'ABDULLA-HKHĀN UZBEG TO THE TERRITORY OF MALWĀ.

When the Almighty Creator wills that the world-adorning beauty of one of His elect should be impressed on the minds of mankind, He gives him daily-increasing dominion and also provides in His universal mercy that the generality of mankind who have neither far-reaching views nor far-seeing eyes may be brought into the right way and for this purpose, He causes dissatisfaction to arise in parts of *the imperial domains, and then grants that this be composed by the* elect one's excellent arrangements. Of necessity mankind do not assign such a result to use and wont, and acknowledge the wondrous wisdom and farsightedness. There was a fresh illustration of these remarks in the drowning of Pīr Muhammad Khān, in Bāz Bahādur's regaining his way, and in the second settlement of the province of Malwa. The account of this fortunate (the resettlement) is as follows. When Adham Khān came to Agra in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's directions, the imperial messengers brought the news that Baz Bahadur had come to the neighbourhood of Āwās[1] and was collecting troops. Pīr Muhammad Khān, who was daring to rashness and *whose courage surpassed his judgement* prepared a force and went off there. Bāz Bahādur little account of Pīr Muhammad and came out to meet him, and gave battle. After a short struggle he was defeated and abundant booty fell into the hands of conquerors. Pīr Muhammad Khān went on from there to take Bijagarh.[2] 'Itimād Khān a servant of Baz Bahadur was in command there and he exerted himself to strengthen the fort. As it is in itself a paragon for loftiness and solidity the

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1 I have not found this place unless it is Awān which is mentioned in the Aīn as in Sarkār Bījāgarh

2 Now in ruins See It G This of course is not the Bijāgarh of Warren Hasting's time

siege drew out to a long period. The exploit-loving heroes such as Jai Diwāna, Yār 'Alī Bilūc, Dāīm Kokaltāsh, Maulānā Muhtasham, Mulk Muhammad and Mīrzā Āfāq displayed acts of valour and made assaults upon the gate. One day Muhammad Mīr Kātib made a strong attack and was the subject of universal commendation. At last one morning very early Khusrū Shāh, the head of Pīr Muhammad's servants fixed scaling-ladders and got above the fort. Two hundred other heroes advanced at the true dawn. As the blackness of their overthrow had arrived, the garrison were negligent and asleep. The morning breeze of victory had begun to blow when the enemy took to fighting. A battle took place and the heroes fought well. When the garrison got into difficulties they cried out for quarter and dispersed. At this time 'Itimād Khān was coming forward with one companion and crying out for quarter and asking to be taken to Pīr Muhammad Khān An arrow reached him and he went to non-existence. When 'Itimād Khān's companion saw this he drew his sword, and after fighting as long as he could he manfully died. A large number became the harvest of the sword. The leavings of the sword obtained quarter and brought out their lives from the whirlpool. An immense booty fell into the hands of the imperial servants. Pīr Muhammad Khān waited there some days to put the fort in order and then went on towards Sultānpūr. After a short contest it was included with in the imperial domains. From thence he returned to Bījāgarh. There he learned the Bāz Bahādur had taken refuge with Mīrān Mubārik Shāh, the ruler of Khandesh, and that Mīrān was adding his troops to Bāz Bahādur's. Pīr Muhammad Khān put the superfluous baggage of the army into 167 the fort and took one thousand brave men with him and made a rapid march so that he might suddenly come to Āsīr and Burhānpūr and dispose of the collected enemy. He crossed the Narbada and marched forty kos in one night. Within two kos of Āsīr there was a fort, and in it there were war-elephants. The little fort was quickly taken possession of, and the elephants were made part of the booty. Mīrān had sent a force from Āsīr to defend the little fort. Pīr Muhammad Khān had taken the fortlet, and was proceeding towards Burhānpūr, which is in Khāndes and is the residence of the ruler, when suddenly the dust of the enemy's army was seen in the distance. Pīr Muhammad Khān detached Khusrū Shāh and

Yār Alī Bilūc to dispose of the enemy They soon dispersed the foe and put many to the sword and then returned Next morning they reached Burhânpur and committed much plundering there An abundant supply of goods and money fell into the hands of each man Mīrān remained in the fort of Āsīr, and Pīr Muhammad Khān judged it advisable to return

Meanwhile news came that Bāz Bahādur had approached with the army of Khāndes which he had taken with him with the intention of attacking Bijāgarh When he came there he learnt that Pīr Muhammad Khān had moved swiftly with a small force and had gone to attack Āsīr and Burhânpur. He was much disturbed and went off to that province Just at the time when the men were loaded with booty and were returning, and a number of them had got separated, the news came that Bāz Bahādur was close at hand Pīr Muḥammad Khan took counsel with men of experience Most of them agreed that it was not a proper time to fight, for they had made great exertions[1] and gained victories and every one was laden with booty The proper thing was to avoid fighting and to cross the Narbada They could recruit themselves at Handia and collect fresh men and then set to work As his fate had arrived Pīr Muhammad Khān did not listen to the honest words of the men of experience, and set his heart upon fighting His comrades did not support him, and after a little fighting did not stand firm Yār Alī Bilūc seized Pīr Muhammad Khān's rein and forced him from the field as there was no use in staying longer When they came to the bank of the Narbada it was near evening Though his companions said that the enemy was far off, and that they should remain that night where they were, yet as the inevitable moment had arrived, the messengers of death made him restless and induced him to swim his horse across the Narbada The bridle of reflection fell from his hand, and the reasonable words of the right thinking found no place in his reason's ear Mounted as he was, he flung himself with confusion into the swellings of the Narbada (*b'arba dar ab Narbada*)

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[1] *qafra-i-azīm karda aīm* Lit we have made great drops i e spilt much See for illustrations of phrase Vullers and the Bihār i Ajam

It chanced that a string of mules[1] was then crossing rapidly They came near the horse and kicked it on the side. Pir Muham- mad's horse, as well as his sense, departed from their place. He fell from his horse into the water, and his comrades who were close by, did not in their wickedness exert themselves to draw him out of that whirlpool of destruction. He was drowned and went to the ocean of annihilation, either as a retribution for the oppression which he had committed in this expedition, or for his conduct in Tardi Beg Khān's battle, or for some other deed known to the knower of secrets.[2] By heaven's decree so loyal, able, and gallant a man underwent such a fate.

Verse.

Where destiny is powerful
  The stronger is all the weaker
When the day of darkness shows its face
  Two world-seeing eyes make a gloom.

Thus in spite of his power and greatness, he strayed away from deliberation and with his own feet fell into the whirlpool of destruction. Qīyā Khān Kang, Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī, Ḥabib 'Alī Khān, and a number of other officers who had fiefs in the province gave up heart and went off to the world-protecting court. Each of them received punishment suitable to his deserts, and Baz Bahādūr became possessed of Malwa The world-conquering fortune of the Shāhinshāh saw that the proper course was to appoint a high officer who should possess excellent sense as well as abundant courage, and perfect energy together with judicial calm. Therefore

[1] *b'asp-i-no-pahlū sad, pahlū sadan* is figuratively used for "to contend with," and perhaps this is all that is meant here The text has *astar*, mule, but the variant, *ushtar*, camel, is supported by many MSS

[2] A.F could not be expected to suggest that Pīr Muhammad's death was due to this having plotted against Bairām But the author of the Darbār Akbarī remarks how all Bairām's opponents—Shamsu-d-dīn, Māham Anaga, Adham Khān and Pīr Muhammad perished within a year after Bairām's fall The Rauẓat-aṭ Ṭāhirīn states that Pir Muḥammad's real name was Maulānā Jalālu dīn, that he was a Shaikhzada of Shirwān, and that he came to Qandahār in 957.

'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, who was ranked among the magnanimous riskers of their lives, and who had been formerly in that country, and was familiar with its nature, was nominated for the conquest of Malwa. The order was given that he should have the power of life[1] and death.

Khwāja M'uinu-d-dīn Ahmad Farankhūdī, who was distinguished among the viziers of the *dīwan-i biyutat* for his rectitude and ability, was raised to the rank of a Khān and sent with him in order that he might regulate the province and might inquire into the position of the jāgīrdārs and define the exchequer-lands. A large number of persons were sent with him for this important work. The order was given that after the military had cleared that delightful province of the weeds and rubbish of enemies, 'Abdullah Khān should remain there and devote himself to ruling the country, and that M'uin Khān should hearten the peasantry, the farmers and the other inhabitants, both high and low, by the influence of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness. He was to remedy the absenteeism which might have occurred on account of the marchings and counter-marchings of the troops, and with the help of the officers and other royal servants who had been appointed for this service he was to allot the fiefs according to the rules of eternal dominion. After finishing this work he was to return to court. In accordance with this order 'Abdullah Khān, attended by high officers, and with a suitable force, set his face in the beginning of this year for the conquest of Malwa.
59 When Bāz Bahādur became aware of this expedition, he abandoned firmness and found that the power of resistance was not within his capacity. Before the standards of fortune's army could cast the shade of peace and tranquillity over those lands, he left Malwa and his ambitions and fled to a place of safety.

The dread onset of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and the majestic might of his armies and the promptitude of his expeditions are not (mere) loud noises such as that great princes should not be disturbed or terrified by them. What wonder then at the flinching of rulers like Bāz Bahādur. Without the sword's becoming a thunderbolt of evil or the arrow's pouring a rain of calamity, the victorious army entered Malwa. A number of brave men, out of foresight pursued

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1 I think this is what is meant by the phrase *amūr u-siāsat u dar u gīr*

Bāz Bahādur and put to death many of his soldiers. He threw himself into the tree clad defiles and spent his days in vagabondism For some time he took shelter with Rānā Udai Singh When the fame of the Shāhinshāh's clemency was spread about, he at last by good guidance left the abode of alienation and came to the restful abode of the sublime threshold, and was exalted by royal favours This will be recorded in its proper place In short, the country of Malwa came again into the possession of the imperial servants 'Abdullah Khān in accordance with orders went to the city of Mandū, which was the capital of the princes of Malwa, and settled himself on the pillow of rule The cities, towns and villages were distributed among the officers according to their rank The imperial servants went to Ujjain, Sārangpūr and other fiefs and opened out the trappings (rahl) of repose. M'uin Khān after putting the country in order and alloting the fiefs proceeded to court He hurried along the high way of loyalty and enjoyed the bliss of service. He was the recipient of power and fame

Among the occurrences was that Rajah Ganesh the Zamindar of Nandūn[1]—a Panjab territory in the hill-country between the Bīāh and Sutlej—had the folly to attack Jān Muhammad[2] Bahasudi, the jāgirdar of pargana Birka in that neighbourhood. As he was fundamentally bad, he had not the happiness of success On the contrary he lost his honour and his estates by this affair All his goods were plundered, and his wife, who was famed for her beauty, fell into the hands of the plunderers. As she had ornaments and jewels no trace of her could be *found*, and probably some narrow-eyed reprobates coveted her property and killed her as if, forsooth,[3] the incomparable Deity had sent them this provision as a recompense for the conduct of the invader When the news came to the officers of the Panjāb, the Khān Kilān, Qutbu-d-din Muhammad Khān and a number of others went against him and inflicted suitable punishment He became a vagabond, and then by the interposition of I

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[1] Jarrett II 317

[2] This officer took part in the war in Bengal against the Afghāns and is several times mentioned by Bayāzid, p 131b. Bchāsūd is a village in Afghanistan.

[3] *u hamānā*. I presume that A.F is writing ironically and representing what might be supposed to be the murderers excuses to themselves *Ayinda* means a guest, but it may here mean an invader

Rājah Todar Mal he presented himself at court and was favourably received His career ended in good service

One of the events was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavi the ruler of Persia. It is an old custom that powerful potentates should, for the sake of gathering spiritual and temporal blessings and for accomplishing spiritual and temporal objects, seek to associate with fortunate princes, and that if owing to a God given destiny, a connection has already been established, they exert themselves to strengthen the pillars thereof and finish off the thread of their own fortune with this wondrous ornament Accordingly the noble Shāh Ṭahmāsp, whose justice made glad the heart of Persia, sent, in accordance with the choice connection which had prevailed from former times between the sublime family (Akbar's) and the dynasty sprung from holiness, his cousin Saiyid Beg, the son of M'aṣūm[1] Beg, who (i e, the father) held the office of prime minister (*vakīl*), to convey condolences for the unavoidable event of His Majesty Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and to congratulate the Shāhinshāh on his accession He also sent presents such as fiery Arab coursers, and swift steeds from 'Irāq and Turkey, delicate cloths, and wonderful curiosities When the ambassadors came near the capital, His Majesty ordered that several distinguished officers should go out to welcome him and should conduct him to a suitable residence He also sent fourteen lacs of *dāms*, which are equal to seven hundred Persian tomans, together with other things for his maintenance After some days, and when he was rested after the fatigues of the journey, he obtained an audience and the privilege of making *kornish* and was honoured by kissing the carpet After communicating the Shāh's prayers for his prosperity, he presented with the two hands of respect and laid upon the edge of the throne a letter which from commencement to conclusion was decked with the writings of love and sincerity He also properly arranged the presents and laid them before His Majesty His Majesty the Shāhinshāh h[ad] made most kind and gracious inquiries after the Shāh's health, and distinguished the ambassador by countless favours

[1] Jauhar, Stewart 75 speaks of Humāyūn's having been betrothed while in Persia to a daughter of Maṣūm Beg and who was Ṭahmāsp's niece If she was this ambassador's sister she would be Ṭahmāsp's cousin

CHAPTER XLIII.

COPY OF THE LETTER[1] OF THE ILLUSTRIOUS SHĀH

Verse

A greeting like the favours of the glorious God,
A greeting like the qualities of the prophet Muhammad,
A greeting radiant with the light of truth,
A greeting fragrant with the otto of constancy
A greeting like rain dropping on the rose
And trickling from thence to the leaves of the hyacinth,
Grief-dispelling like the rose of the garden,
Joy increasing like the faces of friends ;—
Its fragrance equable like the gardens of paradise
Resting the soul and soothing the heart.

This gift of a greeting which out of perfect sincerity renews the bond of hereditary love and affection, and this present of

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[1] This letter is wanting in the Lucknow edition and in most MSS It is undoubtedly genuine, but I doubt if A.F inserted it in his history If he had, he would surely have prefaced it by some such remark as "Here follows an exact copy" as in the other instances where he copies letters and we should also have found it in most MSS Badāūnī refers to it and says he will hereafter give a copy but apparently he never did It appears in the two collections of letters MSS B.M Add 7688 pp 115b 116a and Or 3482, p 109a. I have compared these copies with the one in the text and found some verbal differences The letter is written in a very high flown style and is difficult to translate The only points of interest in it are its indications of good feeling on Ṭahmāsp's part, and the reference to Bairam whose disgrace and death Ṭahmasp was either ignorant of or chose to ignore. A note to text states that in their MSS the second line of the verses has Almuayid "The Helper" instead of Muḥammad B M MS Add. 7688 transposes the 7th and 8th lines and has "Sadness-smiting like the face of friends" (cf Proverbs xxvii. 17), and "Mirth-increasing like the roses of the garden.

congratulations and benedictions, which in their utter truth and transparency have made our mutual ties and our affinities of love and fondness to be renowned throughout the world, are dedicated and presented from the country of love and singleness, along with caravans of rejoicings and longings, to the exalted one, who is the asylum of sovereignty and glory, repository of vicegerency and of the administration of justice, flower of the garden of sulṭanhood and success, luminous lamp of the sublime dynasty of Timur Khān, pearl of fortune's and dominion's casket, royal pearl of greatness's and glory's mansion, fresh fruit of glory and dignity's garden, goodly tree of the garden of the desires of just princes, adorner of the throne of sulṭanship and kingship, exhibitor of the endless mysteries of God, a Khāqān the grantor and attainer of desires, glorious monarch of an illustrious house

Quatrain

Star of a happy Sign, light of a fortunate Ascendant,
Enthroned grantor and attainer of desires,
Spite of the long reigns of princes, none hath reached
What he hath attained to in early youth

The aided with glorious aids from God,—glory of sulṭanhood, magnificence, honour, justice, vicegerency, love, sway and exaltation—Abu l fath Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar Pādshāh, placed by God on the hereditary throne of sovereignty with all honour and dignity, unsurpassed adherent of God's Word and extirpator of polytheists Verily the relations of concord and amity which existed between ourselves and His Majesty the pardoned king—May the Almighty place him in the highest Paradise! are fixed and certified, and the marks thereof are visible to mankind At this time, the notes of victory and fortune, and the news of the success and glory of that grantor and grantee of desires which have been brought to our hearing by messengers from that country are the cause of varied upliftings of our hearts As a consequence of thorough sympathy and companionship our desire increases that that asylum of sovereignty and glory may acquire the constituents of success and joy, and our firm hope is that his radiances may extend higher and higher each

day, and cast light upon all mankind. Nor shall it be concealed from the mirror of his enlightened heart, that from the date when a covenant of l ve and friendship and of concord and brotherhood was made between ourselves and the deceased monarch, our loving heart was continually directed towards the exaltation of the glory of that great prince, and that we employed our utmost energies in ad cancing his position and dignity in every respect Accordingly this cas been manifest to mankind To speak without arrogance, as the veling of brotherhood and princely honour demand, we have respected in our heart the brotherly relations which existed between us and the deceased asylum of brotherhood and have discharged the duties thereof according to our abilities and leisure in conformity with the principle that deeds are impledged to opportunities But in accordance with the decree of the all powerful King—may His [1] power be glorified—and the designs of mortals cannot be arranged or carried out without His Will, nor is the arrangement of the world's workshop possible or conceivable without His orders—the aforesaid pardoned monarch conveyed the garnishing of *eternity* from the strait of the perishable world to the ample mansions of *immortality*, and so wishes and longings have remained under the *veil of* concealment. Subsequently, when by the favour of God—may His glorious name be praised,—the lamp of the eyes of the partisans of the lofty lineage, or rather of the commonalty, and the spirits[1] of the lovers and friends of that grand family have been brightened *by* the emerging light of that quintessence of sultanhood and sovereignty, and the throne of the sultanate and of success has been ennobled *by* the aureole (*fars*) of that honoured son (Akbar), we testify be the honour of God—and He is a sufficient Witness—that from that day in accordance with our ardent, hereditary love we have always felt drawn towards that light of the eyes of the Caliphate and have held firmly to those ancient bonds of brotherhood And it has always been the fixed thought of our hearts that we

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[1] بالعموم بهمت اصحاب I think there is a misreading here The copies in the two letter books omit the word بهمت *bahimmat* and Add 7688 has چراغ دیده بل اهمه و داعیان سلسله بل عموم احبا و دوستان that is he (Akbar) was the l ght of the eyes of the waiters upon and be lesmen of the dynasty nay of all the lovers and friends thereof

should send one of our officers to that fortunate region in order that he might convey our regrets for the king clothed with forgiveness, and our congratulations and our blessings to the auspicious and felicitous one for his sway and sovereignty By chance, various hindrances have occurred, one after the other, which have caused delay in the exception of this project When the hindrances had been removed, the keenness of the desire showed itself and we had been for some days engaged in sending an officer when the dignified and auspicious Shāh[1] Ghazi Sultān, the envoy of the asylum of justice and control, workshop of rule, glory of great officers, and grand governors, splendour of justice, dominion and fortune, the faithful Bairām Khān, arrived at the world protecting court He communicated the Khān's representations of sincerity and respect, and renewed on behalf of the light of the eyes of the Caliphate and sitter on the kingly throne the pillars of hereditary affection and conveyed his sentiments of sincerity and friendship During the time that he stayed with us he was honoured by being present at several assemblages and was the recipient of various favours So much so was this that we out of respect to your dignity raised him to the lofty rank of an Amir and Sultan, and then suffered him to depart after bestowing on him royal favours and presents We now send as our ambassador Saiyid Beg, the successor of Saiyids and rulers, son of M'aṣum Beg Ṣafavi, the repository of *saiyidship* and fortune, laboratory of orders, prop of dominion, &c, &c, Mir Diwan, and who on account of his lineage[2] is distinguished among our great officers and intimates, in order that he may convey our condolences for the late king, and our congratulations on the accession of the asylum of sovereignty, and may consolidate the foundations of hereditary love and friendship so that henceforth the revolutionary hand of time may not reach the edge thereof, nor fear of rift or rupture enter the heart's core of any creature We expect
73 that so long as the reservoir of *saiyidship* abides then you will look graciously upon him and show him a little favour Do not detain him long, but permit him to depart and to return to this country

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[1] Probably the Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Blochmann 443

[2] The other copies have ba ḥisab u nasab "both by ability and lineage"

And ever moisten the gardens of old love and affection with the cloud droppings of fragrant words, and hereafter do not neglect to send messages and letters and to announce events, conditions, &c, as the relationship of love demands.

Verse[1]

O God, grant that this nursling of fortune's garden,
This shining light of an auspicious Sign,
May enjoy life and vigour
And be firmly seated on felicity's throne,
May his heart's desires be fulfilled for cycles,
May his station be on the summit of success,
May the desires of throne and fortune coincide
May he prosper in his fortune and his throne

[1] This verse does not occur in Add. 7688, and apparently is not part of the letter

CHAPTER XLIV.

The punishment of Adham Khān by the justice of the Shāhinshāh.

When the world-adorning Deity wills the bestowal of greatness on an unique one and exalts him to the high office of sovereignty He, in the first place, gives him far-seeing reason to be ever his unvarnished counsellor. After that He bestows on him wide forbearance *so that he may bear the brunt of so many of the world's disagreeables* and that he may, by the help thereof, refrain from dropping the thread of deliberation when he beholds such evils. Then he gives him the priceless jewel of justice, so that he can place the familiar friend and the stranger in the same balance and can comprehend the affairs of creation's workshop (the world) without being weighted by personal considerations, and can establish a source of instruction within his holy soul. Many sages who have made no enter in testing knowledge have yet at the time for action become timid owing to the want of a wide understanding and let go the reins of carefulness and so have fallen off in the arena of examination. When knowledge and endurance are suitably developed the marks of justice are evolved, without anxiety or delay, from the just temperament Thanks be to God! These glorious excellencies and splendid qualities are innate and constitutional in His Majesty the Shāhinshāh and spring from the plenteous house of Divine wisdom, uncontaminated by outward teaching or the decoration of human instruction. But that knower of the Creator's secrets keeps himself, for his own designs and reasons, under the veil of concealment, and spends his life in the garb of obscurity. Nor is he content with ever so many veils, but is always fashioning others in order that acute observer cannot penetrate them *But the Divine decree is paramount,* and when God wills that mankind should become acquainted with his intrinsic beauty, what avails the screen? Of necessity his face must be unveiled and his beauty adorn the world so that those who are afar off from fortune's neighbourhood may reach the

palace of devotion and have the chief seats in the court of 17
acknowledgment.[1] What happened in Agra, the capital, is an example of the majesty and extensiveness of the justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh

The account of this affair is that Adham Khān, the younger son of the cupola of chastity Māham Anaga, had neither understanding nor good conditions He was intoxicated by youth and prosperity and was continually envious of Shamsu-d-dīn Muhammad the Atage Khān Mun'im Khān, *the Khan Khānān, also suffered much from* this malady and used to throw out dark hints such as the generality could not comprehend and instigate Adham Khān to strife and intrigue At length on the day of Isfandiyār 5 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 12 Ramzān, 969, 16th May, 1562, when the equability of Ardibihisht was still prevailing, an extraordinary occurrence, which was far from equability, took place On a court-day (دیوان *diwan*) Mun'im Khān, Atage Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān and other magnates were sitting in the royal hall and transacting public business, when Adham Khān suddenly entered in a riotous manner and attended by others more riotous than himself. The members of the assembly rose up to do him honour and the Ataga Khan rose half up Immediately upon entering Adham Khān put his hand to his dagger and went towards the Ataga Khān Then he angrily signed to his servant Khusham Uzbeg and the other desperadoes who had come with their loins girt up for strife saying "Why do you stand still?" The wicked Khūsham drew his dagger and inflicted a dangerous wound on the breast of that chief-sitter on the pillow of auspiciousness The Ataga Khān was thoroughly amazed and ran towards the door of the hall. Immediately thereon Khudā Bardi came and struck him twice with a sword That great man was martyred in the court-yard[2] (*sahn*) of

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[1] A F means that owing to God's having revealed the greatness of Akbar persons living at a distance have been able to become distinguished loyalists, *qabul* which I have rendered acknowledgment, may also mean acceptance

[2] The T Alfi 607*b* says Shamsu-d-dīn ran and fell on a heap of lime (*ahak*) which had been collected for building purposes, and that when Akbar saw the body it was lying on the lime. This would help to make it visible.

the hall of audience A loud cry arose in the palace on account of this outrage, and general horror was exhibited in that glorious abode That doomed one in spite of his past audacity presumptuously advanced towards the sacred harem—to which may there be no access for the wicked—with evil intentions His Majesty the Shāhinshāh had gone to sleep in the auspicious palace, but his fortune was awake That black-fated one went up, sword in hand from the hall to the terrace (*ṣuffa*) which went round the palace (*qaṣr*) on all four sides, and was of the height of a man and a half He tried to go inside, but Ni'amat the eunuch, who was standing near the entrance (*darbar*), immediately shut the door and bolted it And though the presumptuous one, who was hastening to his death, spoke roughly to Ni'amat and bade him open the door, the latter did not do so Those standing by the threshold had not the grace to inflict the punishment of his deed on that presumptuous and furious one at the beginning of his doings when he assailed the Ataga Khan And
175 what shall I say of their dumbfoundedness and cowardice when after forming such vain thoughts he tried to enter behind the curtains of fortune! Why did they not shed his blood? Why did they not level him with ignominy's dust? If they had not courage for that, why did they not make a general rush and surround him? Even then, how can I suppose that among those present in the palace there was no one who was loyal? Apparently there was a design in the perfunctoriness of those people, viz, that the perfect courage and justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh might be impressed on the minds of great and small, of the wise and the foolish!

In short, His Majesty was awakened by the dreadful clamour and called for an explanation As none of the women (*pardagīan*, lit veiled ones) knew of the affair he put his head outside of the palace-wall and asked what was the matter Rafīq[1] Ṣāḥib-i-cār *manṣab* who was one of the old servants of the palace mentioned the

[1] Rafīq is probably the valet mentioned in Jauhar 110 in whose presence Akbar then a boy of 13 *consented to undress and bathe* It appears from Bayazīd see his list 75a that Rafīq was a house-born servant of Akbar's great aunt Khānzāda Begam The expression *ṣāḥib car manṣab* owner of four *offices* may mean that he had served four generations

facts. When His Majesty heard the horrible tale he was amazed and made further inquiries. Rafīq pointed to the blood-stained corpse and repeated his statement. When His Majesty the Shāhinshāh saw the body he became nobly indignant. From a Divine inspiration he did not come out by the door where that demented wretch was standing and meditating evil, but by another way. As he was coming out, a servant of the seraglio put into his hands, without his asking for it, the special[2] scimetar. His Majesty took the scimetar and went on. When he had passed over one side of the terrace and had turned into another he saw that villain, and there issued from his holy lips the words "Son of a[3] fool why have you killed our Ataga? That presumptuous wretch hastened to seize His Majesty's hands and to say "Inquire and deign not deliberate! There has been (only) a little[4] inquiry" (talāsh). What reproach shall I make about the spectators of this convicted liar; the amount of reproach or contempt will fit their case!

Bayāzīd 105a says Akbar wrapped his lungī round his loins and came out He saw the body and asked whose it was (it must have been dark then) and Rafīq told him.

[2] There were thirty shamsher khāṣa, and one was sent daily (the text says monthly) to the harem, the old one being returned. Blochmann 109.

[3] *Bacha-i lāda* *Lāda* means also a bitch, and Blochmann has so translated it. See also Elliot VI 26 where the whole account is translated. A note to my MS of the Iqbālnāma suggests that *lāda* was a nickname of Adham's father. Bayāzīd says Akbar called Adham *gāndū*, i.e., catamite His words are p 105b. *Hazrat ba zabān Hindustānī farmūdand ke ai kāndu* (i.e., *gāndū*) *cara Atkah mārā kushtī*. See Bahar-Ajam s v.

[4] This is a difficult passage, and Professor Dowson has disposed of it by simply omitting it Some light is afforded by the gloss of the author of the Iqbālnāma. He makes Adham beg Akbar to investigate as to who was the person who really killed Shamsu-d dīn. (It will be remembered that Adham did not himself strike him, Perhaps he wanted to take advantage of this, and it is curious that we are nowhere told what became of the actual murderers Khūsham Uzbeg and Khudā Bārdī Then the author of the Iqbālnāma gives the reflection of A F. on the pusillanimity of the spectators who allowed Adham to approach Akbar and to make false excuses to him. The words "there was a little inquiry *andakī talāsh shud* present a difficulty. I have taken them as part of Adham's

At last His Majesty the Shāhinshāh withdrew his hands from his own sword and freed them from the grasp of that wicked one, and stretched out his arm to take Adham Khān's sword Just then that outcast for all eternity withdrew his hand from His Majesty and turned it to his own sword His Majesty withdrew his hand therefrom and struck him such a blow on the face with his fist that that wicked monster turned a summersault[1] and fell down insensible Farhat[2] Khan and Sangrām Husnāk had the good fortune to be present His Majesty angrily said to them, "Why do you stand gaping there? Bind this madman" They two and a number of others obeyed the order and bound him The righteous order was given that the fellow who had outstepped[3] his place should be flung headlong from the top of the terrace Those shortsighted men out of consideration (for Adham), than which inconsideration would have
76 been a thousand times better, did not throw him down properly, and he remained half alive The order was given to bring him up again and this time they dragged him up by the hair and in accordance with orders flung him headlong so that his neck was broken, and his brains destroyed In this way that blood thirsty profligate underwent retribution for his actions The fist of the Divine athlete of the world had made such a mark that those who did not know the facts thought that it was a mace-wound Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān and Shihabu-d-din Aḥmad Khān, who were there, fled from

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speech It is possible that *talāsh* is the Mongol word *tālāsh* and means, "There was a little scrimmage (or confusion)" The word *hirāfat* in the phrase *Nāẓirān-i hirāfat daryafat rā* has no meaning here, and I have taken the word to be *Khurāfat* for which there is the support of one or two MSS *Daryāfta* I have taken along with this and rendered it "convicted." For *Khurāfat* see Lane s.v See Darbar Akbar p. 753

[1] The Iqbalnāma has he turned like a pigeon.

[2] Blochmann 440 Bayāzīd calls him Mihtār Sakhai and says that Humāyūn gave him the title of Farhad Khān

[3] Apparently Akbar's idea in having Adham Khān thrown over the terrace was to carry out the Muḥammadan principle of retaliation Adham had stepped up to a place where he had no business to be and so his punishment was the being thrust back again Aurangzīb inflicted a similar punishment on his daughter's lover The T Alfī says the terrace or verandah (*aiwān*) was 12 yards high

the His Majesty's wrath, and disappeared. When Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, the eldest son of the Atağa Khān, heard of the fate of his honoured father, he armed himself and his clan and lay in wait for Adham Khān and Māham Anaga. He did not know that the spiritual and temporal Khedive had executed justice, and had not had heard to Māham Anaga's position, but had in the judgment-hall of overeign wrath inflicted condign punishment on the murderer who was taken in the fact.

When the truth about the sublime justice of His Majesty the Shāhinshāh—which was higher than human nature—became impressed upon men's minds they were greatly supported. Oppressors hid themselves in the night of contempt while the oppressed had a daily market of joy. A lamp of knowledge was placed on the path of the ignorant so that they confessed the spiritual and temporal greatness of the lord of the terrene and of terrestrials and were guided to the highway of devotion. The Ataga clan was still watching for Adham Khān and the other relatives of Māham Anaga They thought that the rumour (of Adham's death) was false and were waiting to take vengeance. But as it was bruited abroad, they represented through some courtiers that when such justice had been done, the body of the blackhearted villain might be shown to them so that their minds might be set at rest and a balm be applied to their wounded feelings. His Majesty approved of their request, and Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī went as their delegate and saw the body. The agitation of this loyal clan subsided, and they expressed thousands upon thousands of praises and thanksgivings. Mankind was at once delivered from the disturbance of makebates and reposed in security. In truth, if the rejoicing of celestials for this great act of justice could be added to the panegyrics of mortals a little of the dues of gratitude might be paid. What power then have the atoms of the human race to give thanks for it? It was at once a great punishment whereby the visible world was refreshed, and also a public lesson by whose blessing the dark tenement of hearts was irradiated by the light of sincerity and devotion. It was at once a sight-giving medicine for the thoroughly blind over whose 177
eyes there was a film, and a collyrium of illumination for the blear-eyed—at once the foot of research for the lame ones of loyalty's land and a staff of zeal for the slow-footed ones on the path of devotion.

at once an iron fortress for the army of the lost of heart, and a wakeful watchman for the family of impatience'!

In fine, His Majesty retired into the harem after performing such an act of justice. Māham Anaga, who was lying in bed ill in her own house, came to hear that Adham Khān committed so great an act of violence, and that His Majesty had imprisoned him Maternal love raised her up and brought her to visit His Majesty in order that she might perhaps procure her son's release. When His Majesty saw her, he said: "Adham Khān killed our Ataga, we have inflicted retaliation upon him" That wise one of the age meekly said: "You did well," but she was not certain that her son had undergone capital punishment. Just then Bibi[2] Najiba Bēgam, the mother of Dastam Khan, came from Adham Khān's house and told Maham Singh Anaga what had happened. She asked how they had killed him and the reply was, "There is the mark of the blow of a mace on the face: I don't know anything more." But that mark was from His Majesty the Shāninshāh's fist and had been made by divinely-aided power at the beginning of the occurrence. When Māham Anaga knew for certain that her son had been put to death, she by virtue of her wisdom preserved her respect for His Majesty and did not complain or lament, but she became inwardly wounded by a thousand fatal blows The colour left her face, and she wanted to visit the body. His Majesty the Shāhinshāh in regard to her long service spoke comforting words to her and consold he somewhat, but did not allow her to go there in order that she might not beholed herr son in such a condition. *In accordance with orders the two bodies were sent to Delhi* that day. He addressed lofty monitions and heart-effecting exhortations to that wise old woman and permitted her to go to her son's house next day. The wise mourner went and expressed her resignation, and submitted the Divine decree. Then she came to her own house and set grief and indulged in lamenting and weeping: The illness from

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1. Bayazid says Akbar went to her house and told her what had occurred
2 There is the variat Takht Begam, and Bayāzid has Tukhta or Begi as the name of Dastam Khān's mother. Probably the word is Tokhta. See Vambery Hist. of Bokhara 179 note. It would seem from Tokhta's statement that by this time the body had been carried to Adham Khān's house.

which she was suffering grew words, and the pillars of health were shaken. Forty days after this occurrence, viz, in Tir, Divine month, corresponding to Shawwāl she went to the sacred abode of non-existence. His Majesty's loving heart was much affected by the fate of this cupola of chastity, and he expressed great sorrow. The body also was sent with much respect to Delhi, and his Majesty personally escorted it for some paces. All the state officers and the great ones of the sublime family paid the dues of respect and regret. In accordance with orders a lofty[1] building was erected over the tombs of Maham Anaga and Adham Khān. Similar mourning was made for the Ataga Khān. The hearts of his brethren and children were soothed, and the wounds of the whole clan were healed. H M. devoted great attention to the educating of this faithful band and 178
to the furthering of their advancement.

Verse

If you grieve thus for any one
Many will be inclined to die.

On the day after the catastrophe of the Khān A'azim and Adham Khān His Majesty heard of the flight of Mun'im Khān and [illegible]
them back to court. By the bounty of the Shāhinshāh's favour the seat of their shame was changed into the face-drops (ābrū) of [illegible]

[1] This is the building at Delhi known as the Bhūl bhulyan and described and figured in Saiyid Ahmad's Asār-i-sanadid p 80 It is now used as a dāk bungalow. Saiyid Ahmad also has an account and illustration of Shamsu-d-dīn's tomb in Delhi, p 44 L C.

at once an iron fortress for the army of the lost of heart, and a wakeful watchman for the family of impatience!

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which she was suffering grew words, and the pillars of health were shaken. Forty days after this occurrence, viz, in Trir, Divine month, corresponding to Shawwāl she went to the sacred abode of non-existence. His Majesty's loving heart was much affected by the fate of, this cupola of chastity, and he expressed great sorrow. The body also was sent with much respect to Delhi, and his Majesty personally escorted it for some paces. All the state officers and the great ones of the sublime family paid the dues of respect and regret. In accordance with orders a lofty[1] building was erected over the tombs of Maham Anaga and Adham Khān. Similar mourning was made for the Ataga Khān. The hearts of his brethren and children were soothed, and the wounds of the whole clan were healed. H M. devoted great attention to the educating of this faithful band and 178
to the furthering of their advancement.

Verse

If you grieve thus for any one
Many will be inclined to die.

On the day after the catastrophe of the Khān A'azim and Adham Khān His Majesty heard of the flight of Mun'im Khān and Shahābu-d-din Ahmad Khān. He made allowance for their irreflection and shortsightedness, and sent off Ashraf Khān with comforting words to them so that he might set their minds at rest and bring them back to court. By the bounty of the Shāhinshāh's favour the seat of their shame was changed into the face-drops (ābrū) of.

[1] This is the building at Delhi known as the Bhūl-bhulyān and described and figured in Saiyid Ahmad's Asar-i-sanadid p 90 it is now used as a dāk bungalow. Saiyid Ahmad also has an account and illustration of Shamsu-d-din's tomb in Delhi. p. 44 L.C.

CHAPTER XLV

THE PROMOTION OF I'TIMAD[1] KHĀN AND THE CONSIGNMENT TO HIM OF THE MANAGEMENT OF THE CROWN-LANDS

From the time when, in accordance with the decree of Divine wisdom, this catastrophe occurred H.M. the Shāhinshāh perceived the spirit of the age and the nature of mankind and gave his attention to the affairs of State. In consequence the terren and the terrestrials entered on a new phase. Though the daily market of those who had been pushed forward by their self conceit fell flat, yet sincere inquires who on account of the injustice of the great were in the corner or contempt, took to coming forward in consequence of the Shāhinshāh's brilliant perspicacity. An instance of this is the reputation obtained by the eunuch I'timad Khān. The account of his great advancement is as follows. The officers in their ignorance, fatuity or dishonesty attended to the enrichment of their own households and collected treasure for their own purposes, while neglecting to collect the Shāhinshāh's revenues. Still less did they try to increase those. H.M. the Shāhinshāh, either because he was wearing a veil, or because he had no listener at hand, said nothing about this, and did not prescribe any regulations on the subject. Though the household[2] officers had to endure losses and hardship, H.M. put off the solution of their difficulties till another season of contemplated with open brow and a cheerful mind the spectacle of the methods of destiny At this time when a stone fell on the glass of great men's reputations, and some prudent and serviceable men can

1. Blochmann 13 and 428 Badāūnī, Lower 53, and Maasir I,88

2 Bayāzid 102a tells how when all the grandees were in the hall of audience in attendance on Māham Anaga, Akbar had a pressing want for Rs 18 and sent an eunuch for the money Khwāja Jahan professed to be unable to supply the coin, and Maham got over the difficulty by sending Takhta Begī to her Turki waiting woman fetch what was wanted.

forward Khwāja Phūl Malik, all eunuch became on account of his abilities the object of the Shāhinshāh's favourable glance. He had on account of integrity been distinguished during the rule of Salīm Khān, the son of Sher Khān the Afghan, by the title of Muhammad Khān, and by this affair (that of Adhām Khān) he had been enrolled among the imperial servants, and had done good service. He came to understand the holy disposition of the Shāhinshāh, and represented in a proper manner his views about the collection, 179
and augmentation of the revenues. H.M. recognised his value and gave him encouragement. He conferred upon him the title of I'timād Khān and made over to him all the royal revenues, which were in the hands of embezzlers. He by excellent management carried into effect all that the Shāhinshāh had meditated with regard to the collection of the revenues. This work began in the middle of this year. The arms of unrighteous robbers were shortened, and black-hearted self pleasers went aside and placed their feet in the skirt of retirement. The clean hearted and devisers of good things came forward, and the revenues, which are the foundation of sovereignty, and the basis of dominion, and the source of military, strength, were put upon a footing which was worthy of the dominion which is linked with eternity. What wondrous rules and regulations, each of them fit to be a code for mankind's prosperity, came forth daily from the Lord of the Age! A few out of the many, to wit, those which occurred to the holy intellect with regard to financial matters, were carried into effect by I'timad Khān. What wonderful things there were which did not become manifest! How could the most important of all concerns be brought forward? If (Other) similar recipients of orders had comprehended the Shāhinshāh's ideas and endeavoured to carry them out, in a short time the surface of the inhabited world would have come in to the possession of the royal servents But the world is in the contemplation of the Shahinshah's genius an extremely contemptible affair. He does not deem it worthy of his complete attention, and always keeps his soul attached to the pleasing of God. If the recipients of this firmans possessed one thousand part of his intellect this petty business which the *superficial regard as so momentous would be* disposed of with a little attention. Apparently

* Text Bahūl, but the variant Phūl *is preferable*

there are considerations of the Divine designs involved in this state of things (the non-conquest of the whole world)

One of the occurrences was the flight of Mun'im Khan, and his arrest and reconveyance to court There are two strange things in man's constitution One is his passion, which have neither eyes nor discernment The other is far-seeing reason which understands business Most men are, from intellection, overcome of wrong notions, and *depose reason which is the regulator of right thinking, and obey* their passions And so by one act of carelessness a man does to himself what his enemies could not effect by hundreds of tricks. The absurd conduct of Mun'im Khān the Khān Khānān is an instance of this In spite of the royal favours and of his attainment to lofty state, among which were his being summoned from Kabul and receiving the title of Khān Khānān, his obtaining the post of vakil and full powers, he did not comprehend this graciousness He left them all out of sight, and guided only by the fear that he was suspected of having kindled the flames in the matter of the Khan' A'azim and Adham Khān, he could not find it in his head to remain steady Accordingly he had fled on that very day Although his motive (for instigating Adham Khān) was that he in his ignorance had believed that after this affair the binding and loosing of the transactions of the sublime family, and the control of all matters political and financial would be in his hands without association with anybody else yet this idea did not take shape Melancholy took possession of him, and he formed the improper resolution of leaving the world protecting court which is the native country of the auspicious ones of the seven climes, and of going to that abode of pleasure—Kabul, where his son Ghanī Khān was governor, and of there enjoying himself Accordingly in Mirdād, Divine month, he left the capital and took the road by the base of the hills Muhammad Qāsim Mir Bahr accompanied him When H M heard of this, he did not take it seriously, and said that Mun im Khān had not gone anywhere and would soon come back Though busybodies hinted, or openly said that the property should be confiscated, he out of magnanimity refused to to the suggestions of slanderers He said, if it be granted that Adham Khān has gone to Kabul, that too is our territory and he is a servant of our court Fear and not disloyalty has led him to flee. If he does not come we shall send his property at Kabul

No one must meddle with his household. By fate it happened that after traversing for six days hills and deserts the fugitives came to the pargana of Sarūt[1] which was in the fief of Mīr Muḥammad Munshī. Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī, Mīr Munshī's servant, was the Shiqdār of that pargana. He heard that two king's officers were passing through and that they appeared to be alarmed. He with the aid of some of the villagers blocked their road and arrested them, willing or unwilling. Saiyid Muhammad Bārha, who on account of his good services was one of the great officers and had a fief in that neighbourhood, heard of this event and brought Mun'im Khān to his own house. He recognised his opportunity, and treated him with gentleness and respect, and conveyed him honourably and in his own company to the Shāhinshāh. H M., contrary to the expectations of petty worldlings and to the wishes of the ill-intentioned, of whom the age is never free, treated him with boundless favours and gave him the office of *vakīl* and the title of Khān-Khānān. His troubled soul was comforted and the strife-mongers retired to a corner. Mankind received another soothment. Why should not this be so? He placed on the head of one on whom men expected the sword of punishment to fall, a crown of government.

Among the occurrences was the coming of Tān Sen[2] to the holy court The brief account of this is as follows. Inasmuch as the holy personality of H.M. the Shāhinshāh is a congeries of degrees, spiritual and temporal, and a collection of divine and terrestrial excellences, so that when matters are discussed the master of each science imagines that the holy personality has devoted his whole attention to his particular subject, and that all his intellect has been expended on it, the knowledge which H.M. has of the niceties of music, as of other sciences, is, whether of the melodies of Persia, or the various songs of India, both as regards theory and execution unique for all-time. As the fame of Tān Sen, who was the foremost of the age among the kalāwants[3] of Gwāliār came to the royal hearing,

[1] In Sarkār Saharanpur, Jarrett II 291 The T Alfi says, 680a, that Mun'im left Agra by crossing the Jamna, and that he broke down the bridge behind him

[2] Blochmann 406 and 612b There is also information about Tān Sen in the Archaeological Report on Gwāliār See also Badāūnī II, Lowe 345

[3] A Hindi word meaning "belonging to a noble family," but applied specially to musicians

and it was reported that he meditated going into retirement and that he was spending his days in attendance on Rām[1] Cand the Rajah of Pannah,[2] H M ordered that he should be enrolled among the court musicians Jalāl Khān[3] Qūrcī, who was a favourite servant, was sent with a gracious order to the Rajah for the purpose of bringing Tān Sen The Rajah received the royal message and recognised the sending of the envoy as an honour, and sent back with him suitable presents of elephants of fame and valuable jewels, and he also gave Tān Sen suitable instruments and made him the cheek mole of his gifts. In this year Tan Sen did homage and received exaltation. H M. the Shāhinshāh was pleased and poured[4] gifts of money into the lap of his hopes His cap of honour was exalted above all others. As he had an upright nature and an acceptable disposition he was cherished by a long service and association with H M, and great developments were made by him in music and in compositions.[5]

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1 Blochmann 406

2 Blochmann 425 n. 2 I G XI, 48. It is in Bandalkhand Central India.

3 Blochmann, 475

4 The Iqbālnāma says Akbar gave Tān Sen at his first assembly a *kror* of dams equal to two lakhs of rupis or 6 000 Persian *tomans* He adds that several thousands of his compositions are still extant, and that many of them are named after Akbar

5 *Maẓāmīn bastan.*

CHAPTER XLVI

BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, viz., THE YEAR ĀBAN OF THE FIRST CYCLE.

At this time, when the ever-vernal mind of H. M. the Shāhinshāh was occupying itself with the delights of melody, and was giving joy to the lovers of this art, the song of the coming of the new year rose high and delightome. Pleasure expressed itself thus by pantomime.

Verse.

'Tis the time when the garden breathes of joy
A hundred songsters strike on the ear of spring
from the fire of the rose kindled by the morning breeze
Blood is made to boil in the veins of the garden birds.

Composite natures proceeded to develope by the life-cherising bounty of the earth, the strains of the birds of the garden insinuated,themselves into the ears of the flowers. Time's cup-bearers poured charges of joy into the lips of the age, the half intoxicated nightingales began to beat with their beaks the chords of pleasure.

Verse.

On every branch the birds made on organ
The rose bush was elevated by melody
Owing to that sense-ravishing melody
The musician silenced his own music.

After nine hours and thirty-eight minutes of Thursday, 15th Rajab 970, 10th March 1563, the sun entered his mansion of exaltation and the Divine year Ābān, which is the 8th from the accession, began, and the terrenca and terrestrials received new joy. In the beginning of this year Khwāja [1] 'Abdu-l-Majid Asafkhān obtained a victory over Rajah Ram Cand and Ghāzi Khān Tannūrī, and, the

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1 Blochmann, 366.

country of Pannah was conquered) The account of this excellent affair is that Khwāja Abdul-l-Majīd, who on account of his abilities had been distinguished by the title of Āsaf Khān had been promoted from the pen to the sword and taken his place among those who join the Sword to the pen, and are masters both of peace and war (lit drum and learning) had obtained as his fief the ample domains of Sarkār Kara He by his skill and exertions was about to take possession of Pannah which was a country near his own At first he sent messages of good advice to Ram Chand, who was among the famous Rajahs of India and whose forefathers had ruled over that country for generations Āsaf Khān bade him doff his cap of pride, and place the ring of submission in his car, and come into the list of tributaries He also told him to send to court Ghāzī Khān Tannuri who had trodden the path of rebellion and had taken refuge with him, Ram Chand, whose forehead had not yet been irradiated by the light of auspiciousness, turned a deaf ear to these advises and the mention of obedience and submission increased his pride and arrogance In his illfatedness he made ready for war Asaf Khān was supported by the prestige of the royal dynasty and marched against him with a proper equipment. The Rajah came out with Ghazi Khān Tannūrī and large force of Rajputs and the brave men on both sides washed their hands of their lives and fought a great battle

Verse

1§3 The brave fought with bow and arrow
All strove with spear and sword
The world was full of diamond pointed darts
The wind was from dust and blood vermilion scattering

After a great contest Āsaf Khān was victorious and Ghāzi Khān Tannūrī and many other leaders were put to the sword Rajah Ram Cand was defeated and took refuge in the fort of Bāndhū[1] which was the strongest fort in that country Immense spoil fell into the hands

1 Elliot IV 462 n ? This note says that there is a great confusion about the country of Bhats and that Bandhu is Bandrīgarh (not in the I G under that name) It also refers to the supp Glossary II 164 There we are told that the Sarkar is that entered in the Ain to t I, 430 under the name of Bhatghorā Jarrett II 166

of the victors. At this time, at the intercession of famous Rajahs[1] who had obtained favour by long service, an order was issued that Rajah Rām Cand had put the ring of servitude in his ear, and had done homage; he was now included among the servants of the threshold, and his territories were not to be interfered with. In consequence of these orders Āṣaf Khān returned to his fief.

[1] Possibly Bīrbal, who had been in the Rajah's service, was an intercessor.

CHAPTER XLVII

Appointment of Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān to Kabul and what followed thereon

As the Shāhinshāh's world adorning mind was always directed towards the management of Kabul and was inquisitive about the affairs thereof, he now heard that Fazil[1] Beg, the brother of Mun'im Khān had joined with Amīr Bābus, Shāh Walī Atka, 'Alī Muhammad A'sp Seonj Sidhi Māhi, Khwājah Khāş Malik and a number of others in reporting to the cupola of chastity, Māh Cūcak Begam the mother of Muhammad Hakım, the immoderate conduct of Ghani Khān, and had used all their endeavours to remove him from Kabul, the abode of pleasure He therefore appointed Mun'im Khān to be the guard ian of M. Muhammad Hakım and sent him to Kābul. The details of this are as follows Though Fazil Beg's eyes were deprived of sight, yet in chicanery and strife mongering his whole body was an eye He was always disturbed and dissatisfied about his nephew's rule, and in truth Ghani Khān, Mun'im Khān's son, was without discretion or good sense In addition to this the intoxication of authority had cast him down from the pillar of moderation. Evil companionship the worst ill of humanity was dragging him down, with the lasso of ruin, from the height of auspiciousness to the depth of misery At last that faction made the noble lady, the Begam, one of their party In the beginning of Shahriyūr, Divine month, of the seventh year, Ghani Khān had gone towards Zama,[2] to visit the melon fields They strengthened the city and shut the gate of the citadel against him He equipped a force and came over against the Delhi gate and halted on the ridge of the Siāh Sang But he could
194 not effect his object Kama-Khan Kabuldi Kotwal on an embassy, thinking that perhaps he might by craft and stratagem effect

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1 Bāyazīd and Nizām u d dīn have Fazīl.

2 qu Zaımūnī W of Kabul See text I 322

omething The persons above named replied that Ghanī Khān had not been appointed to the government by H M the Shāhinshāh, and that the people had been brought into straits by his tyranny and immoderation The proper thing now for him was to go off in safety If he wanted to have again the government of this country he should go to Court and have his conduct tested, and should bring an order from the Diwān of the Caliphate, so that it might be acted upon During these parleys his men took to deserting him When he had halted there a long time and had perceived that he would not be able to enter the city and that he was nearly being captured, he, by the advice of Hamza Arab and Mir Maghisu d din of Nishāpur, went towards Jalālabād All his property in the city was plundered. The cause of the courage of the Kabulis in this matter was the affair of Tūlak Khān Qucin

The brief account of this is that Ghanī Khān in whom youthful presumption and intoxication were added to innate wickedness, thought that his advantage consisted in others' loss He behaved with quarrelsomeness and levity and did not pay respect to men's position. His manners were bad, and insolent One of his actions was the arresting without cause Tulak Khān Qūcin, who was famous for his valour and an intimate courtier of H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī He put him and a number of his relatives into confinement

Verse

Not everyone who does evil does you evil
Certes he does that evil to himself

At length some prudent persons interposed and released him. After this affront Tulaq Khān went to the village of Māmā Khātūn which was his fief There he wrapped the foot of courage in the skirt of patience and sought for an opportunity of revenge Meanwhile a caravan was coming from Balkh Ghanī Khān heard of its arrival at Cārikārān and went out with a few men to meet it and to make a choice of the goods, giving out that he was going to visit Khwāja Sihyārān, which is an enchanting spot There he inaugurated a drunken feast and played the melody of self indulgence When Tūlak Khān, who was in season and out of season, meditating

revenge, heard of his expedition, he recognised the advantage of the opportunity and hurried after him with a number of his kinsfolk and servants At midnight he came upon Ghanı Khān, who had given away his sense to wine and his body to slumber, and caught his prey He arrested him and Shagūn the son of Qarāca Khān and put them into confinement. He also emptied his wrathful heart by reproaches Thinking that as he had the governor as his prisoner he might also seize the city, he turned back from there, and having won over the militia of Kabul he halted at Khwājah Rivāsh which is within two kos of Kabul. Fazil Beg and Abu l fath, his son,
185 and Ghanī Khan's men prepared for war. Tūlak Khān perceived that his enterprise would not succeed, and that he would not get hold of the city. He contented himself with a portion of his object and proposed peace and a division of territory. Fazil Beg considered this proposal advantageous on account of his wish to release his brother's son, and sent the chief man of the city to Tulak He made over to him the territory from M'amura i-pai-Minar to the limits of Zuhāk and Bamiān, which was about a fifth of Kabul In this way he extinguished the flames of disturbance and rescued Ghanī Khān from his clutches.

Verse.

O Sage,[1] consider the work of fate
You will at last get the result of your actions
Your safety consists in not injuring anyone
There is a brisk market of recompense for well doing

Ghanı Khan did not make Kabul an abode of kindness but left the register of the treaty and agreements in the niche of forgetfulness. He proceeded against Tulak with all his forces. Tūlak did not see it advisable to remain in Kabul and went off with his relations and men to the world protecting court, and took the high road to India Ghanı Khan followed him with a large force As Tulak Khān had not power to resist he took to flight Near the village of Zhāla, which is a ford of the Ghorband[2] river, the Kabul army came

[1] Hakīm Perhaps the lines are an extract from Hakīm Sanāī s poems

[2] Apparently Tūlak must have retreated. The Iqbālnāma says Ghanī came up with Tūlaq at Tirāla which is a ford of the Ghorband river

up with him, and a battle ensued. At last Tūlak Khān with his son Isfandiyār and a few of his kinsmen and servants manfully made their way through so large a force B hai Qācin, Maskin Qucin and others of his servants were killed Ghanī Khān returned from there successful and came to Kabul. There he spread out the carpet of tyranny and self-glorification, and lengthened the arm of oppression over the citizens And though he knew the disorganised state of M Muhammad Hakim's affairs he paid no attention to them The Mirzā's men and the rest of the people of Kābul were distressed by this, and joined with Fazīl Beg and his son Abu l fath to suppress him By chance at this time the melon fields of the village of Mamūra were in perfection, and a desire to visit the melon fields took possession of him He forgot what has been said—

Verse

Eat [1] the melons what business have you with their beds.

As the time of his downfall had arrived, he went off to visit the melon fields and stayed the night there Abu l fath Beg and other known men of the city took the opportunity and brought in M Muhammad Ḥakim over the Iron Gate and beat drums and blew trumpets A great uproar arose of high and low Ghani Khān on getting the news came in a confused state and with the few men who were with him towards the city When he arrived there he saw that the chess board had been arranged after a new fashion and that the gates of concord were closed, while those of hostility were open, and that he could not advance Should he come nearer it was 18
probable that his companions, who had their families in the city, would leave him alone, or rather would seize him and take him along with them In an astonished and distracted state of mind he pitched his tent on the side of the Siah Sang and halted there The garrison fired guns at him and as fate would have it a ball struck the thank When Ghani Khān saw this he got terrified and went [2] off to

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[1] This is a proverb See Roebuck Section I., p 15 No 100

[2] Badāūnī Lowe 54, says that Ghanī Khān met with no success in India on account of his unfilial conduct and that he went to Jaunpūr and died there. The Maasir I 645 says he went to Aādil Shāh of Bijapūr and died shortly afterwards. Bayāzīd also speaks of his having gone to Bijāpūr

India with a hundred brands of disgrace and with the uprooting thousands of longings for his home and family and the government of Kabul. After Ghanī Khān had departed, the cupola of chastity, the noble lady Mah Cūcak Begam, undertook the affairs of Kābul and appointed Faẓil Beg as the Vakīl of M. Muhammad Hakīm. As he was blind, his son Abu-l-fatḥ managed affairs as his father's Naib, and as the latter had neither magnanimity nor far-reaching reason he did not attend to justice in distributing the fiefs, and the disposal of business, and conducted himself foolishly. The worst of all was that he took the select fiefs for himself and his friends, and alloted inferior ones for the Mirzā's household, and practised extraordinary oppressions on his own account. Among these things was his giving Ghaznin to M. Khiẓr Khān who was one of the chiefs of the Hazaras, and his arresting Bābūs Beg and making him over to his charge. He also took all the other property of Bābus and squandered it. Whoever does not possess sound reason, by the light of which he can direct his actions, nor a seeing eye whereby he may be warned by observing the conduct of others, nor right-thinking companionship, whose words he may follow, will assuredly receive in this world of retribution due punishment. Accordingly, when two months of this state of affairs had passed, the Mirzā's honoured mother and the old servants could not endure the oppression and bound up the loins of revolt. A number of them, such as Walī Atka, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp, Mīram, a relation of Shāh Walī M'aṣum Kābulī, Sīyundūk, 'Idī Sarmast and many others conspired against Faẓil Beg's son, and waited for an opportunity. One night they called him out of his house for this purpose and had a drinking party in a tent which they had erected in the courtyard of the Cahal Sitūn (forty pillars) Dīwān khāna. The cups circulated, and the drinking of bumpers went on from evening till night. Meanwhile Abu-l-fatḥ several times prepared to leave. The members of the party prevented him by drunken flatteries from going out. This[1] doomed drunkard was unaware that it was the last day of his fortune. When time had come to the end of night and sleep had overpowered him, the party which had conspired to shed his blood drew their swords

[1] *bekhabar az sang-andāsī-i-daurān*. Sang-andāst is a phrase meaning the last day of anything. See Vullers i.e. v.

and entered the tent. They slew him and Mīram Bahādur a relative of Shāh Walī, cut off his head and placed it on a spear His body was flung down from the citadel, and there was a great uproar in Kabul When Fazil Beg heard of the fate of Abu l-fath he was dismayed, and having with the aid of Muḥammad Sanjār, the son of Khizr Khān Hazara, and whose son Sikandar was Faẓil's son in-law, collected his goods, he wished to go to the encampments of the Hazaras He set out with this intention, but some of the Mirzā's servants hearing of it went after him. They caught him and brought him to the fort and put him to death After that Shāh Walī Atka became the general manager of Kabul. In his folly he took to himself the title of 'Ādil Shāh and gave Haidar Qasim Kohbar the post of Khan Khanān, and to Khwajah Khāṣ Malik, the eunuch, the title of Akhlāṣ Khān In his presumption and folly he assigned titles which kings give to their friends By his own efforts he arranged for his destruction In a short time the Begam suspected him of aiming at rebellion and sent him to the abode of annihilation She assumed the management of the affairs of Kabul and for considerations of propriety chose as the Mirzā's Vakil, Haidar Qasim Kohbar, whose ancestors had been officers under H M Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī, and H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī We have made a long digression for the purpose of animating our discourse

In fine, when the news of the expulsion of Ghanī Khān and of the confused state of affairs in Kabul was brought to the sublime court, it occurred to the acute and farseeing mind of H M the Shāhinshāh that Mun'im Khān was very anxious to be in Kabul He resolved to appoint him the guardian of M Ḥakīm and to send him to Kabul in order that he might both avenge his own son, and also ameliorate the condition of the Kabulis, and also that he might better appreciate the favour and clemency of the Shāhinshāh In accordance with this wise decision Mun'im Khān, who had been sent against the Rajah[1] of the Meos, was recalled from Etawah and dispatched on this

important service Many officers, such as Muhammad Qulī[1] Khān Birlās, Haidar Muhammad Khān Atka Begī, Shāh Husain Khān Nikadari, Hasan Khān, the brother of Shihābu d dīn Ahmed Khān, Taimur[2] Khān Ikka and a number of brave and distinguished men were also appointed As Mun'im Khān did not appreciate what a blessing H M. was, and did not comprehend the extent of his favours, and did not properly know the Kābulīs, he regarded this appointment as a great gain and went[3] off to Kabul in all haste as soon as he got leave He marched rapidly and arrived at Jalālābād He did not make such halts that the auxiliary forces could join him, nor was there any sign of Muhammad Qulī Khān Birlas who was governor of Multān and had a large force. When the Begam heard of the coming of Mun'im Khān she took counsel with the Kābul officers and decided that the soldiers and Aimāqs should be collected and that they should take the Mīrzā with them and go forth to meet Mun'im

Khān so that they might make war in the Lamghānāt. If they were victorious nothing could be better, and if they were defeated they could join the Mahmand and Khalil tribes, and from there could go and wait upon H M. the Shāhinshāh, and submit themselves to his protection Otherwise the Khān-Khānān would by various punishments take vengeance for his brother, his son and his nephew.

When Mun'im Khan arrived at Deh-Ghulāmān[1] there came news that 'Idī Sarmast had come to Jalalābad and was fortifying it. Taimur Ikka and Khwajah Kilān and a force were sent there against 'Idi He made the fort strong and came out to fight. Next day the Khān-Khānān marched to besiege Jalalābād. Meanwhile the news arrived that M. Hakīm and the army of Kābul had come Jabār[2] Bardi Beg, who had been an officer of H M Firdus Makānī, and had become a dervish, and who was travelling with the army, was sent to the Mirzā in order that, perhaps, the affair might be settled without a battle If this could not be done, it was decided that the battle should take place next day, as the star was in front[3] Taimur Ikka

[1] Bāyazīd, p 108, gives Yaslwal as another name of this village

[2] Bayazīd p 108b, says that Jabar Bardī had lived in Badakhshān after becoming a dervish, and that he had gone to India to offer his condolences for the death of Humāyūn, and was now returning home with the army. He was sent off to treat with M. Hakīm from near Cār Bāgh, i.e., Bāgh Ṣafā It seems to me that there is a confusion between the Bāgh i Wafā and the Bāgh i Ṣafā. Bābar, 141 and 291, makes them apparently two distinct gardens, and in this he is followed by Abul Faẓl But if they were distinct they were near one another, for Adīnapur and Jalālābād were not far apart Bayāzīd calls the Cār Bāgh garden the Bāgh i-Ṣafā, but the description of it seems to agree with Bābar's account of the Bāgh i Wafā. There was a hill (*balandī*) in both.

[3] Bayāzīd says, p. 108a, that when he was in his quarters at Deh-Ghulāmān, and a number of people were discussing the affairs of Kabul and the coming of M Hakīm, they took an omen from Ḥāfiẓ and that the verse which came up was this first line of an ode—

Sitāra-i bad rakhshīd u māh majlis shud—"The evil star was shining and there was the moon of the assembly" See Rozenzweig's Ḥāfiẓ, p 628, ode 127 The star referred to in the text is, I presume, the constellation of the Eight Stars, i.e., I believe, Virgo. Hammer Purgstall has a note on this constellation in his translation of the Mohīt of Sīdi 'Ali, J.A S.B VI. 807 and 808 note

came from the vanguard and reported that the enemy were few in number and that they should not postpone fighting till to morrow, for perhaps the enemy would go off in the night, and the affair would be protracted The Khān Khānan from his own eagerness, and the instigation of Haidar Muhammad Khān, both of whom loved Kabul and were proud of their courage, *took the course of engaging* Meanwhile Khwājah Kilan, who commanded the vanguard, was killed. M. Hasan, who was on the left [1] wing, did not move from his place, and the Qaqshāls and others, who were on the right wing, also did not do their duty. Abu l-M'aali [2] *topci*, to whom the Kabulis had given the title of Rumī Khān, had arranged fireworks (grenades?) all round his horse and a ball (*tir*) from them struck Calma Hisari and killed him [6] As men had lost [3] heart on account of the death of Khwājah Kilan, they flung way their reins and did not keep their feet firm in the stirrup The battle took place near Carbagh [4] by the shrine (*muqam*) of Khw gah Rustam As a retribution for his failure to appreciate the favours which had been shown to him, and in punishment of his presumption, which is the worst of human faults, defeat fell upon Mun'im Khān A number showed faithlessness and joined the Kabulis All Mun'im Khan's baggage was plundered Bāyazid Beg,

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1 According to Bayāzīd, Hasan was on the right wing and the Qāqshāls on the left. He says they went off to the rear towards Jalālābād The battle was fought near *Cār Bāgh* which is marked on the map as several miles above Jalālābād and on the other side of the Kabul river

2 Bayāzīd describes him as a slave of Shah Ni amatullah the son-in law of Ism'ail Bardī (Shāh Ism ail I?) and says he had come to Kabul as a merchant and was skilled in making fireworks The Khān Khānan had taken notice of him before his departure for India and had left him with his son Ghanī Khān. Bayāzīd explains the passage about Ab ul Maali s having fireworks round his horse His words are "he had arranged combustible materials round his horse (*dargird i-aspkhud*) so that when the horse galloped they caught fire and went off against the enemy. One arrow (*tir* perhaps here a bullet) struck the horse of Calma Hisārī The latter dismounted and was killed

3 We have here again the phrase *dil bat dada būdand*

4 Bayāzīd p 109 says that previous to the battle he had been told to select a spot for a camp and that he chose one between the stream of Khwāja Rustam, which is a shrine (*mazār*) and the stream (*jūī*) of Cārbāgh

6 Here A F for the first time quotes Bayazīd by name The

Who was one of Mun'im Khān's confidential followers, states that he had thirty lakhs of rupees with him in specie and goods, and that they were carried off. If the enemy had not been engaged with the spoil Mun'im Khān himself would have been seized.

Mun'im Khān came[1] with loss of every thing to Bikrām (Peshawar) and stayed there for some days, seeking what he should do. At last he sent Yari Tawaci[2] with a petition to Court and represented that he had not the face to come to the sublime threshold. 18
He hoped that he would be allowed to go to Mecca, in order that he might in that holy and cleanse himself of his offences and then come and kiss the threshold. As by his evil star he had not understood the amount of the King's graciousness he had seen what he had seen. If the king was not disposed to be so gracious to him as to give him leave he hoped that a fief in the Panjab might be granted to him for some time, as he was without any property, that so he might acquire some thing and then come and present himself. When he had sent off the petition he could not remain[3] in Bikram. He went off from there to the Indus. Then from fear of his enemies he crossed the Indus and came to the country of Ghakkars, where he had repose. He stayed some in that country, and Sultan Adam behaved with humanity to him. The Khān-Khānān was in a distracted state, and cold neither travel for settle down. He spent his days in a confussion manner. When H M. the Shāhinshāh heard of his condition contrary to the ideas of superficial worldings, sent gracious;

orders and by weighty admonition and by acts of clemency relieved him from his distress. In reply to his petition he said, with reference to the fief in the Panjab, that he had not taken away his former fiefs which were not inferior to Panjab fiefs, such as Hisār Fīrūza, Sarkār Etawah, Khairābād, Shāhpūr, Kalānūr, Jālandhar, Andari,[1] etc. If there was to be no expedition against the Ghakkars, there was no necessity for his being in Lahore. He should now come to Court as soon as he had received this order. When Mun'im Khan became aware of the royal favour he proceeded to Court. Accordingly he *arrived there in the middle of the eighth year of the Divine Era,* and in the end of 970. The Shāhinshāh's favours' overwhelmed (maghnur) him in the sea of graciousness, and made him luxurient (Māmūr) on the continent of kindsenses. The dust of shame and the mist of melancholy were wiped from his countenance, and he received special, royal favours. Mun'im Khān came to know the perfect qualities of the Shāhinshāh, and the black thoughts of going to Kabul departed from his heart. He became of one head and one mind and girded up the loins of zeal for the service of Shāhinshāh. The holy heart of the Shāhinshāh wished Mun'im Khān to be with him, *while he from ignorance and unthankfulness did not respond. At last* he understood his own good, and with a hundred supplication, became devotedly attached to the threshold of fortune. The auspicious star of his fortune rose higher day by day and he attained to high positions.

One of the occurrences was that the joyous heart, of H. M. the Shahinshah turned towards hunting, and he went to the neighbourhood of Mathura with a select party. The hunting was successful. One day that tiger-hunter hunted seven tigers. Five were levelled with the dust by arrow and bullet, and one that repository of courage caught alive and so was the subject of a thousand wonderings. The other was caught by the united efforts of a number of bahadurs. In the same hunt he joined worship with pleasure and became distributor of justice. It was brought to his notice that for a long

1 There was an Andari or Indri in the Sarkār of Saharanpūr, Jarrett II 291, but perhaps Andari-Karnāl is meant. See Badauni II 71

This passage is partially translated in Elliot. VI 29.

it was the custom in India for the rulers to take sums from the people who came to sacred spots to worship, proportionate to their rank and wealth. This (worship) was called Karma.[1] The Shâhinshâh in his wisdom and tolerance remitted all these taxes which amounted to *crores*. He looked upon such grasping of property as blameable and issued orders forbidding the levy thereof throughout his dominions. In former times, from the unworthiness of some, and from cupidity and bigotry, men showed such an evil desire towards the worshippers of God. H.M. often said that although the folly of a sect might be clear, yet as they had no conviction that they were on the wrong path, to demand money from them, and to put a stumbling-block in the way of what they had made a means of approach to the sublime threshold of Unity and considered as the worship of the Creator, was disapproved by the discriminating intellect and was a mark of not doing the will of God.

When he had turned away his mind from hunting he resolved to make the journey of eighteen[2] *kos* on foot, and to arrive in one day at the capital. He and some select attendants put the foot of courage on the road, Yūsaf Muḥammad Khân Kokaltash, Mirza Koka, Saif Khân, Shuja'at Khan, Mir 'Alī Akbar,[3] Ḥakīm-al-Mulk, Dastam Khân, Shimâl Khân, Maṭlab Khân and others being of the party. But among these, none except Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Ḥakīm-al-mulk,[4] and Shimâl Khân were able to keep pace with him.

[1] Karmī in text, but the word is the Sanskrit *karma* or *karman*, a religious act or the acquiring of merit.

[2] The distance from Mathura to Agra is about thirty miles, and apparently the hunting-ground must have been beyond Mathura, for A. F., text II, p. 290, speaks of that city as being 15 or 16 *kos* from Agra.

[3] Blochmann, 382.

[4] A physician from Gilān on the Caspian. Blochmann 542 and Badāūnī III. 161, who gives him a good character. He went to Mecca in 988 or 989 and died there. His name was Shamsu-d-dīn.

was shown to him and he became the object of increased confidence Accordingly H M was pleased to say, "Kamāl Khān has done his duty, *now is the time for us to show him favour, whatever desire he* may have shall be gratified" At this auspicious time Kamāl Khān represented through H M's intimates that the Shāhinshāh had shown him favour above his deserts It was his hope now in consequence of his affection for his native country that he might obtain from the royal grace the possession of his father's territories (For since misfortunes came upon him, and he was imprisoned by Salim Khān, his ancestral lands had been in the possession of his uncle Adam. From this uncle (*'am*) he had suffered a thousand vexations (*gham*))

The brief account of this affair is that Sultān Sārang waged *brave war with Sher Khān, but at last he and his son* Kamāl Khān were made prisoners Sārang was put[1] to death and Kamāl Khān was imprisoned in Gwāliār fort. *But in spite of such disaster their country could not be conquered* and the *clan* was *governed* by Sultan Adam, the brother of Sultān Sarang When Sher Khān died and Salim Khān's turn arrived, he too made great efforts to take the country, but was *unsuccessful One of the wonderful things* was that Salim Khān ordered that all the prisoners in Gwāliār fort should be put to death, and that for this purpose a pit should be dug under the prison *and filled with gunpowder* and *set on fire*. There was an explosion, the building was destroyed and the prisoners were blown to pieces, Kamal Khan was inside, but fate sheltered him from *this calamity In the corner where he was, not a breath of the fire* reached him When Salim Khān heard of this Divine protection he took an oath (of fidelity) from him and released him From that *time Sult Adam, his uncle, was in full possession* of the country while Kamāl Khān passed his days in frustration At last, in the beginning of H M. the Shāhinshāh's reign, he bound himself to the saddle *strap of eternal dominion and trod the path of devotion*.

When he had represented his misfortunes and had begged for his old native land, a world-obeyed order was issued from the ascension point of justice *that the country of the Gakhars which Sultān*
193 Sārang had held, and which was now possessed by Sultān Adam, should be divided into two portions, and that Sultan Adam should

1 The Tabaqāt says that he was flayed alive

have one of them and Kamāl Khān the other Orders to this effect were issued to the Khān Kilan Mir[1] Muhammad Khān, and to Mahdi Qasim Khān, Quṭbu d din Muhammad Khan, Sharif Khān, Jān Muhammad Khān Bahsudi, Rajah Kapur Deo, and Rajah Rām Cand who (all?) held fiefs in the Panjab If Sulṭān Adam did not *submit to these* orders, the army was to march from the Panjab against his territory and punish *him for* his contumacy so that all savage rustics might receive warning When Kamāl Khān obtained the highest point of his hopes he left the sub*lime threshold* and came to the Panjab The great officers communicated *to Sulṭān* Adam H M 's commands He and his son Lashkari, who managed all his father's affairs, turned away their heads from obedience *to the world*-adorning order, and proffered excuses which *were worse than their* offence They would not agree to descend even a little from their borrowed sovereignty or to Kamāl Khān's obtaining *his inheritance* The officers out of precaution reported the state of the case to the Court Again an order of justice *inscribed* with the majestic sign-manual (*tughra*) came directing that though Adam had at the outset broken the bond of obed*ience, yet* as he was the subject of royal favours he would be allowed to keep the *half* of his territory if he made over the other half to his brother's son If he still remained recalcitrant they were to chastise *him* and confirm Kamal Khān in the whole of the territory *As his* refractoriness had been shown, the army marched and entered the Gakhar territory Adam stuck to his folly and prepared to resist *A great* battle took place in the vicinity of the town of Hilān[2] As cou*rage and* activity are implanted in the nature of the Gakhars, there was fighting and carnage but as the imperial armies are always aided by *God, the* flashing of the victorious swords scoured the rust of the oppressors' battlefield, and those wild beast like savages traversed the desert of defeat By the good fortune of the Shahinshāh, a victory which might fittingly be the embroidery of great victories was won, and Sulṭān Adam was

[1] The text has a conjunction after Kilān, but this is a mistake and contrary to the variants Mir Mahd and the Khān Kilan are one and the same person He was Shamsu d din's elder brother and a poet Blochmann 322, and Badāūnī III 237

[2] I have not found the place The Iqbālnama has Silan

made prisoner His son Lashkari fled and went to the hill-country of Kashmir For some time he was a vagabond, and then he too was captured The whole country of the Gakhars, which none of the rulers of India had conquered,[1] was by sublime inspiration subdued by a few of the imperial servants In accordance with the sacred order the great officers gave the whole of the Gakhar country
194 Kamāl Khān, and confirmed him therein They returned after making over Sultān Adam and his son to him Because Kamāl Khān was firm and constant in his obedience to the sublime court he obtained a fortune which had not even entered into his dreams He sent Lashkari to a place from which there is no coming back, and he imprisoned Sultān Adam and kept him under surveillance to the end of his days. If they had submitted their necks to the royal commands, which are always visitations from heaven, they would not have been caught by these misfortunes And if they had been contented with half of the territory, they would not have been afflicted with the loss of the whole By their disgraceful disobedience to the royal orders, which are a mirror of the Divine orders, they gave up to destruction their lives, their estates and their homes[2]

Among the occurrences was the coming from Kāshghar of Khwāja M'uīn,[3] son of Khwāja Khāvand Mahmud, and his kissing the Shāhinshāh's carpet God be praised Owing to the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, just as the conquest of countries, the cultivation of lands, the safety of the roads, the lowering of prices were manifested year by year, month by month, week by week, and day by day, so did crowds of people—Turks, Tājiks, soldiers, merchants, mullās, dervishes and others come from the seven climes and rub the forehead of supplication on the world's threshold, and obtain success spiritual and temporal Among these there came from the bounds of Kāshghar the essence of saints, Khwāja M'uīn He was the

[1] See in Elliot V 178 et seq Nizāmu d dīn s account of the conquest of the Gakhar country It closely resembles A F s narrative and it looks as if both were derived from one source

[2] One does not see why Akbar need have interfered with his father s friend and helper Sultān Adam especially as Adam was according to the A N II 23 Sārang s elder brother

[3] See his biography in the Maāgir III 232, where it forms part of the biography of Sharafu d dīn M'uīn died in Cambay on his way to Mecca.

son of Khwāja Khawind Mahmud, who was the son of Khwāja 'Abdullah who is known as the Khwājajān[1]-Khwāja, and who was the direct son of the repository of direction Nāsiru-d din Khwāja Ubaidullah.[2] Khwāja Khāwind[3] Mahmūd was distinguished among his brothers and the rest of the family for excellences and for purity of morals In the time of his youth, after the acquisition of the ordinary sciences, he set down his feet on the path of exile and travelled over 'Irāq and Khurāsān and came to Shirāz. After acquiring medical sciences on the school of the learned of the age, Maulānā Jalālu-d-dīn Dawwānī,[4] he went to Samarqand, and then at the time of the disturbances in Transoxiana he went to Turkistān and Moghulistān At the time of the rising of the sun of the fortune of H M Geti Setānī Firdus Makānī (Bābar) he came from Turfān[5] to Kāshghar From there he came to Agra in order to participate in that monarch's assemblies, and here he was highly honoured, and given the chief seat at the meetings At the time of the expulsion from India he came to Kabul and stayed there He had two sons One was Khwāja Qāsim, and the other was Khwāja M'uin The latter went to Kāshghar in the lifetime of his honoured father, and was there treated with respect. 'Abdu r Rashīd Khān, the son of Sultān S'aīd Khān, presented the Khwāja with rudkhāna i sang-i yashab,[6] commonly known as sang i yashm

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[1] See Khazāna-al Aṣfiyā, I 597 and I 582 for life of his father

[2] This is the famous Khwāja Ahrār of Samarqand

[3] See his biography in the T R., 395, etc He is sometimes called Khwāja Nūra He is also mentioned by Bābar He was a son by the first wife of his father

[4] Dawwan is a district in Persia, Kazārūn Jarrett III 42* and n 1

[5] In Eastern Turkistan, or Lighnustan T R 112 See also Yarkand Mission Report p 49 It is the easternmost part of Kāshghar

[6] Blochmann 322 has Rūdkhāna-i nasheb *Rudkhana* means a river bed, and according to the T Alfī B M MS., Or 465, p 609*b*, what M'uīn got was the produce of the river viz., the jade or jasper The passage in the T Alfī seems to be the source of A. F's account of M'uīn, and is so curious that it deserves to be translated here. After mentioning that Khwāja Khāwind died in Kabul and that his son M'uīn went off to Kāshghar during the father's lifetime, it says Or 465 609*b* : He was highly honoured by Abdullah Khān, and the produce of the river-bed (*hāṣil-i-rūdkhāna*) where *sang i-pusht* is produced (I take sang-i pusht, which also occurred in the MS. of the Akbarnāma used by M Quatremere see Notes et Extraits, XIV I, 476, note, quoted

(the river of jasper or jade) When the Khwāja heard that the reputation of his son, Sharfu d dīn Ḥusain, had risen very high, he this
95 year made the intention of pilgrimage (*haj*) a means of visiting the (*k'aaba*) of the sacred threshold (Akbar's court) and proceeded to wards India Sharafu d-dīn Ḥusain hastened from his fief of Nagor

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by Vullers s v yashm, to be a mistake for *sang-i yashb*) was made over to him As the Khwājazāda was well acquainted with the science of living (ʿilm i m'aīsh) he kept such a grip of the *sang i-pusht* that no one without the Khwāja s leave could see the stone even in his dreams and if it was found among the merchants loads, they were ruined (*tabbar i a am mīraft*. *I am not sure of the reading or the translation*) In accordance with the Khwāja s orders traders conveyed the *sang i pusht* to China and to other places where there was a demand for it and brought back cloths and other goods In this way the Khwaja collected much property and did not spend a single *dinar* Mirzā Sharafu-d dīn Ḥusain, his son came to India on account of his father s excessive stinginess and kissed the heshold. By the exertions of Adham Khān and h s mother Sharafu d-din obtained much influence, and gradually he was advanced to the government of Nagor He also conquered Mirtha. When he heard of his father s coming from Turkistan he went to Lahore to meet him

Blochmann s nash-b seems to be a mistake for yasub which is what the Maasir has The chief authority on the stone jashb or yashm appears to be Abul Remusat, see his Researches appended to his history of Khotan Paris 1820 In a note to p 231 he gives the etymology of jade from the Spanish ijada which has been ascribed to Max Müller One of the supposed properties of *yashm was that it was a* protection against lightn ng There is also an account of yashb or jasper in the Mines de l Orient VI 138 The Rūdkhāna i sang i yashb or yashm is probably the K rakash Valley descr bed by Stol czka p 464 of *the Report of the Yarkan l Mission* There are two rivers —one the Ourang kāsh, and the other the Karakāsh —and they are so called because one yields white jade and the other black jade They flow northwards from Khotan and join the Tār m r ver Dr Stoliczka *was informed that there was* another rich local ty for jade south of Khotan and that most of the jade there was said to be obta from boulders in the river bed (qu the rūdkhāna of A F ?)

The Maas r s account of Khwāja M uīn wh ch occurs in *Vol III 232* and is part of the b ography of h s son Sharafu d dīn is very full and gives some part culars wh ch are not in A F Like the T Alfī 609*b* it represents M uīn as having been received by Abdulla Khān The Maasir adds that *he left Kashghar in the t me of* Abu l khair M uīn went off to Mecca after h s son s flight, but d ed at Cambay and his body was lost when the ship r atahī foundered

to meet him, and went with him to court When the latter came near the territory of Agra many officers went, in accordance with an intimation from H.M, to meet him, and when he came near the city, H M, the Shāhinshāh went to meet him By this act of respect he made the Khwāja for ever glorious. He brought him with all honour to the capital, and gave him honourable quarters, and treated him with favours such as kings show to dervishes. The Khwāja presented rare merchandise from Khita (China) and Kāshghar. For a long time father and son were encompassed with favours

One of the warning occurrences was the absconding of M. Sharafu d-din Husain from the Court It is an old custom for the divinely great and for acute rulers to attach to themselves the hearts of dervishes and of the sons of dervishes. And they have exhibited this tendency, which is both an intoxicant which destroys men, and also a refreshing wine, sometimes out of regard to the ancestors of such men, and sometimes as a means of testing their real nature If the matter be looked into with the eye of justice, it will be evident to the prudent and awakened hearted, that the favour shown by the Shāhinshāh to this father and son exhibited both those motives Accordingly, the concomitants of H M.'s fortune withdrew in a short time the veil from the face of M Sharafu-d-din Husain's actions, and his real worthlessness and unsubstantiality became manifest to mankind When God, the world protector, wills to cleanse the site of the eternal dominion from the evil and black hearted, and to deck it with the sincere and loyal, a state of things spontaneously arises which could not be produced by a thousand plannings. The hypocrites depart from the threshold of fortune by the efforts of their own feet, and fall into destruction Such was the evilly ending case of M Sharafu-d dīn Husain, who by influence of the man throwing wine of the world did not remain firm of foot, but left his place, and into whose head there entered thoughts of madness and melancholy On 23rd Mihr, Divine Month, October 1562, he out of suspicions and from internal wickedness, *to which his nature was prone, fled from* the holy threshold, which is the refuge of the great of the seven climes, and hastened to Ajmir and Nāgor which were his *jaghirs* Several found the chronogram of this event to be shash Ṣafr (970 = 5th October, 1562)

When this disgraceful event was reported to H.M, he expressed

complete surprise and amazement Though he inquired the reason of it from his Sharafu d-dīn's confidants and companions, nothing appeared except internal wickedness and an injured brain *He frequently*
166 remarked that he had had the intention of educating him, but that his narrow capacity could not stand this, and that he had quickly gone off and that in this way his real nature had been tested Thereafter H M *the Shāhinshāh determined that one of his trusty servants should be* appointed to the province of Nāgor, lest the infatuated son of a Khwajah should, at the instigation of flatterers, stir up strife there, and should alienate the hearts of the inhabitants As to raise the position of *the loyal is to exalt the standards of dominion, and to cast down* the faction of the ingrates and the strife mongers is to preserve the general public who are a trust from God, and also to leave the black hearted a lamp of guidance for the highway, H M the Shāhinshā-exalted *Husain Qulī Beg* the son of *Walī Beg Zu-al-qadr*, who was an honoured servant and distinguished for acuteness and serviceable qualities, to the rank of Khān, and made over to him the *jagīr* of M Sharafu d-dīn Husain, and having given him valuable instructions he sent him *to Nāgor, which was the Mīrzā's seat and refuge* A number of loyalists such as Ismaīl Qulī Khān, the brother of Husain Qulī, Muhammad Sādiq Khān Muhammad Qulī Toqbāī, Mīrak Bahādur and others were appointed to assist him H M observed that for getfulness and mistakes were *constituents of humanity, and that* the Mīrzā should awake from his sleep of negligence, and be ashamed of his conduct, he was to be treated with royal favours and brought back to Court But if he were minded to be ungrateful, and to have evil *intentions, he was to be punished so that his treatment might be a* warning to others Husain Qulī Khan sent his family to the fort of Hājīpūr[1] and prepared for this important service, and proceeded towards Nāgor. When the fortune helped army arrived, the Mīrzā had *not time to arrange the strife which he meditated Of necessity he* made over the fort of Ajmīr to Tarkhān Dīwāna, who was one of his trusted servants, and went off to Jalaur which he had brought into his possession, and there waited for his opportunity The imperial forces approached Ajmīr and besieged the fort, in order that they might

1 Probably Hājīpūr Sārīyāna in the Bet Jalandhar Doāb Jarrett II 316

make the way clear for a further advance Tarkhān Diwāna acted wisely, and having made a treaty he was enlisted in the royal army. Ḥusain Quli Khān made over the fort to trusty men, and marched onwards Sharafu-d din Husain Mirzā, who had turned his back on faith and fortune, could not resolve upon standing his ground, and left the imperial domains The country was cleared from his mist, and the fort of Mirtha, which was the strongest in the territory, and which Jaimal held with the approval of the Mirzā also fell into the hands of Husain Quli Khān In accordance with H.M.'s orders it was made over to Jagmal

When the minds of the imperial servants were at rest about the 19
business of M Sharafu-d din Husain, they addressed themselves to the taking of the fort of Jodhpur which was the strongest fort in that country Let it not be concealed that this fort was the capital of Rai Māldeo, who was one of the great Rajahs of India, both in rank and position, and for the number of his servants, and the extent of his territories When he departed from the fortress of life, his younger son Candar Sen succeeded him and held this fort The officers went to besiege it, and Rām Rai, the elder son of Rai Maldeo, came and joined the army of fortune, and after that he was exalted by saluting the sublime threshold, which is the kissing-spot of the exalted ones of the horizons. M'uinu-d din Ahmad Khān Farankhudi and Muzaffar Mughal and a number of others were sent to assist Ḥusain Quli Khān. By the Divine aid the fort was soon conquered

A One of the occurrences was the promotion of Khwāja Muzaffar 'Ali Tarbati[1] to the rank of Khān, and the bestowal on him of the

[1] Blochmann 348 It is stated there that Tarbat is the name of a tribe in Khurāsān There is also a town of that name which is likewise called Tarbat-i Ḥaidar There is an account of Muzaffar's introduction to Akbar in Bayāzid 99a There we are told that he was released from confinement at the instance of Afzal Khān who represented to Bayazid that he and Muzaffar came from the same part of the country Bayazid mentioned the matter to Mun'im Khān Ḥusain Quli Bairām's sister's son objected to Muzaffar's release, saying that he was an informer (cughul), and a scoundrel, and that he had when in Bairam Khān's service done much harm to the servants of God (Musalmans) But nothing is said by Bayazid about any proposition to put him to death Afterwards Māham had represented Muzaffar's case to Akbar. Akbar approved of Mun'im's hearing

robe of the Viziership The details of this are, that when the affairs of the Sultanate were put in order by the auspicious fortune, admirable attention, etc., of H M the Shāhīnshah, and the most important matters had been arranged, in spite of the perfect understanding of the *spirit of the age, and the aggregation of qualities temporal* and spiritual, and the unflagging engagement in external and internal matters, and the unnecessariness of Vizier or *vakil*, yet, for the sake of maintaining the screen and of following the custom of predecessors, which is the eye-salve of the commonalty, and also for the sake of farsightedness and of abundant caution, the world conquering mind determined that the *masnad* of diwanship should be graced by the presence of a man who was loyal, fond of service, and acquainted with business, so that the holy personality might remain under the veil of inattention, which is the best means of testing men and that political and financial affairs and the details of speech and action might be conducted in the best method, and that the gardens of the imperial domains might be watered by the tricklings from his efficacious pen For this purpose the attention of H M the Shāhinshāh was drawn in the beginning of this year to Khwājah Mozaffar Ālī of Tarbat, and he was exalted by being appointed to this service The cushion of the diwan was adorned by him, and he received the title of Mozaffar Khān He returned thanks for this great favour, and displayed his abilities in the execution of his duties He managed in a proper manner the operations of the Treasury, which is the capital stock of sovereignty, the improvement of the condition of the peasantry, and the control of the army (according to what was hidden in the breast of H M) From his good service in the affairs of the Viziership, he rose to be an Amir He had abundant courage as well as intelligence, and was master both of the sword and the pen The Khwājah was a servant of Bairām Khān. At the time of the latter's alienation, Dervash Uzbeg arrested the
98 Khwājah and sent him to the Court Though short-sighted men urged that he should be put to death, H M., who is a judge of the

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consulted Husain Qulī about the matter and told him that he might take the affar into h s service adding that he had heard he could write *ti ghra*

Badāūnī Lowe 64 says Mozaffar was made a Khān in 971 and that the chronogram was zāl m (oppressor)

coin of humanity, perceived the Khwājah's aptitude for business, and granted him his life. For some time he was collector of the pargana Parsrur,[1] and from his success therein he was made *dīwān-i-buyūtāt*. *Thereafter he was raised to the lofty office above mentioned*. I laud the discrimination of the farseeing mineralogist who brings out rubies and cornelians from among dust, and makes them the ornaments of dominion's throne.

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[1] In Siālkot. Jarrett II. 321. It is the *Pasrur* of the I. G.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE SECOND COMING OF SHĀH ABU AL M'AĀLI, AND HIS STRIFE MONGERING AND HIS WANDERING IN THE DESERT OF DOWNFALL[1]

As the world adorning Deity willed that the outward glory and inward majesty of the Lord of the Age should be impressed on high and low, and the standards of his daily-increasing dominion should be raised up to the heavens so that both his outward development might have a happy completion, and also that the astray in the wilderness of error might be guided to the highway of auspiciousness, it was inevitable that the ill wishers of his power should first of all be brought into the abyss of destruction. And as the adorner of the tiara of sovereignty was constituted a mine of urbanity and gentleness and took pleasure in tasting the sweets of forgiveness, it was decreed by omnipotence that the evilly inclined towards God given dominion should by their own action cast themselves into the whirlpool of ruin. An instance of this strange mystery, which only the wise can perceive, is afforded by the miserable end of Shāh Abū-l-Ma'āli, who neither understood his own position, nor the extent of the royal forgiveness. He had neither a loyal heart nor a practical understanding.

It has been told in previous narrations how this wicked and evil-thoughted one had repeatedly committed improper acts, and how he had, owing to the innate clemency of the Shāhinshāh, been saved from death, and been encompassed by favours. In order to his own amendment and for the general welfare he had been sent to holy Mecca. At this time he gathered up from the excellent places —where he ought to have acquired graces—the spoils of wickedness into the harvest of his actions, and having become a receptacle of

1 The T. Alfī says p. 610a that Abu-l M'aāli was confined in Delhi, but managed to escape owing to the negligence of Shihāb Khān's men. He was recaptured and then Akbar pardoned him and allowed him to go to Mecca.

sins he returned with evil designs to the imperial domains which were lighted up by the rays of the Shāhinshāh's justice Full, of evil thoughts and intentions of strife he delayed not in Gujrat but went on towards Agra and Delhi When he came to Jalaur[1] he joined M Sharafu-d din Husain, who was ruined in realm, and religion, and went yet more rapidly towards destruction, and indulged yet more in vain and rebellious imaginings Sharafu d-din Husain Mirzā also made a compact with him that he would furnish him with three hundred proper men (*khwb i khud*) from among his private followers such as Yār 'Ali Baluc and Mir 'Ali Kūlābi who would stir up strife in the provinces (Wilāyat)[2] He also promised that if things made progress here (*i e*, in India) he would join him in person Should matters not succeed here he would himself come to Kābul 19 He regarded that country as an asylum for himself and would seek his opportunity

Shāh Abu l M'aāli from his innate folly and the instigation of Sharafu-d-dīn Mirzā proceeded towards Hājipūr where were the families of Husain Quli Khan and of the other officers When he came to the environs of Hājipūr he was unable to gain possession of it because Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg the relatives of Husain Quli Khān, had in accordance with orders from the Court come there from the rear The brainless and ill fated youth turned towards Nārnaul when he despaired of getting Hājipur At this time Nārnaul had been removed from the exchequer lands and been conferred on Shuja'āt Khān and his son Qawim Khān was governor of it Mir[3] Gesu the exchequer āmil was then purposing to convey to court a part of the royal revenue and on account of a disagreement between the past and present agents (*gumashtagan*) precautions had been neglected, and carelessness prevailed One morning when the officers were in the slumber of security, that ingrate arrived with a set

[1] Cf Bayāzīd 117a It is there said that he joined Sharafu d-dīn in Sirohī

[2] Wilayat is generally used for some foreign country such as Persia or Afghanistan but here it evidently refers to provinces perhaps outlying provinces of India The word is also used in this sense in the T Alfi

[3] Bayāzīd 117a calls him Syed Mahmud Gesū darāz and says he was Dārogha-i Khālsa

of vagabonds Qawim did not behave bravely and chose the disgrace of flight, nor did Mir Gesu obtain the bliss of shedding his blood and was made a prisoner A portion of the coin fell into the hands of those wretched forgers, and the city was plundered When Husain Quli Khān heard of the arrival of the presumptuous villain he hastily despatched Sādiq Khān and Ism'ail Quli Khān [1] with a body of troops lest injury should befall his belongings in Hajipur When those troops got to the confines of Hājipur they found that the ill-fated wretch had hastened off to Nārnaul They went off there, and Ahmad Beg and Iskandar Beg hearing of their approach came and joined them When they were within twelve *kos* of Nārnaul they fell in with Khānzāda Muḥammad, commonly called Shāh i laundān, who had left his jagir and was proceeding to join his brother In this way a prey fell into the possession of the imperial servants

When Shāh Abu l m'aāli heard of the arrival of the troops he fled from Nārnaul Zeal urged the brave men to push on all the faster When they came to Daharsu two camels loaded with silver which were being marched in the villain's rear fell into the hands of Ismāil Quli Khān and Aḥmed Beg's men The avaricious soldiers (*qalaqcian*) quarreled over this, and the dispute went so far that there was controversy about it among the leaders As they had marched far that day they halted at Daharsu Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg were vexed by the sudden quarrel and marched on further, and encamped At dawn they pushed on without waiting for Sādiq Khān and Ismāil Quli Khān Some Badakhshis and all the
200 men of Transoxiana chose the ignominy of disloyalty and resolved to mutiny A faithless man named Dāns Quli deserted, and hastening onwards joined Abu l M'aāli and told him the state of affairs The latter halted in a wood and waited his opportunity As soon as those brave and loyal men arrived, he emerged from his ambush and attacked them The mutineers joined him according to the agreement and drew their swords against their own leaders Aḥmad Beg and Iskandar Beg fought bravely and disposed of many of the rebels

[1] The T Alfi calls him Ḥusain Quli's own brother

[2] Apparently the expression means a king of the vagabonds But *laund* or *lavand* is also used to mean a sailor, and is said to be a corruption of Levantine Jarrett III 375.

They themselves drank off the cup of martyrdom and earned an everlasting good name Shāh Abu l M'aali fled before the arrival of the victorious army When he came to pargana Jhanjhūn the Shiqdar of the place shut the gates of the fort and prepared for battle. He devoted himself on the path of loyalty [2] Abu-l M'aali went from there to Ḥiṣar Firuza Bayāzid Beg, a servant of Mun'im Khān, took measures for defending the fort, and that mad dog being discomfited there also, went off towards Kābul At this time H M the Shāhinshāh was enjoying the sport of hunting at Mathurā [3] which is 15 or 16 *kos* from Agra When he heard of Shāh Abu l-M'aali's arrival and of his evil acts he at once ordered that a number of loyal officers such as Shāh Budagh Khān, Tātār Khan, and Rumi Khān should follow him and not stop till they had caught him, so that they might lay the dust of sedition and give tranquillity to the people

[1] Apparently Jhunjhūn is Jaipur of Bayāzid 117*b* It is also called Fathpūr Jahnjhūn and is included in the Āīn in Sarkar Nagor Jarrett II. 277

[2] Bayāzid says Abū l M'aālī took the fort on the same day and put the Shikdar to death He has a long account of his own success in dealing with Abū l M'aālī

[3] The T Alfi has Mewāt

CHAPTER L.

MARCH OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÈGE TO DELHI, AND THE CASTING THE SHADE OF THE UMBRELLA OF AUSPICIOUSNESS OVER THAT CITY: THE ENTRY OF A THORN INTO THE ROSE LEAF ELEMENTS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH AND OF ITS CHANGING INTO AN ERA OF AUSPICIOUSNESS AND OF HIS PROXIMITY TO THE DIVINE PROTECTION

As in all his ways, the peace of the world, and the repose of mortals are kept in view by the inspired soul of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and his true intent in miscellaneous matters such as hunting, etc., is to acquaint himself with the condition of the people without the intermediary of interested persons and hypocrites, and to take proper measures for the protection of mankind he, upon hearing of Shāh Abu-l-m'aālī's commotion, proceeded towards Delhi on the day of Āsmān, the 27th Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 23 Jamāda-
201 al awala. On the day of Mārisfand the 29th Dai, corresponding to 25 Jamāda-al awala, 8 January, 1564, that city was illumined by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. Abu-l-m'aālī could not, on account of the glory of the Shāhinshāh, and the sublime dynasty, abide longer in India and carried the burden of destruction to Kābul. Sedition which had awoke with bleared eyes went into a profound slumber, and mankind stretched their hands to heaven in supplication for the permanency of daily increasing dominion. As the squint-eyed world lies in wait and searches for opportunities for promoting the cause of the wicked, wounds are continually being inflicted on the good and pure, but they are preserved by the Divine protection from the calamity thereof, and acquire eternal felicity in spite of the ill-intentioned. The Divine decree too has issued that whenever unstinted joys and lofty blessings are to be bestowed on anyone, he is in the first place to be made the recipient of griefs and pains, so that he may the better render thanks for his favours and that such sorrow may be the (evil averting) rue for his world-adorning beauty. An instance of this occurred when the cortege of H.M. Shāhinshāh after arriving

in Delhi had proceeded on the day of Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 28 Jamāda-al awal, to visit the shrine of Shaikh Nizāmu d-din auliyā May his grave be holy! He was returning[1] from there to his dwelling, and when he reached the crossways (*caharsu*) one of the death destined ingrates was standing near Māham[2] Anaga's Madrasa When H M had gone on beyond him, the latter discharged an arrow against that *qibla* of the world It struck H M 's right shoulder and penetrated about the length of a span A cry rose from heaven and earth, and devoted followers fell upon that wretch. They wished to examine him and not to kill him at once, but H M indicated that he should be speedily put to death lest a number of loyalists should fall under suspicion In an instant they cut him to pieces Though the hearts of the loyal and the minds of the superficial men of the world were perplexed as to the remedy, that spiritual and temporal king preserved his composure and comforted the faithful He bade his followers extract the arrow I have heard from the glorious tongue (Akbar's) that at first he thought someone had unwittingly thrown a fragment of a stone from a roof 20
In spite of such a wound he remained as before on his horse and proceeded to his palace As the Divine protection and the prayers of the saints were guarding him the wound was not serious nor was lesion great Skilful leeches who possessed *Jesus'* breath attended to the plastering and curing of it Especially Khizr[3] Khwajah Khan and Hakim 'Ain al malk joined together in treating the fresh wound and healing it by dry bandaging (*khushk band*) Every day they administered a fresh *fatila*[4] In the course of a week a cicatrice formed, and there was perfect restoration to health

[1] The T Alfi says he was returning from hunting

[2] In Syed Ahmad s Agar-i-sanādīd mention is made p 47, of a mosque and madrasra known as Maham Begam s The building had been destroyed but Syed Ahmad gives the inscription It ends in the chronogram *Khair-ul-manāzil* which yields the date 969=1561 62 Māham Begam is doubtless Maham Anaga for the inscription speaks of the exertions made in building the structure by Shihābu d din Ahmad i.e M Anaga s friend and relative.

[3] The T Alfi says Khizr Khwājah was able to render assistance on account of his great experience in war and wounds. This is the last mention of Gulbadan s husband.

[4] Fatila means a wick and also a suppository or clyster but I do not

One of the strange things was the story of the king's dog It was a bitch and called *Mahuwa (beloved?)* It was in the palace at the time of leaving Agra It showed signs of distress and sadness from the day of this horrible occurrence, and before the news came it had refrained from eating and drinking and remained so for seven days Such loyalty and fidelity did it show! Whoever glories *in the adorning beauty of this chosen one will not regard this occur*rence as wonderful Above all, what is astonishing when it is the case of a dog, whose species is famed all over the world for fidelity

Though H M the Shāhinshāh from his farsightedness and reticence did not give time for the examination of the circumstances of that evildoer, *yet so much was ascertained as that this presumptuous* iron hearted one was a slave of Sharafu-d din Ḥusain Mirzā's father, and that his name was Qatlaq Faulād That rebel (Sharafu d dīn) had sent him from Jalaur with evil designs to be a companion of Shah Abu l m'ālī When the latter fled from India and went towards Kabul he sent this inauspicious one upon this business In order to his own destruction he (Faulād) placed the arrow of strife *on the bow of fate* and prepared *the materials of eternal ignominy* and did not perceive how impossible it is for evil thoughts of wretches to enter the protected sanctuary of him who is befriended by God On the contrary, whatever evil thought they have entertained recoils upon themselves in ruin and destruction How does it come to them? It comes by leaving to them no trace of honour or reputation, and no particle of life, or fame, or home Accordingly, just observers *who critically examine the record of the flawless sovereignty of this* holy lord, well know the condition of the opponents of this God given dominion (They know) how they become the subjects of a thousand fold calamities, and go down to the abyss of destruction If I reckoned them up one by one, a separate book would be necessary However, everywhere in this noble record there has been reference made to the condition of those blind hearted ones, and to the retribution of their deeds.

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think it can mean the litter here Perhaps it signifies a twisted or rolled bandage There is a plant used in medicine called the fatila r rah lān (monks match) and perhaps this may be what is meant there See Notet Ex XXVI p 21

When H M was perfectly recovered he proceeded on 11 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 6 Jamāda-al akhira, 21 January, 1564, to Agra the capital. He made the journey by slow marches Although the wound had been cicatrised, and quite cured, yet out of consideration for the fact that the wound was yet recent, and that he could not endure the motion of a horse, he made most of the journey in a litter (sūkasan), which is the boat of dry land When the shadow of his light-nourishing umbrella cast its rays on 205
the territory of Agra, mankind received fresh life and hastened to the acme of devotion, and had the bliss of going forth to welcome him They scattered gifts among his followers, and offered thanksgivings for the Divine boon of his safety. H M on the 20th Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 15 Jamādā al akhira, alighted at the palace He busied himself in the administration of justice, and made fitting regulations for the founding of empire and the cherishing of subjects The talented of the seven climes at the auspicious glance of the Shāhinshāh emerged from their retirements and took part in active life and became constituents of increasing dominion The evil received their punishment and hastened to the hiding of annihilation The world was cleansed of the rubbish of the immoderate and enjoyed the equability of spring

CHAPTER LI.

Beginning of the ninth Divine year from the accession, to wit, the year Āzar of the first cycle

Nearly about the time when the rose garden of the world put on fresh leaves and became melodious from the arrival of the Shāhinshāh at the capital, and the holy disposition became equable, and turned towards the development of the springtime of justice, the spring of joy came and conveyed the news of H M 's convalescence After the lapse of three hours and twenty seven minutes of the night of Saturday, 27 Rajab, 971, 11th March, 1564, the world warming sun passed into Aries, its house of exaltation, and freshened the universe.

Verse

The time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
It put a nosegay into the hand of desire,
The rose made the spring of the amorous,
The brain of lovers was heated,
The air became humid like the brain of the wise,
The time became like the temper of the strong of heart
Pearls dropped from the clouds
Like as the brain of the sage drops wisdom

One of the great gifts which H M the Shahinshah made at the beginning of this year was the remission of the *Jizya* throughout India. Who can estimate the amount thereof? As the far seeing glance of the Shāhinshah looked to the administration of the world, he paid great attention to the issuing of this edict, which might be regarded as the foundation of the arrangement of mankind In spite of the disapproval of statesmen, and of the great revenue, and of much chatter on the part of the ignorant, this sublime decree was issued By this grand gift, thousands of leading reins and lassoes were made for the stiff-necked ones of the age When this tax was imposed in former times by those who held outward sway, the reason

contents of this letter, she took counsel with her confidential advisers These short-sighted and self interested men represented to the Begam that Shah Abu l M'aali was sprung from the great Sayyids of Termiz and that the rulers of Moghulistan and the princes of Kāshghar had
205 formed alliances with those families As he had sought protection from the sublime family, it was proper to treat him with all kindness and to exalt him so that he should be seen to be a favourite and of great distinction, and to give him in marriage her daughter—the sister of Muhammad Hakim—so that he might look upon this family as his own, and might make it illustrious, and might do it good, and convert it from dissension into harmony The simple minded Begam was led by the deceitful words of these men to entertain wrong ideas and replied[1] to Shāh Abu l M'aāli's letter in soothing language, and brought him to Kabul with all honour Without making inquiry at the court of H M the Shahinshah, she of her own notion gave Abū l M'aāli her daughter Fakhru n Nisa Begam in marriage and joined that scion of the family of realm and religion to this evil minded man. The fruit of this was soon gathered, for in a short space of time the Begam lost her life in consequence of this union

The details of this are as follows When Abū l M'aāli, who always displayed lack of wisdom and narrowness of thought, as well as other bad qualities became the master in that household, he could not contain his emotions His evil nature too was worsened by the companionship of instigators He made no account of the Begam and her officer nor followed her weighty counsels. Nor did his actions show the fragrance of gratitude and devotion At this time, various strife mongers such as Shagūn, the son of Qarāca Khān and Shadman—who both had old spites against the Begam—joined Abu l M aali They represented to him that so long as the Begam was in life, he would not be secure in office and that he would soon be put to death like Faẓl Beg, his son Abu l fath and Shah Wali Atka The proper thing was for him to act boldly and take the initiative, and to bring up M Muhammad Hakim who was still young, in accordance with his views In this way all the Kābulis

[1] The T Alfi gives the verse she sent in reply She told Abū l M aāli that the house was his own The verses are also given Badauni Lowe 56

would place the head of obedience on the line of submission to him That evil-minded one who did not think of his latter end gave ear to their wicked counsels, and took steps to carry out their evil plans He did not retain possession of the key of reason but lost it in the abyss of ignorance He gave to the wind of rebellion ('aqaq) the harvest of the rights (haquq) of the family He spurned the recent favours of the Begam, and lay in wait to commit murder—the worst of crimes!

In fine, he made that wretch Shagūn and that scum of Transoxiana, who was styled the Qāẓīzāda, his friends and proceeded to the Begam's residence Abu l M'aālī entered the house by one way, and the two wretches by another There were a number of women in the house, and by mistake they shed the blood of an innocent lady When it appeared that they had blundered, and that it was not the Begam, they went looking for her and joined Abul l-M'aālī. They endeavoured to effect their object, and when the Begam became aware of the facts, she shut the door of her room in the face of the tyrants Abū l-M'aālī broke the door with the help of the two villains, and entered and put[1] the Begam to death By this wickedness he hoisted the flag of oppression This instructive catastrophe occurred in the middle of Urdibihisht, Divine month corresponding to the middle of Sh'abān (971), April, 1564 After shedding the blood of the Begam, he hastened in search of M Muḥammad Ḥakīm He took him out from among young boys[2] and brought him into the dīwānkhāna by the side of himself The men of the Mirzā's household attended on him (Abū l-M'aālī) willingly or unwillingly. Next day he put to death Haidar Qāsim Kohbar, whose family had filled great offices under the dynasty from generation to generation, and who at that time held the office of the Mirzā's Vakil, and carried on the administration of the country, and also Khwājah Khāṣ Mulk and several others He also imprisoned Haidar's brother, Muḥammad Qāsim mardi Muḥammad Maidani, Baqi Qāqshāl Hasan Khān, and Maḥasan Khān,[3] brother of Shihābu d dīn Aḥmad Khān, and a number of the

[1] It appears from the T Alfī that he stabbed her

[2] The T Alfī says he was playing with other boys

[3] It appears from the T Alfī 613a, that both these men were brothers of Shihābu d dīn

Bega [illegible] Sarmast who [illegible] arme [illegible] ambitious ones took the right-hand road to the fort, while Abu-l-M'aâli advanced from another sid[illegible]. [illegible] on both sides, but Abū l-M'aâlī's party [illegible] faction out of the fort. When [illegible] went off in a different direction [illegible] band, the Maidānīs went to Maid[illegible] Khān went towards Jalālābād. Muhammad Qāsim, the brother of Haidar Qāsim, and who was in prison, made his escape and went off to Badakhshān. He informed M. Sulaimān of the tragedy of Kabul and of the wickedness of Abū-l M'aālī, and urged him to come to Kabul. M. Muhammad Hakīm, in spite of his tender years, was horrified at the catastrophe of his mother, and by the advice of well-wishers secretly sent messengers to M. Sulaimān in quest of relief and to incite him to come.

M. Sulaimān on hearing of what had happened, girt up the loins of intent and prepared to march to that abode of pleasure which was always the object of his ambition. He collected the army of Badakh-
07 shān and marched to Kabul, accompanied by Haram Begam. Abu l-M'aāli was agitated by the news of M Sulaimān's purpose. He collected his troops, and, as in his folly he regarded M. Muhammad Hakīm as being on his side, and as one of his titles (*dast-āwez*) he made arrangements for his accompanying the army. He took the initiative and marched out of Kabul before M Sulaimān could get there, and arriving at the river of Ghorband took possession of the head of the bridge From the other side M Sulaimān came rapidly with the Badakhshān forces to the bridge, and both sides drew up in line. Just then a body of troops from Kulāb were seen on the right, and Abū-l M'aālī sent off a number of Kabulis to oppose them After *the two forces had engaged, news was* brought to Abu l-M'aali that [illegible] M. Muhamd [illegible]

disorganized after this event and dispersed When Abu [illegible] came

[illegible]

chains to the Mirzā, who ordered him to be strangled. This was done in the day of Ormazd, the beginning of Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to the [illegible] of the Ramaẓān.

Verse.[1]

With my own eyes I saw in a thoroughfare
That a bird killed an ant;
Its beak had not been withdrawn from the prey
When another bird came and killed it.
Be not secure if you have done evil;
For retribution is in accordance with nature.

At the time of his being strangled, his impure character displayed itself, and he made entreaties and lamentations in order that he might, perhaps, by a thousand humiliations, gain a few more days of life, though they were worse than death. But the result was only to show his worthless character. His impure carcase was by the exertions of some worthy[2] people deposited near the graves of the cupola of chastity, Khānzāda Begam, and of Mahdī Khwāja. *God be praised!* The world was cleansed of his hateful existence, and he by his own acts hastened to the pit of destruction. Whoever does not appreciate kindness and practises ingratitude, perishes under such circumstances of contempt and disgrace. If he escape the clutches of the imperial servants, the stewards of fortune send adversaries against him so that he is brought to destruction for the edification of the wise.

After this M. Sulaimān engaged in arranging the affairs of Kabul, 208

[1] Badāūnī, Lowe 55, has what seems to be, another version of these lines

[2] 'Azīzān. Perhaps it means here faquirs or other religious persons. The placing the body in the enclosure where Mahdī Khwāja and his wife were buried seems to show that Abu-l-M'aālī was related to Mahdī Khwāja.

and in educating M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm; and sent men to Badakhshān and had his daughter brought to Kabul and given in marriage to the Mirzā. He gave much of the territory of Kabul to Badakhshān men, and appointed Umed 'Alī, one of his officers, M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's *vakīl*, thereby establishing his own influence. He himself returned to Kabul. Ḥaram Begam urged him to take M Ḥakīm with him, and to make over Kabul to the Badakhshīs. But he did not agree, holding that abrupt measures did not look well, and that things should take shape by process of time.

He gave three-fourths of Kabul in fiefs to his own men, and he picked out the (best) lands for them. One inferior share he alloted to M. Ḥakīm and the Kabulīs. He thought that this kind of arrangement was a means of keeping Kabul in subjection!

CHAPTER LII.

Conquest of the country of Gadha[1] Katanga by the sword of the genius of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān

Though Khwāja 'Abdu l Majid Āṣaf[2] Khān was a Tājik and belonged to the writing-class, yet by being supported by the dominion which is conjoined with eternity he did deeds which made Turks humble[3] themselves before him O wise (reader), those who prove their merit by their genealogy succeed with the vulgar (*'āmma*). *Men of elite* (*khāṣṣa*) shut their eyes to lineage and look to the real nature of a man, and call those noble *who do great* deeds In short, Āṣaf Khan by his excellent service, loyalty and reliance upon the eternal dominion was divinely favoured and conquered the territory of Gaḍha The brief account of this is as follows In the spacious territories of India there is a country called *Gonḍwāra, viz*, the country inhabited by Gonḍs They are a numerous tribe and mostly live in the wilds Having chosen *this* as *their* abode, they devote themselves to eating and drinking and to venery They are a low caste tribe and *the* people of India despise them and regard them as outside the pale *of their* realm and religion The *east* part of the country *adjoins* Ratanpūr[4] which belongs to Jhārkhand, and the *west is contiguous to* Raisīn which belongs to the province of Malwa. Its length[5] *may* be 150 kos On the north is the country of Pannah, and on the south the Deccan Its width may be 80 *kos*. The country is called Gaḍha[6] Katanga. It is an extensive tract and is full of forts,

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[1] Jarrett II 196

[2] The Iqbālnāma mentions that he was descended from Raknu-d-dīn Khwāfī and that he belonged to Merv

[3] *Ke Turkān sahib shamshīr pesh-i-oo pusht-i-dast nihādand* "That Turks, *masters of the sword*, placed the backs of their hands before him. *The Iqbālnāma adds the word* barzamīn "*on the ground*."

[4] *Grant's Gazetteer of Central* Provinces, p 430

[5] That is, from E. *to* W

[6] Blochmann 367 note. Grant *C P Gazetteer* Garha or Gaḍha is in

and contains populous cities and towns, so that truthful narrators have stated that Gaḍha Katanga contained 70,000 inhabited villages. Among these, Gaḍha is a large city whilst Katanga is a village. The country has become known by this double name The capital is the fortress of Caurāgarh. There was not in former times any sole ruler, on the contrary there were many Rajahs and Rais. At the present day, when by the revolutions of time the country is no longer under the old regime there are still many Rajahs,[1] e g, the Rajah of Gaḍha, the [illegible] wāni, the Ra[illegible] da, the Raja [illegible]

Most of the soldiers fight on foot, there are few horsemen Since the first appearance of Islam, when great rulers conquered India, though their reigns were long, the bird of victory of none of them was able to fly to the pinnacles of those strong forts, nor could the hoof of the horse of their thought brush the soil of that extensive country. At this time, when Āṣaf Khān became jāgīrdār of Sarkār[4] Karra, and conquered the territory of Pannah, the sovereignty of that country, (Gaḍha Katanga) had come to a woman named Durgāvati, who was generally known as the Rānī She was [illegible] ue [illegible] ry [illegible] en there that 20,000 cultivated villages were in her possession, and that in 12,000 of these she had resident governors (shiqdar). The remainder were subordinate to her, and their headmen were under her control. She was the daughter of Rajah Sālbāhan of Ratha[5] and Mahoba who was a Candil by caste. The Rajah gave her in marriage to Dalpat, the son of Amān Dās. Though he was not of a good family yet as he was wealthy and Rajah Sālbāhan was in bad circumstances, the latter was compelled to make this alliance. As

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the Jabalpūr district near Jabalpūr Katangā or Katangī is some 20 miles north of Gaḍha and is N W Jabalpūr

[1] Several of these names do not occur in the C P G

[2] C P G 195

[3] Gn Harai, C P G 201

[4] The text has Gaḍha, but it is Karra Mānikpūr that is meant

[5] Probably the Rahatgarh of the C P G

Amān Dās had given valuable help to Sultan Bahadur of Gujrāt in

power, collec

Rājputs among his cavalry and infantry. Two able companions join ... (?) caste, and an ... Parmār[4] caste. by ... ountry. After

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[1] This should be Sx. See C P G 282 and Sleeman's list of the Gadha Mandla Kings in Prinsep's I. Antiquities and in J A S B., for 1837 VI 621.

[2] A variant gives son of Gorak Dās, son of Kharjī and there seems no doubt that this is right MSS have this.

[3] Apparently this should be grandson.

[4] Sleeman states that the Parihār Rajputs ruled Bandalkhand before the Chandels

When the worthless Amān Dās heard that his father was giving honour to the second son, he made a rapid expedition and got into his mother's house and remained hidden there. With the concurrence of one of the Rajah's intimates, with whom he had old relations, he one night got his opportunity and killed the Rajah. The people rose and imprisoned him and sent a messenger to the second son, but he would not accept the invitation, saying that he could not kill his elder brother whom he *regarded as a father, nor could he submit to* him as he had prepared eternal loss for himself. Arguments were in vain. He elected retirement and went off into the desert. The two honest companions stood firm on the path of fealty and refused to serve him. On the contrary they wrote an account of the circumstances to Rajah Barsingh Deo and instigated him to take the country. He got leave of absence from Sulṭān Sikandar and marched with a large force into the country. Amān Dās took refuge in the mountain-defiles. Though in fact he was unable to resist the Rajah, he represented that he had from ignorance and a disordered brain killed one father, and how could he now fight with a second? When the Rajah had conquered the country and was returning after leaving his own men in charge, Amān Dās met him on the way with a few followers and did homage to him. After much lamentation the Rajah forgave him and made over the country to him. Amān Dās wept continually and expressed his abhorrence of himself for his evil action. Nor is it known whether this was hypocrisy, or he became aware of his wickedness and so expressed his feeling of shame before God and men. When he died, the government went to his son Dalpat. He ruled for seven years and then left the world. There was a report that Sangrām had no son and that he requested Gobind Dās Kacwāha, who was his servant, to allow his pregnant wife to be delivered in the former's harem. If there was a daughter, Gobind Dās would have her, and if there was a son, Sangrām would take him as his. No one was to be told of this. Gobind Dās obeyed the order, and when his wife was delivered of a son the Rajah took him as his own. He gave him the name of Dalpat, and Rānī Dūrgāvatī was given in marriage to him. When Dalpat died his son Bir Narayan was five years old. Rānī Dūrgāvatī was concurrence with Adhār Kayath and Mān Brahman gave her son and her title of Rajah and exercised the real authority herself. She

neglected no point of courage or capacity, and did great things by dint of her farseeing abilities. She had great contests with Bāz Bahādur and the Miānas, and was always victorious She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and one thousand famous elephants The treasures of the Rajahs of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with gun and arrow, and continually went a hunting, and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that whenever she heard that a tiger had made his appearance she did not drink water till she had shot him There are stories current in Hindustan of her feasts and her frays. But she had one great fault, to wit, she, owing to a crowd of flatterers, became proud of her outward success, and did not submit herself at the threshold of the Shāhinshāh

When Āṣaf Khān conquered the country of Panna, Durgāwatī w infatuated with the strength of her army, her courage and was abilities, and was not apprehensive of such a neighbour When Āṣaf Khān was near at hand he kept open the gates of friendship and intimacy and sent spies and experienced traders into her country and made investigations about her revenue and her expenditure When he knew the truth about her abundant collections of treasure, and her hidden stores, the desire of lordship over the country entered his mind and he longed to embrace the bride of the territories He began with coquetry and toying, and put out his hand to touch the down and the mole of the beauty (Gondwāna), i e, he began by attacking and plundering the villages and hamlets on the borders At length he in this year by the orders of the Shāhinshāh, collected 10,000 cavalry and abundant infantry and girded up the loins of endeavour for the conquest of Gadha. Muḥibb 'Alīkhān, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Wazīr Khān, Bābā Qāqshāl, Naṣīr Bahādur, Āq Muhammad and a large number of holders of fiefs in that quarter accompanied him in accordance with the royal order The Rānī was drunken with the wine of negligence and was spending her time in prosperity Suddenly the news arrived that the victorious royal army had reached Damoh[1] which is one of the important cities 21
of the country A stone of dispersal fell into the midst of her pride and her soldiers scattered to defend their families Not

[1] C P G., pp 173 and 181

more than 500 men remained with her. As soon as she heard of the event, the Rānī in her courage proceeded towards the victorious army and with the rashness which outruns arrogance went forward ... who had charge of her administration, ... um- ... the ... his stupidity, and asked how she, who had for years governed the country, could resolve upo... than to live with ignomin... would have been proper fo... fellow (Āṣaf Khān) know... she should die bravely." She advanced four stages towards the victorious army. Āṣaf Khān, who was marching rapidly, halted in Damoh. The Rānī had collected 2,000 men. Her officers unanimously said that it was noble to determine upon war, but that it was not in accordance with courage and prudence to let fall the thread of deliberation. It was proper to stay in some secure place and to await the reassembling of their forces. When the Rānī heard these words she moved towards the forest west of Gādha. She then came ... about slowly in ... east of Gādha ... four sides there ... alled Gaur. On ... ravine formed ... attained to the village is very narrow and awful. Āṣaf Khān, who, on hearing that the Rānī was approaching, had halted at Damoh, completely lost news of her, and though he sent out persons to make inquiries, yet, as the country was of an extraordinary nature, he could get no information. At last, he advanced in person to Gādha and proceeded to bring the villages and hamle... When he got news of the Rānī he left a force ... When the Rānī heard of the a... her officers and held a council ... ing to some other place till her forces were collected, it would be proper to go again, but that her own inclination was to fight. How long was she Victorious herself among trees? Whoever liked to go might do so

They had leave There was no third issue to her warfare Either she would fall or she wo ld . . . er men—there were about . . . ng. Next day the news c . . . and a large force of gallant men had taken by force the head of the ravine which was the road of access, and that Arjan Dās Bais who was the *faujdar* of the elephants (i e, Durgavatī's), had bravely lost his life there. The Rānī put armour on her breast and a helmet on her head and mounting an elephant slowly advanced to encounter the heroes who were eager for battle She said to her soldiers, "Do not hasten, let the enemy enter the pass and then we shall fall upon them from all sides and drive them off" It turned out as she anticipated, and there was a great fight Many on both sides fell to the dust, and three hundred Moguls quaffed the wholesome draught of martyrdom The Rānī was victorious and pursued the fugitives, and emerged from the ravine At the end of the day she summoned her chief men and asked what they advised Each man spoke according to his understanding and courage The Rānī said we ought to make an attack this night, and finish off the enemy Otherwise Āṣaf Khān will come in the morning in person and take possession of the pass, and will fortify it with artillery The task which is now easy will become difficult No one agreed to this proposal At last she yielded to the majority and retreated by the way she had come, and occupied herself in comforting those of her people who had been orphaned When she came to her house, she proposed the night attack to some of her devoted followers Not one of them could equal her in courage When it was morning, what the Rānī had foreseen occurred. Āṣaf Khān came with his artillery and fortified the entrance to the pass, and the victorious army entered the mountains The Rānī in her eagerness for battle mounted on a lofty and swift elephant which was the best of her animals, and was called Sarmān, and came out She drew up her forces distributed the elephants and prepared for battle After the armies had encountered the work passed from arrows and muskets to daggers and swords Rajah Bīr Sā, the Rānī's son who was the nominal ruler behaved bravely and performed great deeds Shams Khān Miana, and Mubārik Khān Biluc fought bravely The battle raged till the third watch of the day, so that if it was fully described

the account would be a long one. Three times Rāja Bir Sā repulsed 214 the victorious army but the third time he was wounded. When the Rānī heard of this she ordered trusty men to remove him from the battle-field to a place of safety. They obeyed the command and carried him off to a retired place. On this account a great many left the field of battle, and the Rānī's troops were much discomfited. Not more than 300 men remained with her. But there was no weakening of the Rānī's resolution, and she continued to wage hot war alongside of her own gallant followers. An arrow from the bow of fate struck her right[1] temple, and she courageously drew it out and flung it from her. The point remained in the wound, and would not come out. Just then another arrow struck her neck. That, too, she drew out with the hand of courage, but the excessive pain made her swoon. When gradually she recovered her senses she addressed Adhār who was of the Bakhīla caste and was distinguished for courage and devotion and who was bring in front of her on the elephant. She said to him, "I ever laboured to educate and consider you in order that one day you might be of service. To-day is a day in which I am overcome in battle, God forbid that I be also overcome in name and honour, and that I fall into the hands of the enemy, act like a faithful servant, and dispose of me by this sharp dagger." His true heart could not do anything so hardhearted. He said, "How can I bring my hand to do this thing. How can the hand which has held your gifts do such a dreadful deed. This I can do. I can carry you away from this fatal field. I have full confidence in this swift elephant." When the Rānī heard these words, which proceeded from soft-heartedness, she grew angry and reproached him, saying, "Do you choose such a disgrace for me?" Then she drew her dagger, and herself inflicted the blow, and died in virile[2] fashion. A large number of

[1] Shaqīqa defined as the space between the eye and ear. The C P G 225 says the battle in which the Rānī killed herself was fought near Singaurgarh which is 20 miles north west(?) Jabalpur but the account in the article Mandla p 283 in the same volume is different and says the battle took place near Mandla. The mention of the Gaur river which belongs to the Mandla district and is a tributary of the Narbada makes this probable. It is related that the Rānī killed herself because the river had suddenly risen behind her and cut off her retreat.

[2] "She was killed about twelve miles from Jabalpūr. Her tomb is still to

her devoted followers fell in her service, notably Kànur Kalyān Bakhīla, Cakarman Kharcalf, Khān Jahan Dakit and Mahārakha Brahman. A great victory was gained. A thousand elephants and much other booty fell into the hands of the Imperial servants. There was both a large amount of property obtained and also an extensive territory was added to the Imperial dominions The reign of the Rānī lasted for sixteen years.

When the brilliancy of the Rānī's rule was extinguished, and when in the very height[1] of her rule the hand of destruction flung the dust of an hilation on the head of that noble lady, Āsaf Khān after two months, and when his mind was at rest about the Miyana[2] country proceeded to the conquest of Gauragarh[3] fort. This fortress was replete with buried treasures, and rare jewels, for the collection of which former rajahs had exerted themselves for many ages. They 215 thought these would a means of safety but in the end they were a cause of destruction. The soldiers girded upon the loins of courage to capture this golden fort, and from the love of these treasures they washed their hands of life and eagerly followed Asaf Khan. The Rānī's son who had left the battle-field and was shut up in the fort came out to fight on the approach of the army of fortune, but the fort was taken after a short contest. The Rajah died bravely. He had appointed Bhoj Kaith and Miyàn Bhīkārī Rūmī to look after the Jauhar, for it is the custom of Indian rajahs under such circumstances to collect wood, cotton, grass, ghee and such like into one place, and to bring the women and burn them, willing or unwilling. This they call the jauhar. These two faithful servants, who were the guardians of honour, executed this service. Whoever out of feebleness of soul was

be seen in a narrow defile between two hills, and a pair of large round stones which stand near are according to popular belief her royal drums turned to stone which in the dead of still heard resounding through the woods and calling the spirits of her war or from their thousand graves around her". Sleeman's Rambles, Constable's edition 1,230

1. Dar-ain-i-bukmrani "in the eye (or fountain) of her rule. A F. puns on the two meanings of the word wool and also uses the metapher of dust being thrown into the eye or fountain of her rule.

2. Miyani-wilayat. I have taken this to mean the country of the Miyana Afghans. but it may mean the middle or central territory.

3. In the Narsingpur district and 20 miles south-west Narsingpur.

the Rānī's sister, and

whom they had brought for the Rajah but who had not yet been united to him. These two women who had emerged from that storm of fire, obtained honour by being sent to kiss the threshold of the Shāhinshāh.

In fine, when the fort was taken there fell into the hands of Āṣaf Khān and his men an incalculable amount of gold and silver. There were coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, jewels, pearls

the senses-robbing intoxication revealed the amount of his capacity. He altogether abandoned the path of propriety and sent none of those rarities or splendid jewels, which were worthy of the appreciative acceptance of the Shāhinshāh, to Court. He did not comprehend that fortune had made those pearls and jewels a sprinkling for the head of dominion and a tiara for the auspicious, and regarding himself as the central object, he strewed the dust of ruin on the head of his own honour. That ill-fated one, the tablet of whose heart bore no impress of sincerity, or rather it had not a letter or even a dot of justice in it, sent only 200 elephants as a present, out of the 1,000 which had fallen into his hands. He conceale

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...'Alāī Apparently these ... A. F. speaks of in the Āīn, | Blochmann 18, as the small, round dīnārs of 'Alāū-d-dīn

all the other rarities, and resting himself on the pillows of the government of Karra and Gadha he spent his days in negligence H M the Shāhinshāh on account of his word bestowing disposition did not give a thought to these things (the hidden rarities) and asked at his trenchery. When he made the third expedition to aunpur in order to chastise 'Alī Qulī Khan Zaman he summoned Asaf Khan to the presence. The later obeyed the command and *went to kiss the threshold*[1] *At the time when Jaunpur was the* seap of the royal forces he had the blessing of doing obeisence. The details of that affaird will be recorded in their proper place.

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1 The best account of Durgavati and the Gadha Mandla dynasty appears to be that by Sleeman, J A.S.B for 1837 VI,621 See also the translation of the Gadha Mandala inscription by Captain Fell Asiatic Researches. XV. 436 The Gudha Kat nga chapter of A F is translated in Elliot VI 30 see also ibid. p. 117

CHAPTER LIII

Display of the lights of Justice in the Shāhinshāh's indignatio at the conduct of Khwajah M'uazzam

It is a requisite of the high office of sovereignty that justice b administered to the oppressed without distinguishing between frien and foe, relative and stranger, and that it place retribution fo tyranny in the collar of the tyrant, so that those connected with th sovereign, and those attached to the court may not make their rel tionship a means of oppression, and that if, which God forbid, an such event should occur out of infatuation, right acting men may b under no apprehension in reporting the oppression, but may boldl bring it forward God be praised that this lofty characteristic marked in the disposition of the Shahinshah that the human in tellect is at a loss how to describe it This world ministering quali is so unaffectedly existent in the sacred nature of H M, that a classes rely upon it and pass their days in peace and tranquillity

In the beginning of this Divine year and middle of 971,—whic was the preamble of the distribution of justice—Khwājah M'uazzon who was the half brother of the noble lady H M Miriam Makāni, a he had no flavour of real relationship so did he make his outwar relation an intoxicating drug and show himself on various occa sions as an example of immoderation In the auspicious time o
217 H M Jahānbāni Jinnat Ashiyāni, as it was a season for gentlenes H M had consideration for the noble lady and used to pass by hi offences For instance, in the year of the expedition to Badakhshān he attacked H M's diwan Khwāja[1] Rashidi and with the sword o immoderation shed the blood of that worthy man He abscondec after committing this horrid crime and came to Kabul Thereafte he was allowed again, by the intercession of hear intimates of H M

to come to Court, and renewed his misbehaviour At last H.M expelled him, and he went off to the Ḥijāz He committed wickedness upon wickedness and came back to India. There he displayed the old bad qualities One day, when the ministers and officers were assembled in the Shāhinshāh's palace, he made an unprovoked attack on Mīrzā[1] 'Abdullah Moghal who was ranked among the great Amirs. On account of some story he ran at him and kicked him and struck him with his fists. On another occasion he behaved rudely to Bairām Khān and put his hand to his dagger He was again expelled He now went to Gujrat and there spent his days in doing harm to himself and to others On account of his bad conduct and bad circumstances he could not remain there He turned his face towards the world protecting court When Agra became the seat of the Caliphate he was exalted by the bliss of service and was distinguished everywhere by kindnesses and consideration. But inasmuch as his nature was compact of immoderation he revealed his character by hundreds of presumptuous acts and by his disregard of his past Bairām Khān was arranging to make him over to Wali Beg in order that he might be conveyed by way of Bakar to Gujrat, when Bairām himself became excluded, and the Khwāja, on account of his connexion with the holy family, was treated with high favours But he was caught by the hand of his own wickedness and continued to commit hundreds of unruly actions. At last Bigam Fatima, who had been H M Jahar bānī Jinnat Āshiyānī's Urdu begi, and now held a high position in H M the Shāhinshāh's harem, and whose daughter Zahra Āghā was in the Khwāja's household, and was owing to his barbarity and wickedness continually in grief and in the prison of affliction, came one day with a thousand agitations and implored help as the Khwāja was about to go to his pargana and was going to take her daughter with him On account of his wickedness, and of the evil imaginations which were part of his nature he meditated the death of this chaste and innocent lady She said over and over again that from

[1] It appears from Bayāzīd's 4th list that he was the son in law of Mun'im Khān

[2] In my copy of the Iqbālnāma and the Lucknow ed of the A.N she is apparently called Khānī instead of Bībī. Bayāzīd, list No. 4, mentions a son of hers named Bulaq The entry corresponds to that of Adham Khān in that no father's name is given

apprehensions of the Shāhinshāh's justice he could not effect his purpose in the capital Now that he was taking her to his *jāgīr*, what would happen? H M. had compassion on the distress of this old servant and soothed her troubled mind He was going a hunting he said, and for her sake he would cross[1] (the river) by the Khwāja's house When the Khwāja came out to pay his respects he would give him good advice and forbid him to take her daughter with him
218 Shortly afterwards H M left the citadel and crossed the river by boat He then went off to the Khwāja's house with a few special attendants —not more than twenty Among them were Dastam Khān, Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān Mīr Farāghat Qatlaq Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Shimāl Khān, Peshrū Khān, and Ḥakīm ul mulk As the unaccommodating temper of the Khwāja was known, the Mīr Farāghat and Peshrū Khān were sent ahead in order that they might apprise him of the sublime advent and bring him to the highway of rectitude And Dastam Khān and Maqbūl Khān were sent after these two in order that if the Khwāja should, according to his usual custom, behave in an insane manner, they might assist Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān When the ungovernable madman heard from Ṭāhir Muḥammad Khān and Peshrū Khān that H M had crossed the river at this place and had sent them he became violent and said "I shall not come into H.M's presence" Then he went, full of wrath, to the female apartments, and drawing his dagger killed Zahra Agha who had just come from the bath and was robing herself in the dressing room In this way he provided for himself a supply of eternal destruction Then he put his head out of the window and flung the blood stained dagger to where Dastam Khān was standing and cried out with a loud voice, "I have shed her blood, go and tell" Dastam Khān took up the bloody dagger and brought it to H M When

[1] In Akbar's time the Jamna flowed as it were through the middle of Agra many of the nobles and others having their houses on the east bank This was evidently the case of Khwāja Muazzam There was a bridge of boats across the Jamna and probably Akbar usually went by it. This time he went by boat in order to land near the Khwājah's residence The T Alfi 616 has a somewhat more detailed account of the murder etc It says that when the Khwāja stabbed his wife Akbar was near enough to hear her screams It also says that Akbar afterwards told his mother what he had done and that she expressed her approval

H M. the Shāhinshāh heard of this outrage he boiled over with indignation and entered the house of the villain. The madman buckled on his sword and came into the presence with his hand on the hilt H M angrily asked him. "What kind of conduct is this? Your hand is on your sword, attempt to draw it and I shall strike such a blow on your head that your soul will part." When the madman beheld the majesty of the Shāhinshāh, his hands and feet gave way and he sank down Those present arrested him One of the Gujrātis was standing behind the Khwājah with a sword and was meditating treason H M perceived his intention and bade Qatlaq Qadam Khān strike him That ready witted one understood at once and struck him such a blow that his head rolled off and lay beside his feet For a moment the trunk remained standing and the black blood spouted from the arteries of the neck. H M. then asked the Khwajah for what fault had he shed the unfortunate woman's blood The monster opened his mouth and uttered delirious ravings till at length they silenced him by blows and kicks Dragging him by the hair and kicking him they brought him to the river The tide of wrath foamed up in the ocean of justice, and in accordance with orders, the servants, who were always the boon-companions (*hamkasa*) of his violence and frenzy, were bound neck and hand and immersed in the whirlpool of retribution Though they dipped the 2 wicked wretch in the river he showed tenacity of life and did not cease his ravings He knew that to blaspheme saints was painful to the king, and so he indulged in this Though everyone was convinced that in this whirlpool of wrath he would be killed by the buffeting of the waves, yet from tenacity of life and hardness of heart he remained alive He was made over to Maqbil Khān who sent him to Gwāliār where he was imprisoned Melancholia took possession of him there, and he died of a disordered brain There is a ridge in the precincts of the fort, and there he was buried, but afterwards his body was brought to Delhi God be praised! Hail to the Fortune which consumes sedition and the justice which wipes out violence As H M 's sole object is to show forth the lights of justice and to erase the traces of oppression, his dominion increases daily, and also his prosperity.

One of the dominion increasing occurrences of this auspicious year was the victory of 'Ali Quli Khan Zamān over Fath Khān of

Patna. The account of this is as follows. Fath Khān, Hasan Khān his brother, Mallū Khān and a large number descended from fort Rohtās and took possession of Bihār and various estates belonging to the Khān Zamān. They chose the son of Salīm Khān, who had the name of Āwāz Khān, for the throne, and uplifted the head of sedition. The Khān Zamān and other officers of that country, such as Bahādur Khān, Majnūn Khān, and Ibrāhīm Khān proceeded to extinguish these flames of disaffection. As the Afghans were in full force, the Khān Zamān did not think a battle advisable and made himself secure in a fort on the bank of the Son (called) Andhiāri bari[1] (?). At this time Maulānā 'Alāu-d-dīn Lārī, Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī, Shihābu-d-dīn Khān and Wazīr Khān came from the court. This was because H. M. the Shāhinshāh had resolved that the Khān Zamān should be established in the path of fidelity by good counsels, and by royal favours. Ample favour, too, was shown to Sulaimān Karrānī, the governor (Hākim) of Bengal, who had made himself one of the court officers and associated himself with the Khān Zamān, and who recited the *Khutba* in the Shāhinshāh's name. If it seemed advisable and opportune, he (Sulaimān) was to be brought to kiss the threshold—the elixir of spiritual and temporal excellence. Those envoys came inside the fort and gave the Khān Zamān the good news of the royal favour. They strengthened him physically and morally, and at such a time of discomposure conjoined him with victory. One day they were seated in the fort with the Khān Zamān when the black hearted Afghans came towards the fort with an equipped
20 army and a number of war elephants. The Khān Zamān was collecting his forces when they came, and as soon as they arrived they repulsed his men and threw them into confusion. His whole army fled, and the Afghans set themselves to plunder their quarters. Just when those presumptuous ones (the Afghans) had made things difficult, the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh looked to the outward connection of the Khān Zamān with the sublime palace and manifested itself in a wondrous way.

The brief account of this astonishing affair is that the Khān Zamān assisted by a few men was waiting inside the fort walls for an opportunity of fighting or of retreating. Hasan Patni was mounted

[1] Perhaps Andaribārī is the proper reading.

on an elephant named Bakht-buland and advanced with a body of troops The men fled, and Khān Zamān and the few who remained resolved to die He went to one of the bastions and having fired[1] (?), a mortar which was planted there, discharged it in the face of the presumptuous army which was advancing like a *mast* elephant The discharge and the striking of the elephant's head were simultaneous The elephant was overthrown and killed, and the army was dispersed A divine help which occurred at this time close upon the above providential boon, was that there was an elephant called Koh-pāra which Bairām Khān had given to Bahādur Khān when the latter was deputed to Mālwa It had become completely *mast* and was kept chained up, and was still quarrelsome When the Khān Zamān's troops were driven off, the Afghan elephant drivers loosed it and mounted it While they were riding it, it became violent and overthrew and killed an Afghan elephant that was close by. A great uproar arose, and the Afghans mistook this for the noise of the victorious army and fled The Afghans also who were engaged in plundering all at once lost their heads and dispersed. When the fugitives (of Khān Zaman's troops) heard of this Divine help they turned back and pursued the black fated Afghans Much booty and many noted elephants were captured It was solely by the fortune of the Shahinshāh that such a great victory showed herself After it the Khān Zamān returned and went towards Jaunpūr, and sent the envoys to court with all honour from Zamāniya.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Amīr Murtazā As the world protecting gateway of the Shāhinshāh is the rendezvous of the elite of the earth, for Almighty God hath made the king's holy personality desirous of collecting all perfections, and a collector of liberal sciences, and a gatherer of all kinds of beneficial things, so do the solitary ones of the seven climes leave their native lands an turn their faces towards this holy gateway and there attain felicity One of the wonderful things is that when the master of any science or craft who is the unique of the age in his department—from theology to carpentery—comes into the society of the Shāhinshāh, he hears

[1] *cāq karda* No dictionary seems to explain this phrase and I have only guessed that it means to explode the mortar Perhaps it is the Turki چاغ *Cāgh* and means "to elevate

from him such acute remarks about his science or art as he has never heard from his teachers, and becomes convinced that H M has devoted his whole time to the study thereof. In short H M by his wide capacity, and great-mindedness, which are exercised without effort,
321 and with adaptation to his listener—from the highest to the lowest grade—makes the latter successful, spiritually and physically Among those was the glorious Saiyid Amīr Murtaẓa, who belonged to the very learned Jurjānī[1] family, and who was eminent in the rational and traditional sciences He had circumambulated the holy places of pilgrimage, and now took up his abode at the sublime threshold which is the K'aaba for the pilgrims of blessedness, and the altar for the caravans of auspiciousness He according to proper regulations became acquainted with the majestic assemblies, and gained auspiciousness The Khedive of the Age, who is a connoisseur *in human jewels, recognised the advent of the Mir as an honour,* and distinguished him by graciousness and by copious gifts.

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[1] Presumably Saiyid Sharīf Zainu d-din Abu l ḥasan 'Alī Jurjānī See Notices et Ex X, p 1 et seq., Jurjā ii was the author of a book of definitions and died in 816 A.H =1413 14 See Badāūnī III 320 who says that Mīr Murtaẓā was a grandson of Mīr Saiyid Sharīf Jurjānī See Blochmann 449 and 540 Mīr Murtaẓā was a native of Shīraz and died at Delhi in 974 A H =1566 67

CHAPTER LIV.

EXPEDITION OF H.M. TO MĀLWA, HIS HUNTING OF ELEPHANTS AND HIS MARCH AGAINST ʿABDULLAH KHĀN, HIS VICTORY AND RENEWAL OF ELEPHANT-HUNTING, AND HIS RETURN TO THE CAPITAL

As it is a lofty duty of sovereignty to be always cognisant of the affairs of the kingdom, and of the sentiments of the officers of the State, especially of the presumptuous and narrow-minded ones who when they have attained success have departed from the vicinity of the throne, and to check them before their proceedings have amounted to sedition, so is it a thing to thank God for that this glorious quality is displayed in perfection in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh Accordingly the wise are at a loss how to comprehend it. He continually seeks for information about the hidden things of the kingdom, and though apparently he be engaged in hunting and the like, yet such things are but a veil, and his noble days have no respite from the affairs of church and state, and he is ever employed in worship of God, and in fostering his subjects Therefore, when he came to hear that ʿAbdullah Khān Uzbeg, who had eaten the salt of fortune's table was uplifting the head of rebellion in Mālwa and that he was in his narrow mindedness about to cast away the burden of favours and to become an ingrate, he determined to use elephant-hunting as a pretext and to make an expedition to Mālwa. He set out under the divine protection on the day of Bahrām 20 Tīr Divine month corresponding to Saturday, 21st Zi Qʿada 2 July, 1564 It was a season when those proudly stalking elephants—the clouds—had in their violence flung confusion and uproar on the time and the terrene and had in their oozing fury sent forth floods and made highlands indistinguishable from lowlands, and in their arrogance and haughtiness paid no regard to the guiding crook (*kajak*) of the lightning, that the sublime standards approached Narwār [1] and the Sīprī [2]

[1] A town in Gwāliār Tiefenthaler was long stationed there and has a good deal to say about it

[2] This is a river, a tributary of the Cambal.

where there were elephant forests When the camp reached the bank of the Cambal, the river was, owing to excessive rain, in full flood It was necessary that the encampment should halt for nearly
222 two weeks in order to cross, so that the whole body might pass over in boats When the special elephants were crossing that furious river, the elephant Lakna was in his impetuosity carried away by the water After that the army encamped at Gwāliār, and from there marched on to Narwār As the elephant forest was near there, arrangements were made for hunting, and the servants were divided into several bodies To each of them a great officer was appointed and several tame elephants assigned Strong ropes, too, were provided which might have force to drag the mountain forms, nay, which might furnish nooses for the elephants of the horizons The order also was issued that whenever wild elephants were found, the tame elephant should follow them up, until the latter should from weariness lose power of movement Then from each side of the wild elephant the drivers who were seated on the tame elephants should cast one end of the rope round the neck of the wild elephant and the other round the neck of the tame one In this way they were to bring him into captivity and to drag him along Every day they were to tame him more and more, and to throw fodder before him until at length they could mount on him In this way they were to tame him in a short space of time The real method of taming every wild animal is gentleness, and the exhibition of what is agreeable to him such as grass, grain and water On rational grounds this mode of hunting seems to be the best plan for hunting elephants, for the wild elephant is great of body and powerful, and is subdued by elephants more powerful than or like himself The hunters avert his malignity from themselves and gain the victory over him

In fine, H M practised the laws of hunting in the pursuit of elephants in the forest of Narwār, and sent out parties in every direction He himself with his brave companions enjoyed the sport That day after a great chase a female elephant was seen in the distance They hastened after it, and having tired it out, they bound it to another elephant As they were doing so, Adham, the son of Mullā Kitābdār, fell into the clutches of the elephant and was kneaded somewhat but managed to crawl away Next day was the 'Id Qurbān Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, who in that pleasant hunt was in

endance on the royal stirrup, and other pillars of the state, appeared before H M and did homage H M in his kindness heaped ʿId upon ʿId and went off to hunt Each party proceeded to its appointed place, and that day after much exertion, a herd of female elephants was sighted which had with them two or three male ele- 22
phants H M on beholding them had a renewal of the joy of the ʿId and captured the herd which consisted of nine elephants Next day he abode in his camp and engaged in administration which is the real kind of hunting On the third day he was on horseback with the dawn, and till the close of day traversed that forest into which, from the closeness of the trees and the thickness of the branches, it was difficult for the north or east winds to penetrate Suddenly a herd which contained more than seventy elephants crossed before him He was delighted and took it as an omen of the capture of great successes In accordance with orders the elephants were driven into the dense forest and the foot of each was fastened to a tree Persons were appointed to watch over each animal Ropes were sent for from the camp, and that forest in which there never had been a trace of men's footsteps, and which had not been crossed even by the steeds of imagination, became on that night by the arrival of the sublime cortege a Cairo and a Bagdad. The chamberlains by the help of the court carpenters made a platform for the royal repose and covered it with scarlet cloth H M took his seat thereon, and his courtiers such as Yusuf Muhammad Kokaltāsh, ʿAziz Muḥammad Kokaltāsh, Saif Khān Kokaltāsh Mir M'uizzalmulk, Mir ʿAli Akbar, and Calma Khān, who was known by the title of Khān ʿAālim, Mir Ghyāsu d din ʿAli, who is now distinguished by the title of Naqib Khān, and other special favourites formed a circle round him Next morning when the world warming sun had sate on the throne of the horizons, H M the Shahinshāh with the desired prey in his net and the cup of success at his lip sate on that auspicious throne and graciously ordered his courtiers to be seated Then for the sake of delight and pleasure he listened for some time to Darbār [1] Khān's recital of the story of

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[1] Akbar's reader Blochmann 464. The Iqbālnāma says his real name was Mulla Ināyat but he was called Darbar Khān because he was always present in Court His father, according to the Iqbālnāma, was Shāh Ismail's reader

Arrūla Hamza Meanwhile several elephants with many ropes arriv from the camp H M signified that each one of the evil-dispose elephants should be firmly bound between two of the royal elephants, and be conveyed to the camp by evening. This was done, and for the completion of the work he remained there two days more As H M meditated the capture of some more wild[2] elephants he turned his rein towards Mālwa On account of the lightning, the rain and floods, and the viscous mud, and the numerous holes and ditches which characterise the province of Mālwa, the march was difficult
224 The horses had to swim like hippopotami, and the camels to traverse floods like ships of ocean. At last after hundreds of difficulties they came to the village of Ranad[3] and encamped there On account of the excessive rain the halted there two days From thence they proceeded by way of Sārangpur. On account of the quantity of mud on this march the horses sank up to their chests and the very hair of the camels became a burden to them. With a thousand difficulties they moved along. On this day the tents of the victorious encampment which crowded the wilderness fell into the rear. Except the royal tents and enclosures, a tent of the Khān-Khānān, the tent of M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh, and the tents of one or two of the other great officers, not a tent of the king's servants could come up Of necessity, a halt for one day was ordered Next day the standards were upreared in the direction of Mandū. The wide plain of the town of Khīrār[4] was reached after five stages. Though in these halting places the animals could not get grain, they enjoyed instead abundance fresh and moist grass, which was plentiful in these pleasant meadows, and were indifferent to grain They skipped about with delight in those verdant pastures

H M the Shāhinshāh left off the pleasure of hunting, and having located the camp in that pleasant spot and placed some officers in charge,

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[1] A famous romance and one of very great length Hamza was Muhammad's uncle and also foster brother See Rieu's Catalogue and Blochmann 106 Akbar had the book illustrated Āṣif Qandahārī has some account of the illustrations Hamza was killed at the battle of Ohod in A D

[2] This refers to 'Abdullah Uzbeg and his comp... ns

[3] Ranod Jarrett II 202

[4] Perhaps the Kherā of Jarrett II. 199

he went off on horseback towards Māndū, which was the residence of
the rebel On the way he sent Ashraf Khān and I'timād Khān in
advance in order that they might convey to 'Abdullah Khan, who was
apprehensive on account of his improper actions, the news of the
royal favour, and bring him to do homage, and might not permit him
to be a vagabond in the fields of disloyalty With the wings of
swiftness he went from Khirar to Sarangpur [1] which is the first city in
Malwa and is at a distance of 25 Malwa kos which are equal to more
than 40 De hi kos, and he performed this journey in such a time of
mud and water in one stage At the confines of Sārangpur Muh'ammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr, to whom the government of that place
was entrusted, had the felicity of going out to meet him He begged
H M to alight at his house, and offered as a present on the part of
himself and his followers nearly 700 horses and mules These were 2
distributed to the officers and servants At dawn he proceeded towards Ujjain, which in former times was the capital of the kings of
Malwa When the climate of Dhār [2] had become delightful (lit
otto-scattering) by the arrival of the encampment, Ashraf Khān and
Itimād Khān came from 'Abdullah Khān and reported the state of
his case It appeared that though these loyal servants had done
their office zealously, yet no impression was made on his hypocritical heart He would not accept any consolation He sent his
family out of the fort, and then waited till evening and followed
his men He made some idle requests and sent them away. For
instance he asked that he should receive no detriment in person or
purse, and that the province of Māndū should be left to him as before,
and that Tingrī Bardī, Khān Quli, and Insān Bakhshī should be
allowed to accompany him Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān relying upon
H M's clemency and mildness, begged the pardon of his offences
H M the Shāhinshāh, out of his abundant graciousness, drew the line
of forgiveness over his offences and accepted his petition He issued
an order in accordance with them and again despatched 'Itimād Khān
and Darbār Khān to him

[1] It is stated in the Akhbar al Akhyār B.M MS 129 that Sārangpūr derives its name from one Shaikh Sarang who was originally an officer of Sultan Fīrōz Shāh.

[2] Jarrett II 197 and 206 It was Rajah Bhoja's capital

During the time that the shadow of glory rested on the inhabitants of the town of Dhār, a woman who had been oppressed came and complained that Muhammad Husain, qurbeg of 'Abdullah Khān, had committed various acts of tyranny against her minor daughter and had plundered her house H M with a fate expressing voice directed her to be at ease and to wait the exhibition of the lights of justice, for that he would shortly inflict a great punishment on him It was one of the wonderful instances of H M's foresight, for this was the first person who was seized and punished In this city it was brought to H M 's notice, that when the news of the expedition reached 'Abdullah Khān he—for a traitor is ever fearful—made certain that he would be destroyed, and that as he saw himself imprisoned and bound by the wrath of the *Shāhinshāh, he took to flight and went off from Man*du to Liwānī H M left Mandu and pursued him A number of loyal officers such as Mīr Muazz al Mulk, Muqīm Khān, Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpur, Shāh Fakhru d dīn, Shāh Quli Khān Mahram,
26 Dastam Khān, Māsum Khān Farankhūdī, Qatlaq Qadam Khān, Kharram Khān, Quliј Khān, I timad Khān Caghatai Khān, and others were sent on in advance in order that by marching rapidly they might head that devious one H M with some of his intimates made a great expedition, and on the day of Dīn 24 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 26 Zi l hajja, he arrived at evening at the village of Liwānī[1] The ill fated one had already left it H M remained there that night Meanwhile 'Itimād Khān and Darbār Khān, who had been commissioned to lead aright the strayed one, *were sent off to guide to the highway of auspiciousness the wanderer* in the wilderness of ignorance Next morning H M advanced from Liwānī On the route the envoys returned and reported that as it was the day of his destruction he ('Abdullah) had regarded their admonitory words as a trick and had turned away from the blessing of presenting himself It happened that the Disposers of success and victory had guided those who have been already mentioned as forming the advance to the village of Bāgh[2] There they learnt that the ill fated one had sent his family on ahead, and had himself halted It chanced too that on account of the ups and downs of the

[1] نوالي qu Liwānī in Indore

[2] In Gwalior I G I 414

route, many of the advance guards had got separated A few, such
as Muhammad Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr, the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī
Khān Maḥram, Sāmānjī Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Mirzāda 'Alī Khān,
and Saiyid 'Abdullah went forward and boldly engaged, assailing
the enemy with a shower of arrows 'Abdullah Khān, regardless of
the secret forces (i e, the heavenly helpers of Akbar) turned round
in his reverted fortunes and accepted battle To his companions he
said, "The grand army has made a long march and only a few have
come up, we are many and full of vigour, let us be brave and attack"
With this evil design he turned his face to battle, and made a hot
onset The fortune befriended ones gave proof of courage and devo-
tion and had drawn up their forces when swift couriers brought the
news to H M The royal standards pressed forward On that day
Khākesir Sultān from want of understanding presumptuously suggest
ed to H M that the expedition should be abandoned The royal
wrath boiled over and H M put his hand to his sword and in his
rage rushed at the man The fool got off his horse and took refuge
among the horses fore and hind feet H M also dismounted and went
up to him and struck at him with his sword As it was an Indian
khanda [1] it did not kill [2] him, and when the royal clemency saw him
fallen on the ground (*khāk*) of disgrace it spared him In truth this
wrath was such as became the royal disposition, so that everyone
might know his place and speak in accordance therewith *For it is*
a wise maxim that it does not become every servant to serve in the
Presence Nor is everyone who is a personal servant fitted for the
carpet of honour Nor is everyone who is worthy of that carpet 227
entitled to sit there Nor is everyone who has the honour of com-
panionship permission to speak Still less is this so when he *who is*
addressed is the Khedive of the universe And when permission to

[1] Straight double-edged sword, especially used in Orissa. See Egerton's Indian Armour pp 71 104, 105 and 117 Also Blochmann 110

[2] *ta mad m naraskh* ... *dam* also means the edge of a sword and this is probably the meaning here But the Iqbal āma seems to take *dam* as meaning life Perhaps the meaning is that ... was a powerful one Akbar did not fully use it. The words *muhafazat firmūd* seem to mean he restrained himself but perhaps they mean he warned him Maulvi Abdul Haq Abid tells me that the *khanda* is a short pointed sword Probably the meaning is that as the sword was short the point, that is the *dam* did not reach Khākesar

speak has been granted it is not becoming to oppose the royal desires In fine, the hardihood of opposing the weighty designs of kings, and of going against their opinions, is discommended by wisdom, and disapproved of by the wise But when those majestic ones have of *their own accord* conceded to one of the farsighted courtiers of honour's carpet, lofty rank, and have selected him for special service, then if he, under the guise of humility, represent the truth, assuredly he shall have performed his duty.

In fine, H M the Shāhinshāh moved the standards of fortune, which are the embroidery of victory, and cast the shadow of prestige over the sincere combatants He came in person to the field of battle and arrived at a place where the hostile arrows flew over his head The Divine protection delivered him from the darts of misfortune On H M 's right was Mun'im Khān, and on his left I'timād Khān At this time, when the flames of contest were kindled, a secret inspiration made him order the drums of victory to be beaten. He addressed the Khān Khānan and said, There is no need for further delay we must attack the enemy" Saying this he was about to give the reins to his horse The Khān-Khānān in a despairing voice, humbly said, "Your Majesty's idea is a good one, but it is not the time to spur on alone See, there are a number of devoted men let us all charge together. H M got angry and was about to charge I'timād Khān in his fidelity seized his rein H M rebuked him and advanced Just then the enemy became conscious of the royal glory and the kingly onset, which was such as not to be withstood by a mountain Their feet and their hearts gave way The Divine halo which accompanied that royal rider, dispersed those ill fated wretches and overwhelmed them Some of 'Abdullah Khān's leading men were killed, and many were made prisoners A victory, such as was a masterpiece of epochs was won merely by the royal *fortune's being set in motion* On that day of victory the number of the imperial servants who were with H M s cavalcade was not more than 300 For instance there were M'unim Khān Khān Khānān, M 'Azīz Kokaltāsh Saif Khān Kokaltāsh Muqīm Khān, Muhd. Qāsim Khān of Nishāpur, Mīr M'uizz-al-mulk, Mīr 'Alī Akbar, Shāh Fakhru-
28 d-dīn, Ashraf Khān 'Itimād Khān, the Khān 'Ālim Āṣaf Khān, Lashkar Khān, Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān Farankhūdī, Qilij Khān, Rahmān Qulī Khān Qūshbegī, Kharram

Khān, Qutluq Qadam Khān, Khwājah 'Abdullah, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī, 'Ādil son of Shāh Muhammad of Qandahār, Muttalib Khān Caghatāi Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Patr Dās Khākar, Wazīr Jamīl, Murād Beg Though the victorious army was few in numbers and had made such a long march and the enemy were there with all preparation and were more than a thousand horse, the Divine aid gave it the victory Where prestige comes in, smallness of numbers does not count, and where the stewards of destiny are present, how can earth born ones stand up against them!

In short after that rout, and after the standards of victory had been upreared, H M halted there for the night and despatched some devoted officers under the command of Qāsim Khān of Nishāpūr to pursue the rebel As it rained heavily during the night, those who were appointed for this service could not advance more than four or five kos. In the morning H M himself marched and sent on men to the advanced party with directions that by every possible means they might come to an engagement. The devoted soldiers pressed forward, and on the morning of the day of Ashtād 26 Amardād corresponding to Monday 28 Zī-al hajja, 7 August 1584 the royal standards reached Ālī in the beginning of the third watch. Ḥakīm 'Ain al mulk, who was acquainted with the Rajah of Ālī, went and brought him to do homage He joined the troops and went on with them On this day, which was the time of testing ability and courage, Timur Ikka[2] showed cowardice. H.M got him a special horse and appointed him to go forward as scout. The worthless fellow's courage failed him and he made the false excuse of illness. A watch of the night remained when H M mounted his horse, and as the air was hot he rested for a time under the trees, and sent Khush Khabar Khān to go on quickly and get information about the men, who had been sent in advance He was there when Khūsh Khabar Khān came and brought the news of their victory

The particulars of this were that the landholders of that neighbourhood had from loyalty joined the army and set their hearts

[1] Ālī is the Āli Rājpūr of I G and apparently the Alī Mohān of Jarrett II 251 It is a Native State in S W corner of Central India, and lies N Narbada and E Baroda

[2] Quatremère N et E XIV 86 n says, ئکه is a Mongolian word meaning great

upon doing service The brave men of the victorious army raised
229 the war cry (sūran [1]), and fell upon the camp of 'Abdullah Khān near a defile, from which Cāmpānīr is visible That infamous one, who had no sense of honour, fell into confusion and left his women in the wilderness, and went off, taking his son with him The great officers surrounded all his property, especially his women and his elephants, and halted at that stage Mir M'uizz al mulk and a number of officers *followed the wretches for five kos, and by their rapid movement* succeeded in coming up with them They dispersed many of them, and Mir M'uizz-al mulk and some others were decorated (lit made red faced) by being wounded The villain escaped from that place of danger, with frustration and loss, and only half alive As he had still some breaths remaining, he reached the boundaries of Gujrat As no world-obeyed order had been issued for making that country the arena of fighting, the victorious troops stopped there When the good news reached the royal ears, H M went forward and arrived at that place, and returned thanks to God The loyal officers were exalted by an audience An abundant booty, consisting of women elephants, horses, as well as money and other goods, were shown to him Among them the elephants Āprup,[2] Gajgajhan and Saman were received with special attention, and indeed each of them was creation's masterpiece

After returning thanks to God, H M the Shāhinshāh beat high the drums of retreat towards Māndu He completed the distance in three marches, and on the day of Mārasfand, 29, Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 2nd Moharram 972 10th August, 1564, alighted at the pleasant quarters of the fort of Māndū From thence he sent bulletins of victory to the imperial dominions, and especially to Agra where Khwāja Jahān and Mozaffar Khān were managing the State-affairs, he remained nearly a month in that auspicious city, and made regulations for the management of the country He also promoted the officers in accordance with their services and abilities *Among them was Muqim* [3] *Khān, who had distinguished* himself during this campaign, and who was glorified by a *khilat*

[1] Apparently this word is a form of surnā a trumpet The word is Turkish

[2] Apparently this is Khusrū's elephant Abrūp (Blochmann 1467 It is called Āprūp in the Maas r I 571

[3] Blochmann 371

and the title of Shujā'at Khān As the noise of the setting up of the standards of victory had been diffused over Mālwa, and the sound of the drums of fortune had penetrated to the ears of everyone, all the leaders and chiefs of that country came and did homage, and 2
the landholders put the diadem of fortune on their heads by kissing the ground. During that glorious residence, it was reported to H M, that 'Abdullah Khān had gone to Cingiz Khān, who was then powerful in Gujrat H M ordered that one of his able officers should be sent to Cingiz Khān to request him to send the wretch bound to the Presence, or to expel him from the country Accordingly Hakim 'Ain ul mulk was sent with the rescript. Cingiz went nearly to Campanir to receive the rescript, and displayed great adulation, and sent several of his confidential servants to Court with suitable presents and a humble petition Its purport was that he was the king's slave and must obey orders Inasmuch as H M was a forgiver of faults, and a distributor of favours, it would be in accordance with the cherishing of his slaves if he would, on this occasion, forgive his ('Abdullah's) offence and let him (Cingiz) send him to court If this request did not obtain acceptance, he would of course thereafter expel the inauspicious one Hakim-Ain ul mulk arrived at Agra with Cingiz Khān's presents one day after the standards of fortune had reached there

Among the occurrences was that Khān Quli, who was one of the brave servants of 'Abdullah Khān, and had been left by him in charge of Handia, made a petition to the effect that he was still there in the whirlpool of mingled hope and fear If he should be favoured by the news of personal safety, he would become one of the slaves of the court Accordingly a comforting order was issued to him, and he received that as an amulet and came to court with a number of his followers There he obtained auspiciousness

Another occurrence was that Muqarrib Khān, who was one of the officers of the Deccan, came by way of Berār and did homage He was received with kindness and obtained *Sarkār Handia* as his *jagir*.

Another occurrence was, that Mirān Mubārik Shāh, the ruler of Khāndis, whose ancestors had held that territory for many generations, sent ambassadors and splendid presents to court He represented through H M 's intimates that his great wish was that his daughter

231 might be included among the ladies of H M.'s seraglio. As H.M the Shāhinshāh is a granter of desires Mīrān's request was acceded and a favourable order was issued 'Itimād Khān, the eunuched was one of the confidential servants of the court, was sent wit Mirān's ambassadors upon this service, together with noble gift When 'Itimād Khān came near the fort of Āsir, which was Mirān residence, Mirān hastened to welcome the glorious rescript, an brought 'Itimād Khān with honour inside the fort Knowing the H.M.'s favour was the document of his own eternal bliss, he despatched his chaste daughter in proper form A number of noble accompanied her. 'Itimād Khān arrived, when H M had departe one stage beyond Māndū, and conveyed the daughter to the harem He recounted the respectful behaviour of Mīrān, whose good qualities and sincere devotion were approved of at court

(One of the occurrences was that as H M. the Shāhinshāh-innately disposed to forgive offences, and to cherish the poor *Hasan* Khān Khazānci, Pāyinda Muhammad Panc Bhiya, and Khudā Bar Yatim were sent with a rescript of favour to the confines of Dunga pūr to soothe Bāz Bahādur, the former governor of Mālwa who we wandering about in exile in those parts, and to bring him to Court As the envoys brought the news of the royal favour, Bāz *Bahādur* recognised his good fortune in this and showed a desire to return service, and prepared to set out. At this time a foolish eunuches his came from Agra, and by making improper observations, as is the way of wretched praters, withheld him from the highway of fortune As the black pall of wretchedness had not yet been removed fro his fortune, Bāz Bahādur involuntarily made some idle excuses as remained excluded from the bliss of doing homage He put off th period of this great success to another time. He see back the envoys with petitions full of his shame and offences.

In fine, Māndu remained the residence of H M for nearly month, and when he had made administrative regulations, he in happy hour, *viz*, in the middle of Shahriyār, Divine month, corresponding to the end of Moharram, turned his reins towards Agra While he was encamped at Nālca, he appointed Qarā Bahādur Khān and other officers to the government of Māndū, and issued an order that the retribution for everyone who in this expedition had with held himself from accompanying the royal cavalcade, and had chose

the dust of delinquency as a stain on the face of his service was, that he should remain in Mandū with Qarā Bahādūr Khān and be excluded for a while from the Presence He remained the following day to arrange affairs, and on the third day, he started in the height of the rainy season for Agra The march was made through floods, and on the way H M frequently rode on *mast* [1] elephants One day he mounted on the elephant Khāndi Rai, which had no equal for ferocity and obstinacy, and proceeded towards the next station That sky high elephant was such that powerful drivers could not keep their seat on him in the time of his violence By a sublime device of H M, one goad had its point buried in the elephant's head while the handle was securely fastened on the beast's back, while he held another in his hand and struck the elephant's head with it whenever he was obstreperous By means of these two instruments he restrained him from outbreaks of ferocity and made him obedient In this majestic manner he arrived at the end of the stage. His attendants who beheld his wondrous power, were amazed and regarded the performance as the effect of Divine aid, and opened their lips in prayer for his long life and dominion After encountering storms and traversing mountains which poured down floods, the army reached Ujain, and then making four marches from there arrived at Sārangpūr He stayed one week there in enjoyment, and then went on to Khīrār. For two stages he travelled through that wonderful country of hill and forest For two days this lion of the forest of sport hunted elephants and brought several females within the noose of desire From there he went on march after march till he came to Sipri At that stage the news was given by the scouts that there was an extensive forest in the vicinity, and that there was a herd of elephants in it. H M, the Shāhinshāh, from his delight in hunting went thither as soon as the Prince of the East and West (the sun) had wrapped himself in the brightness of the dawn When he came near the forest, seventy elephants came in view Among them there 2
was one magnificent animal Bold men made the whole forest an enclosed park and proceeded, according to signal, to drive the herd

[1] *Mast* is not always used in the modern sense of 'savage' or rutting It often merely means young and full blooded See Akbar's classification in Blochmann 124

towards the camp They had driven it some distance when a female elephant came out of the herd and rushed at the horsemen She came to Shāh Fakhru d din,[1] and threw him from his horse Then she went for the horse, leaving the Mir fallen Meanwhile the gallant men displayed alacrity The Mir, in his confusion, lost his head and put his finger on his mouth as a sign to them to be silent This action of the Mir's was, for a long time, a source of amusement (to Akbar) That day the herd went off All H M's efforts were directed to the capture of the elephant above mentioned, and at last they brought it within the noose At the same moment H M mounted upon him, without regard to his power or to his having been newly caught Abu l fazl, the narrator of this masterpiece of Divine power, has heard from the pearl dropping tongue that this was not a wild elephant, but one that had escaped from the rulers of the country H M gave it the name of Kheri Sang Next day he halted in the same place and went after the herd Suddenly five female elephants appeared, and he set off to hunt them By H M's exertions three females were caught While the camp was stationed at Sipri, an order was issued that the scouts should exert themselves to produce the herd of elephants

It was the end of the day when one of the savage denizens of those wilds, who are in their language called Bhils, came to the camp and gave an indication of where the herd was This man was a servant of Rājah Jagman of Dhandhera As the world traversing cavalcade had not happened to pass through his territory, he had driven it away from there, and he had also arranged that, if by chance the camp should be in the neighbourhood, information should be given that Jagman had out of loyalty left huntsmen for the purpose of the sport When the joyful news arrived, H M the Shāhinshāh at once mounted and went off to that place Nearly seventy elephants were seen in motion Among them one *mast* elephant was remarkable for the beauty of his movements Brave men proceeded to drive the animals from all sides That elephant in his pride and *mast* condition paid no attention to them The female elephants got separated from the herd and went to attack
234 the beaters Just then a female elephant ran and threw Muhammad

[1] Blochmann 406

Tālib, the elder brother of Saʿīd Badakhshī from his horse Then it proceeded to trample him. The spectators felt certain that his bones would be reduced to powder Meanwhile, the elephant saw that the horsemen were approaching, and taking the man in her mouth and trunk ran off. When the horsemen got nearer to her she flung him off and ran away still faster As soon as he was flung down he got up and ran, to the astonishment of those who saw it. But when we consider the marvels of Divine power, there is no room for astonishment. In short, H M's sublime genius engaged itself in capturing the aforesaid elephant. He gave an order that a war elephant should be brought from among the special elephants and made to fight with him The elephant Bhīrūn, which was equal to that elephant, was brought and set to fight with the other. A great contest ensued After Bhīrūn had made great exertions he turned tail, and they had great difficulty in keeping the wild elephant off him At this time an excellent idea occurred to the inspired mind whereby the hunting of elephants might be easily accomplished. This[1] was, that whenever the herd of elephants showed themselves, active horsemen should surround them at a distance, so that the elephants should not see them. By beating of drums they gave (the elephants) to understand that there were a number of people behind them (the elephants?) Two elephants were associated together and were ridden in such a way that the riders should not be seen. They were taken to a place that had been selected and there bound. Meanwhile the wild elephants were driven very slowly forward till at a ngth on account of the imitativeness which is part of beasts' nature, the herd went towards the two elephants They came there of themselves and were then tied up It was a source of great joy when this excellent plan, which, till now, had never entered the head of any prince, was imagined by the holy mind An order was issued that the troops should advance on all sides, and that having taken the wild elephant already mentioned along with the rest of the herd, they should proceed towards the camp The officers obeyed the order and tucked up the skirt of service When they arrived at the fort of Sipri they drove the herd inside When the whole herd together with the great elephant had entered the fort, the latter again showed violence

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1 Cf Blochmann 284 285

H.M., in order to chastise him, had the elephant Khāndī Rai, which was a match for him, brought up and put face to face with the wild elephant. These two moving mountains had a great fight, and contended together for one watch of the day. Khāndī Rai nearly broke the pride of the wild elephant, but on a sign from H.M. to the attendants, Khāndī Rai was withdrawn. The wild elephant, by mighty blows, broke the stone wall of the fort and went off into the wilds. H.M. sent Yūsuf Khān, the elder brother of M. 'Azīz Koka with a
235 number of men to capture the elephant, which was now wearied. Meanwhile, he personally attended to the fastening-up of the herd. Strong elephant-drivers brought in the wild elephants on every side. An order was given that the elephant Ran [1] Bhīrūn, who was a powerful animal, and distinguished among the special elephants, should be brought and made to head the elephant aforesaid. Again these two mountain forms contended together. As the wild elephant had fought a great deal, he was nearly being overcome. The drivers brought him to the foot of a large tree, and bound him with strong ropes. Slowly he grew tame, and was gradually included among the special elephants. He received the name of Gajpati. When H.M. had sufficiently gratified himself with hunting, he went on all the faster towards the capital. The route taken was by Narwar and Gwāliār. And when the grandees of Agra heard the sound of the approach of the army, which is the voice of the organ of joy, they all came to welcome it, and did homage. They attained temporal and spiritual felicity by the favouring glances of H.M. the Shāhinshāh. H.M. arrived at the capital on the day of Zamiyād 28 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 3 Rabi-al awwal, 9th October, 1564.

One of the occurrences, which occurred during this happy time, was the birth of twins. Two priceless jewels appeared from one matrix, two world lighting stars emerged by one ascension, two (pairs of) glorious eyes received brightness, two (sets of) earrings were exalted, two precious necklaces shone, two powerful arms came into being, two wrists of success appeared, two beauteous eyebrows came into being, two ears of joy were opened. That is, two twin princes were born. The worlds expanded with joy, and the parterres of

1 This appears to be the Bhīrūn already named, for it is described as a second encounter.

flowers smiled. The carpet of joy was spread from shore to shore and happiness was proclaimed to mankind. The sound of the drum of rejoicing was heard throughout the nine heavens, and the strains of the organ of felicity resounded over the six sides of the world.

Verse.

There was such a round of bumpers
That patience deserted patience, and sense left sense.

H.M. took the blooming of these two rose-bushes as an omen of the auspiciousness of two worlds. He returned thanks to God, and named one of the twins Mīrzā Ḥasan, the other Mirza Ḥusain. Qāsim Arslān made this chronogram about the birth of those two royal pearls. 23

Verse.

The unique king had two sons as successors
Two jewels came into the hands from the casket of success.
Time searching for the date wrote thus:
Two[1] moons appeared from the zenith.

These two unique pearls of the ocean of holiness, returned to the ample domain of the other world after one month. They flung down the coin of their lives for their father. H.M. felt grieved at the departure of those two early fruits, but trod the pleasant path of acquiescence and resignation, for to the farseeing there is no remedy save submission and resignation against the inevitable Divine decrees.

Among the occurrences were the laying the foundations of Nagarcain,[2] and the playing of polo. The Architect of the workshop of wonders and the Geometrician of marvels hath willed that the holy personality of H.M. the Shāhīnshāh shall be such an aggregate of perfections that he display celestial glories in everything; and that in every place he shall devise thoughts of beauty

[1] The Persian words yield 972.

[2] See Badāūnī, Lowe 69 He remarks that the place had wholly disappeared See Blochmann 298n. See Fathome's "A Forgotten City," J.A S.B. for 1904. He identifies Nagarcain with the village of Kakrālī within the boundaries of Qabūlpūr seven miles due south of Agra

and be the adorner of kingdoms Accordingly H M turned his attentions towards the improving and beautifying of the noble village of Kakrālı That land of flowers was distinguished among pleasant places for its climate, etc , and was one league (*farsang*) distant from Agra, and H M frequently halted there when *he left the city* for recreation or hunting There he enjoyed the sport of hunting, and soothed his mind by the capture of beasts and birds (i e , hawking) in those meadows. When he returned from Mandu to the capital, he decreed that pleasant dwellings and life cherishing gardens should be made there Accordingly engineers laid the foundations of delightful houses in an auspicious hour and in the time of a fixed constellation which is suitable for the foundation of *delight*
237 In a short time clever builders finished the work Similarly the officers and other servants created dwellings and laid out gardens suitable to their conditions It soon became so civilized that it was like the cheek mole of cities H M gave to that holy spot and first fruits of mystery the name of Nagarcaīn, *viz*, the city of repose He often played polo there, and enjoyed hunting there

In this year the ambassador of Shāh Tahmāsp the ruler of Persia, arrived and brought the rarities of that country as a present Sultān Mahmud of Bakar begged that he might attain the office of Khānlār khānı, *i.e*, *of Khān Khānān*, but as there were others greater than he, who, from knowing their position and from perceiving the nature of their predecessors, had not asked for this appointment, he did not succeed in his request. He sent much gold as a present to the Shāh, who is now defunct, with the idea that perhaps by his recommendation he might obtain this good fortune The Shāh had accepted his request and had referred to the matter in his letter But as the Khedive of the world was seated on the *masnad* of *appreciation of* merit and of justice, the currency required was merit, not recommendation Especially when one like Mun'im Khān held this high office Accordingly the request of the Shāh was declined, and the ambassador was dismissed according to the rules of princes

CHAPTER LV

M MOHAMMAD HAKIM SEEKS TO TAKE REFUGE AT THE WORLD PROTECTING COURT OF THE SHAHINSHAH, THE DELIVERY OF KABUL FROM M SULAIMAN, AND OTHER FORTUNATE OCCURRENCES

It has already been narrated how M Sulaimān disposed of the wicked and ill fated Abul m'aali, and how he left Badakhshis in Kabul He did not appreciate the rights of the sublime family, and did the work of an enemy under the garb of a friend. He was continually trying to get possession of Kabul, and to keep M. Hakim in one of the districts of Badakhshān Though the loyal Kabulis understood in some measure M Sulaimān's designs yet, as the proceeding was a strange one, they did not feel quite certain about the matter. The last he was not contented with the number of men he had already sent and took to sending more One time, he sent 'Abdu r rahman Beg, the son of Mir Tolak Qadimi with a force, and on another occasion he sent Tangri Bardi Qishbegi with troops The suspicions of the Kabulis were confirmed, and they took measures to remedy affairs Those who took the chief part in this were Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi, Bāqi Qāqshāl, Siyundak, 'Ali Muhammad Asp, Banda 'Ali Maidāni with other Mauli manis and Khwaja Khizriyans, Yār Muhammad Ākhund, Firuz and Khalifa 'Abdullah 233
They sent information of the facts to M Hakim, who had arrived at years of discretion, and he who had been put into straits by the parsimony and bad behaviour of the Badakhshis approved of their solicitude, and set about expelling the Badakhshis He took away the territory of Ghaznin from Qirā Yatim and the son of Hasain Kabuli to whom it had been given by M Sulaiman, and bestowed it on Qāsim Beg Parwanci Bangash he took from Murād Khwāja and gave it to his own followers Jalālābād and its territory up to the Indus which M Sulaiman had given to Qāzi Khān Sa'id K Mubāriz K and Bahāu I lin K he made his own exchequer lands By degrees he loosed the noose of oppression which the Badakhshis had

cast over Kabul, and expelled all of them from the country and Badakhshis were put down and went off to M Sulaimān Ghaznīn met in the passes of the Hindū Koh M Sulaiman, who was marching to Kabul to set matters right, and he told him all that had occurred Thereupon he hastened towards Kabul When M Hakim received the news of his approach, he made over the citadel to Bāqi Qāqshāl and a number of other trusty men and went off himself with a body of loyal followers towards Jalālābād and Peshawar When M Sulaimān came to the river Bārān, he halted there for some days in order to rest his men As he knew that the Mirzā was going towards Jalālābād, he put off the capture of Kabul to another season, and moved on to Jalālābād from Deh-Minār with the intention of making M Hakim a prisoner When the latter arrived at Daka [1] an erroneous report was received that M Sulaiman was not following him, and so M Hakim turned round and proceeded to Koh i Barān [2]

The daughter of M Sulaiman, who from want of sense had remained in Jalālābad, now repented and joined M Ḥakīm (her husband) in the borders of Basāwal,[3] and apologised for her offence At this same stage it became certain that M Sulaiman was marching in that direction, and that the former report was wrong. The Mirza proceeded with all haste to Gharibkhāna, and from there to 'Ali Masjid, and from there to Peshawar, where he halted near Qabīla i Ḥabib [4] On the same day M Sulaimān's envoy arrived there with the idea that he might succeed in laying a snare for him The Mirzā after a brief interview (?) (*sir-i su wārī*) dismissed him, and sent Khwāja Ḥasan to M Sulaimān, while he himself proceeded towards the Indus. Just then Khāki Gallabān (shepherd), who had remained behind to get correct information, came and reported that M Sulaimān had arrived at Jalālābād, and that he had left Haram Begam there with a body of troops and was coming on. M Ḥakīm quickly crossed the

[1] Or Dakka at the west end of the Khaibar

[2] Perhaps the Bārān river

[3] Yasāwal in text On the south side of Kabul river and east of Jalālābād See Raverty's Notes p 45 It is also known as Bihsūd and as Dih i ghulāman

[4] The old name of Landī Khāna Raverty p 40 See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs quoted by Raverty p 43. Landi Khana apparently means 'small river

[5] I cannot identify this place

Indus, and sent Ghalib Beg and Tufan Auji with a humble petition to the Shahinshah's world protecting Court He described his wretched circumstances and begged for assistance

He himself halted on the bank of Sind Sagar[1] As at the time the government of the province of the Punjab was in the hands of Mir Muhammad Khan, the elder brother of the Ataga K, the Mirza sent his Dewan Khaja Beg Mahmud and Maqsud Jauhari to him and begged for help Mir Muhammad K sent Qazi Imad with presents and an encouraging message The Punjab Officers also sent presents suitable to their rank When M Sulaiman heard that M Muhammad Hakim had crossed the Indus, he became hopeless and returned from Peshawar He proceeded towards Jalalabad by the Karappah[2] route, and on the way had fights with the Shinwari Afghans Many of them were killed, and some goods belonging to the Camp market were plundered Harun Sinwari, was the head of the tribe, was killed here M Sulaiman left Qambaand a body of troops in Jalalabad, and proceeded to Kabul which set himself to besiege The garrison were on the alert and took measures to stregthen the fort At the time when Nagarcain was by the advent of H M The Shahinshah made cynosure of the seven Climes M Hakim s ambassadors arrived and were through the intrumentality of the Courtiers exalted by doing homage They conveyed the petition of the Mirza to the royal hearing This was favourably received and as the cause of the Mirza's trouble was his not having a prudent and well wishing guar d an H M the Shahinshah in his abundant wisdom took thought about a guardian and choose for this high post Qutbu d din Khan, who was distinguished for his ability and trust worthiness An order was also issued that the cream of the Punjab troops should, under the generalship of Mir Muhammad Khan, join the Mirza and convey him to Kabul and seat him firmly on the masnad there After doing so Qutb d din K was to remain in Kabul while the officers should return to their files An order was issued to Mir Muhmmad K, and to the great

1 Apparently the Indus s here meant but A F says Akbar gave the name of S nd Sagar to the valley of t e B hat and S nd Jarrett II 311

2 In the Mohma d Count y See J H 401 and note also Raverty's Notes 176

officers such as Muhammad K. and Quli K. Birlas, the Governor of Multan, Qutbu-d-din K, Mahdi Qasim K., Hasan Sufi Sultan, Jan Muhammad Bahsudi, Kamal K Gabhar, Fazil Muhammad, Quli K., and to the headmen of the country that they should march quikly and join the Mirza on the bank of Indus, and proceed with him against M Sulaiman and put a stop to his molestation of Kabul. H M. also sent a large sum of money from the royal treasury, together with comforts and luxuries along with the ambassadors.

When the orders reached the officers, they bound the girdles of obedience on the waists of loyalty and went off with the army to serve the Mirza, Qutbu-d din, Kamal K, Fazil Muhammad, Quli K., and a body of troops joined the Mirza before the others. By the reception of the royal favours and by the royal graciousness, Mirza's position acquired fresh glory. They crossed at the ferry of Alak Benares and proceeded towards Kabul Mir Muhammad K. and the other officers joined the Mirza with proper equipments near Peshawar. Each officer offered presents suitable to his rank. By the lights of the royal favour which shone upon the cheek of the Mirza's circumstances, his officers assumed a splendour such as he had never imagined or dreamed of, and he marched on to Kabul with high hopes and right intentions. They did not draw rein till they reached Jalalabad.

As M Sulaiman had made over Jalalabad to one of his men named Qamber, M Muhammad K. began by sending saqi Taranbi and Arif Beg to advise him. He from ill fatedness withdrew his neck from the collar of obedience. As the Moribund was in his ignorance not merciful to his own life, heroes girded up their loins for the capture and by the strength of their arms easily untied the difficult knot. They mounted with the foot of courage the steps of fortress capture, and set up lofty scaling leadders. They planted themagainst the wall of the fort, and essayed to enter Though the Badakhsh is opposed them to the utmost of their power, and neglected no point of defence and assailed the attacking party with arrows and bullets, etc, and threw the dust and ashes of opposition on the heads of the

[1] Jarrot II 311, n 3

Chambers

climbers to victory's summit, yet no dust remained on the mirror-hearts of these gallant men And if occasionally some climber were wounded and thrown down, they had not[1] so little a desire to capture the fort as that they should become apprehensive on seeing him, and should refrain from going on On the contrary their courage increased, and they put their feet on his head and ran upwards By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh they took the fort in the space of an astronomical hour and put to the sword Qambar Ali and his 300 comrades. They let go two of them in order that they might 24
impress upon M. Sulaimān what they had seen of the fate of Qambar and all his comrades

The head of Qambar was sent as a present to the battlements of Kabul, and encouraging letters were sent to Bāqī Qāqshāl and the men of Kabul to inform them of the arrival of the army of fortune When the news of the favour and of the helping hand of H M the Shāhinshāh, and of the capture of Jalālābād reached Kabul, the sound of joy rose high, and the head of Qambar was made an ornament to the battlements Though M Sulaimān was disconcerted by the capture of Jalālābād and the noise of the approaching army, yet he comforted his panic stricken men by declaring the news to be false. He said it was a clamour of the Kabulis, till at last the two Badakhshis came and confirmed the tidings of the victory Thereon, the thread of patience fell from the hands of M Sulaimān and Haram Begam, and the cord of coherence became unloosed Disheartened, and in evil case, they debated as to whether they should fight the victorious army or return to Badakhshān After argument they decided upon flight

Next day M Sulaimān retired from the siege of Kabul and turned back his horses (*lit* shod them backwards) He went in the direction of Jalalābād and arrived at Khwāja Riwāj He gave out that he was going to fight the Mirzā At nightfall he became perturbed and went towards Badakhshān As he was crossing the river Parwān a great flood came down, and carried away much of the Badakhshis baggage With a thousand difficulties and with precautions that no one should see him, he reached Badakhshān The

[1] The negative *nadashtand* is curious but A F s meaning seems clear enough

victorious army had arrived at Jagdalak when the news came to Kabul of the flight of M Sulaimān. M. Hakīm and the officers came to Kabul The inhabitants being released from the troubles of defending the fort raised shouts of joy to heaven. The whole population rejoiced, and offered up prayers for the long establishment of those royal standards which cast the shade of justice far and near After some days Quṭbu-d din K.' went to visit Ghaznin, which was the home of his family, and took Kamāl K with him He spent days in pleasure in that place where he had been born and brought up He showed kindness to all his clan, and to all his friends, near or remote He returned after laying the foundations of stations, gardens and buildings, which are marks of auspiciousness, and produce
242 pleasant memories After arranging the affairs of Kabul, the Khān Kilān foolishly resolved to take upon himself the office of the Mirzā's *vakil* and stayed in Kabul He bade adieu to the officers, and they returned to India Sakina Bānu Begam, the younger sister of M Hakīm, went to India in order to thank the Shāhinshāh for his kindness and from a wish to enter [1] the holy service She proceeded under the guidance of Quṭbu d din Muhammad K, and obtained fortune by kissing the threshold

As there was no inborn goodness in M Muhammad Hakīm's disposition, nor any development of sound reason, and no honest and loyal servants, disturbances arose at this time when by the Shāhinshāh's influence the affairs of Kabul had been arranged, and the Khān Kilān was established as administrator The sedition mongers of Kabul stirred up strife and Muhammad Hakim Mirza on account of his youth was always giving ear to falsehoods And Mir Muhammad K, who was noted for his impetuosity and roughness, did not adopt conciliatory ways and was put out by petty matters He conducted things with severity, and so things did not proceed harmoniously between him and the Mirzā and the Kabulis Though the Mirzā used expressions of obedience, yet he transacted many important matters without consulting the Khān Kilān. One of them was that Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi was passing his days in Kabul, and that the Mirza without consulting H.M the Shāhinshāh, or reference to the Khān Kilān, gave his sister, whom his mother had formerly

[1] Akbar gave her in marriage to Naqib K s son B 449

married to Shāh Abu-l m'āli, in marriage to the Khwāja. When the latter had the glory of such an alliance, he took to managing the affairs of the Mirza's household, and used to do things which he ought not to have done. Also many men of the Mirza's household used to say things which were not agreeable to the Khān Kilān's disposition. Mir Muhammad Khān, in spite of the hastiness of his character, could read men, and was acute and far-seeing He could see in the diary[1] of to-day the catalogue of the events of the morrow and in his ill-fatedness he thought it proper to consult his own repose though he should act contrary to the Shāhinshah's order He perceived that evil days were coming upon him, and as he saw that the outcome would not be good he proceeded to look ahead In a night[2] of nights he, without anyone's knowledge, marched from Kabul, and took the highroad to India

He also sent a report to the sublime court, detailing the intrigues of the Mirzā's palace, and the commissions and omissions which were taking place in Kabul If the Khān Kilān for his own satisfaction took such a bootless course, he should have from his knowledge of the world, etc, sent Khwāja Hasan, Yar Muhammad Ākhund, Firūz 24. and some others along with the officers to India, so that the Mirzā's affairs should not go the length of becoming sedition and also he should not have returned in such fashion. But when there is a Divine design for some act, the wise and farsighted are previously made foolish, and then the hidden purposes are revealed And, in fact, in such matters there is nothing left for the acute and intelligent but to be spectators and to become acquainted with the Divine decrees

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qulij K to Rohtās in order to conciliate Fath K. The short account of this is that there is in Bihar a fortress named Rohtās which is one of the greatest in India, and which is a marvellous work of the Creator. It stands on a very high hill and is guarded from the thought of disturbance Its length and breadth are more than five *kos* The ascent from the plains to the terrace of the fort may be more[3] than a *kos* A wonderful

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[1] That is he could interpret the future by the light of present events

[2] Apparently the meaning is that the night was a very dark one

[3] The Tabaqāt has half a *kos*" The meaning must be that the road rises for a *kos* or half a *kos* not that the hill is half a *kos* high

thing is that though the fort is situated so high, good water is found whenever the soil is dug to the depth of two yards. From the time it was built, no ruler had ever got possession of it, except Sher Khān, and he took it by fraud by introducing troops dressed as women, as has already been briefly related.

After that it fell into the hands of Fatḥ Khān Patni,[1] who was one of the great sirdars of Sher Khān and Selīm Khān. Supported by this fortress he used to contend hotly with Sulaimān who had acquired the government of Bengal. From far sightedness he was always making representations to the well wishers of the empire. At this time, when the notes of the disloyalty of 'Alī Quli K Zamān were visible far and near, H M sent Quli Khān to Fath Khān, who was always sending representations of his submissiveness, to ascertain his disposition and to confirm him in the path of service and obedience. He was to arrange that when the standards of fortune reached the borders of Jaunpur, he (Fath Khān[2]) should attain the reward of performing service and should bring the coin of his fidelity to be tested by H M, and should prove to all and sundry the genuineness (saragī) of its quality. Quli Khān reached Rohtas with all possible speed, and confirmed him in the straight path of service. And he brought his younger brother Hasan K Patnī into service in order that he might obtain princely favours by being admitted to the Presence. At the time when the glorious cavalcade returned from elephant-hunting in Karhara and Narwār, of which an account will shortly be given, to the capital, they were exalted by kissing the ground. Hasan Khān was encompassed by the Shāhinshāh's favours.

In the beginning of this year the cupola of chastity, Hāji Begam, who was one of the pure wives of H M Jahānbāni Jinnat Ashiyāni[3] and the daughter of his mother's maternal uncle, and mother of

[1] The Ṭabaqāt seems to have Batani see Jarrett II 4/2

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that Fath K undertook to do it

[3] Dakhtar i taghai i walida i hazrat-i-ā'lā. Blochmann has taghai zāda-i wālida i Jannat ashiyāni which seems taken from the Maaṣir and he renders this p 46, as "daughter of Humāyūn's mother's brother. Perhaps then Haji Begam was Humāyūn's cousin and not his mother's cousin. Bābar Mem 398 calls her the daughter of Yādgār Taghāi. Perhaps A F by the expression taghāi i walida only means to emphasise the fact that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle or per

Alāmān Mīrzā, was permitted to go on a pilgrimage to the holy places. H.M. arranged this pilgrimage to the holy places in an excellent manner and provided all things necessary, and bade her goodbye. Though his holy heart did not wish to be separated from her, yet he preferred her wish and granted her request A large number of persons obtained the same favour by this opportunity.

haps he means that the uncle was the mother's full brother I think we may gather from the fact of Gulbadan Begam's not accompanying Ḥājī Begam on this pilgrimage that her husband Khiẓr Khwāja was still alive He was probably made Amīr al 'umrā after Adham Khān's execution

CHAPTER LVI.

Expedition of H M the Shāhinshāh to the province of Narwar for the purpose of elephant hunting.

The Khedive of the world always employed himself in various kinds of hunting and other diversions so that a spectator might suppose that nothing but these amusements touched the hem of his heart H M. always conducts himself outwardly with reference to the creature, and inwardly with reference to God, and so superintends the order of things external and internal He always adorns externals as if he were one of the external and superficial, and internals, like the wise esoterics of the true *qibla* At this time he devised elephant-hunting as his veil, and in Isfandarmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Rajab,[1] he proceeded to Narwar and Karhara.[2] The attraction of pleasure took him to Dholpur As its climate was equable he crossed the Cambal on an elephant, and passed by way of Gwāliār. *When he reached the borders of Narwar the huntsmen* brought the good news that several herds of elephants were roaming in the forest of Narwar An order was issued that the camp should halt in that pleasant spot while H M entered that forest with a few attendants He wandered for two days in that endless forest and then came upon a herd of elephants. He made an enclosure according to the old method, and after catching the wild elephants in it returned to the camp One of the successes of the hunt was that one day while he was engaged in the chase in the wilds of Narwar his eye fell upon a serpent which was nearly seven Akbarshāhī[3]

[1] The T Alfi has "in Rajab 972 corresponding to Monday the 27th of (qu before) the true vernal equinox of the 10th Divine year' The Persian is *bīstu haftam nauroz sulṭānī danam* ilāhī, and perhaps the reference is to the fact that Akbar s accession took place on the 10 Isfandarmaz about three weeks before the beginning of the solar year

[2] Qu Karara in Gwaliar, W of Jhansī But probably it is the Karharah *of Jarrett II 189 the zamin*dārī of which is said to be included under Ratangadh

[3] See Jarrett II 61 Fl. Akbar

yards in length and which had consumed several *cital*[1] (spotted deer-) which are a kind of deer, and was about to destroy more. H.M. ordered the noxious animal to be destroyed so that it received retribution for its actions. He stayed there for two days disposing of the world's affairs, and sent Lashkar Khān Mīr Bakhshī to Āsaf Khān in Garha in order that he should send to court such of the war-elephants and other goods, which had fallen into his hands during the campaign with the Rānī by virtue of the royal good fortune as were fit for presentation. An order was issued that Khwāja Ghīāsu-d-dīn[2] 'Alī of Qazwīn should act for Lashkar Khān during his absence. H.M. devoted himself to hunting, and adorned the hunting-quarters with his presence.

Shāhī gaz was apparently = 41 fingers long.

[1] The spotted deer, axis maculatus. The text has *mādh āhū* مادہ آھو but the word is the Arabic مادة *māddat* matter or species.

[2] The T. Alfi says, "afterwards styled 'Āsaf Khān."

CHAPTER LVII

245 Beginning of the tenth year, to wit, the year Dai of the first cycle

In this season of expansion and on this auspicious soil, when the airs of joy were circulating in the brain of fortune, a vernal happiness possessed the soul of the Age. The advent of the world enkindling new year diffused abundance over the terrene and terrestrials. The hundred-petalled rose bloomed forth

Verse [1]

The rose sought to unfold her petal-wings
That she might fly in company with the nightingale
The early buds half-opened on the ends of their stalks
To bear away the hearts of the claw sporting birds,
The spectacle of flower and leaf reveals
That at each step the road of love rises and falls
May I imitate the nature of this garden's buds
With a hundred tongues in their lips they are silent
'Tis for the Shāhinshāh's advent they've spread
Carpets of roses and brocades of jasmine

After nine hours and twenty-one minutes had passed of the night of Sunday, 8th Shābān 972, of the lunar year, 11 March 1565, the sun entered his mansion of exaltation, and the tenth year of the reign began, *viz*, the year Dai of the first cycle, and another spring was added to the equable spring of the Shāhinshāh's character H M was in the same delightful meadow which the artists of springtide had

[1] These verses are not very intelligible The Lucknow editor has an useful note about them. The third last line alludes to the leaves or petals being regarded as tongues The flowers have hundreds of petals or tongues and yet are silent and the poet hopes that he may be the slave of the intellect of the buds. The fifth and sixth lines seem to refer to the alternation of flower and leaf

decorated, when on the next day the desert-traversing huntsmen announced that in a certain quarter there was a forest full of elephants H M the Shāhinshāh was delighted at this news and hastened off to the chase He captured the elephants and sent them to the camp He spent the night in the forest, and next day came to the camp. On the way the huntsmen announced that at the distance of eight *kos* from the halting place there were more than 250 elephants wandering at their free will in a forest H M was delighted and at once went off to the spot At the end of the day he arrived at the grazing ground of those mighty forms In accordance with his orders the servants surrounded the elephants and drove them towards Bayānwān[1] Half the night had passed when they had driven them into the fort. By H.M.'s orders a pond was dug by the camp attendants, large enough to charge with moisture those cloud like animals, and it was filled up with pure water so that these heated river quaffers enjoyed the springs of that bounty which guarantees the satisfaction of all from the elephant to the gnat

After those wild creatures had been caught and fastened with 246 ropes, some were sent to Narwar, some to Gwaliyār, and the most of them to the camp In connection with this affair H.M spent two days in the neighbourhood of the fort of Bayānwān Certainly, on the occasion of this delightful occurrence—the like of which was not to be witnessed anywhere else in the pleasant lands of India—the spectators enjoyed a wondrous spectacle and had cause for admiration. What sublime contrivance! What lofty conceptions! How the Lord of the Age brought into captivity such a number of savage, mountain like heaven ascending animals! From thence he turned towards the camp which was in the vicinity of Karhara, and stayed there about twenty days As it was the time of the mingling of two seasons, and the air was becoming heated, and as the climate of that warm, elephant-haunted country was not conformable to the human constitution, many of the camp party fell ill H M had compassion on humanity and bade the beating of the drums of return He left some of the followers to capture the remaining elephants, and went on stage by stage, and hunting by the way to Gwaliyār There H M's constitution became somewhat affected by the climate and long marches In a short

[1] B. pā iwa in text See Jarrett II 188

time, however, he was restored to health, and sickness was changed into soundness.

(I'tilāl ba i'tidāl mubaddal shud.)

Five or six days after his recovery he proceeded towards Agra, and in a fortunate hour, which was a chosen one of stars and horizons, he cast his light and his shadow on that fortunate city.

Among the principal events of the year was the founding of the fort of Agra. It is not concealed from the minds of the mathematical and the acquainted with the mechanism of the spheres that since the world-adorning creator hath decked Time and the Terrene with the existence of the Shāhinshāh in order that the series of creations might be perfected, that wise-hearted one has exercised himself in bringing each individual life from the secrecy of potentiality to the theatre of performance. At one time he has prepared the constituents of rule by perfecting the earth for animated nature by improving agriculture by irrigation and the sowing of seeds. At another time he establishes spiritual and temporal dominion by building fortresses for the protection of products and the guarding of honour and prestige. Accordingly, he at this time gave directions for the building in Agra—which by position is the centre of Hindustan—of a grand fortress such as might be worthy thereof, and correspond to the dignity of his
247 dominions. An order was then issued that the old fort which was built on the east bank of the Jamna, and whose pillars had been shaken by the revolutions of time and the shocks of fortune, should be removed, and that an impregnable fort should be built of hewn stone. It was to be stable like the foundation of the dominion of the sublime family and permanent like the pillars of its fortunes. Accordingly, lofty-minded mathematicians and able architects laid the foundations of this great building in an hour which was supreme for establishing a fortress The excavations were made through seven strata of earth. The breadth of the wall was three *bādshāhī*[1] yards

[1] It is not quite clear what is meant by the bādshāhī gaz, but most probably it is the Iskandari gaz which was introduced by Sikandar Lādī and consisted of the width of 41½ copper coins till Humayun increased it by half a coin, making the length 42 Iskandari coins. See Jarret II. 11, where it is stated that the Ilāī gaz was apparently made of universal application, I c. p 68 The account in the Tab. Akbari differs

and its height sixty yards. It was provided with four gates whereby the doors of the dominion were opened towards the four quarters of the world. Every day 3 to 4,000 active builders and strong-armed labourers carried on the work. From the foundations to the battlements, the fortress was composed of hewn stone, each of which was polished like the world-revealing mirror, and was ruddy as the cheek of fortune. And they were so joined together that the end of a hair could not find place between them. This sublime fortress, the like of which had never been seen by a fabulous geometrician, was completed with its battlements, breastwork, and its loop-holes (*sang-andāz*) in the space of eight years under the faithful superintendence of Qāsim Khān Mir Barr u Bahr.

In this year H.M. determined that a person should be appointed to the lofty office of Sadr, who should be distinguished for wisdom and probity, etc., in order that ascetics and devout persons might approach the sublime threshold and receive pensions and support in accordance with their condition. In this way they would be comforted and be able to give themselves up to their devotions without anxiety. Though this tribe of men is to be found in every country, and there is no clime without them, yet they are most numerous in the districts of India. It was indispensable that there should be at the head of such an affair someone who should be firstly single[1]-eyed, so that this high office should not be a scene of grasping and contention for that he should not covet the goods of the poor, for to cast eyes of desire on everyone's property is to make oneself a public and private plunderer. It would be most wretched if he should in this way seek to satisfy the maw of his desires! Secondly, he must be capable and a discerner of mankind so that he be not unduly swayed by the recommendations of oppressors, the blandishments of flatterers,

from Abul Fazl's. According to it the breadth of the wall was ten yards, and the height more than forty yards. The moat was twenty yards wide and its depth ten yards. It also states that the work was finished in four years. Cf also Blochmann,

I do not fully understand A.F.'s statement that the excavations extended through seven strata or layers of earth. Apparently he is referring to the foundations generally and not to the moat. I suppose "seven layers" is merely a rhetorical expression for a great depth.

[1] Text *sar-cashm* which apparently means full-eyed, *i.e.*, independent.

248 and his own ignorance He must be able to appraise every man according to his merit, and so further their work Thirdly, he must not have a patrician nature (*mirzā tabī'yat*) and so spend his time in sloth and pleasure, and delay the business of the poor. On the contrary he must be strenuous, and one who distinguishes not between night and day so that he may carry matters through and show the most exquisite devotion towards the needy

When this right and proper idea took possession of H M and he was in search of one who was adorned with the qualities above described, or who was resolved to acquire them, and was eager in the pursuit of them, Muzaffar Khān, who had the control of affairs, appointed Shaikh 'Abdu n nabī to this high office at the instance of misjudging panegyrists and prattlers, and then reported the matter to H.M. and recommended his being confirmed therein The Lord of the Age, out of that excellent disposition which thinks nothing but good of men, relied upon Muzaffar Khān's knowledge and made the appointment. He ('Abdu n nabī) decked out his shop with hypocrisy and fair-seeming, and the Lord of the Age, who abode in the peaceful abode of thinking well of men, was pleased with him In a short space of time he, by means of a crowd of flatterers and interested persons, and by the ascendancy of the short-sighted and ignorant, sold his studentship at the rate of teachership, and his superficial learning became converted into substantial wisdom. He was the grandson [1] of Shaikh 'Abdul Qaddūs whom the people of India regarded him saint. But as God hath made H M the Shāhinshāh the touchstone of men's merit, this man was also tested, and the veil was withdrawn from his actions, as will be related in its proper place.

[1] The text has erroneously *bait* for *bek* but it is corrected in the Errata. 'Abdu n nabī was the son of Shaikh Aḥmad son of Shaikh 'Abdu l Qaddūs Gangūī Badāūnī has a biography of him III 79 It seems that he fell into disgrace with Akbar for putting a brahman to death on a charge of blasphemy There is some account of Abdu l-qaddūs in Jarrett II 374 and note 2, and a notice of Abdu n nabī in Blochmann 546. See also the Darbār Akbarī p 320, and Blochmann 268 et seq

CHAPTER LVIII

MARCH OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO PUT DOWN THE SEDITION OF KHĀN ZAMĀN 'ALI QULI, ETC

To those who have drunk[1] down to the lees of understanding it is no secret that[2] the "world is like wine in that it intensifies whatever exists already" If a man is of happy fortune, the acquisition of worldly things increases his auspiciousness and improves his personality so as to produce a thousand advantages to him If, however, a man's destiny be evil, and his disposition bad, worldly success is productive in him of a thousand mischiefs His outward prosperity is a cause of affliction to mankind, and his darkened heart becomes day by day more and more dark His erring feet stray more and more, and he neither recognises the favours he has received nor does his duty to his benefactor According as he is situated, he sometimes practises deceit and hypocrisy, and sometimes he withdraws the veil from before his actions and becomes openly as well as secretly a sedition monger The evil ending career of 'Ali Quli Khān Zamān is an instance of this From the commencement of the coming into India, and the polishing of that great country which resulted from the Light of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, he was always committing improprieties The vessel of his nature was of small capacity, and so intoxication became apparent, and already some instances of this have been given

H M the Shāhinshāh, from the breadth of his views was continually washing the record of his faults and crimes from his own pure soul with the water of forgiveness That black fated one did not appreciate this clemency, but went on to accumulate wickednesses

When it came to the royal hearing that the Iskandar Khān

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[1] Text *dard kashan* but many MSS have *daryā kishan*.

[2] This is a line or part of a line of verse

Uzbeg's[1] brainless head had been affected by seditiousness, H.M. winked at this, and at the time when he went towards Narwar for the purpose of elephant-hunting he sent Ashraf Khān to him together with conciliatory orders and invited him to come to court and to abandon evil thoughts and take the highway of auspiciousness. When Ashraf Khān came to Oude, which was Iskandar Khān's fief, the latter showed alacrity in going out to welcome the royal commands and treated Ashraf Khān with respect. He brought him with honour to his abode. When he became acquainted with the contents of the royal missive he made his submission, and outwardly began preparations for attending the court. He spent a long time in making those pretences, but in reality he was acting hypocritically and was concocting another scheme. At last he said to Ashraf Khān: "Ibrāhīm Khān is our Greybeard (āq siqāl), and is in the neighbourhood. Let us go and see him and proceed with him to court."

With this design they went from Oude to Sarharpūr, which was Ibrāhīm Khān's fief, and from there they hastened to 'Alī Qulī Khān. There the whole party determined upon opposition and emerged from the screen of ashamedness, and proclaimed rebellion. They said to one another: "At this time the royal cortège is far off and engaged in elephant-hunting; let us form two bands! Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān will go to Qanauj by the route of Lucknow, and stir up strife there, and 'Alī Qulī Khān and his brother Bahādur Khān will go by the route of Mānikpūr against Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl who is jāgīrdār there and raise the flames of sedition. In this way, per-
350 haps, we shall succeed." When the evil schemes of those wretches had settled upon this course, they kept Ashraf Khān among them by criminal methods. Ibrāhīm Khān and Sikandar Khān went towards Lucknow and 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān went towards Karrah and Mānikpūr.

When the report of the rebellion reached the officers of that quarter, such as Shāham Khān Jalāir, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Amīr Khān, Muḥammad Amīn Dīwāna, Sulṭān Qulī Khāldār, Calma Tawācī, Shāh Tāhir Badakhshī, and his brother Shāh Khalīl Ullāh, Gadā 'Alī Tūlakcī, Khān Qulī Sārbān, Yūsuf Taghāī, and others, they

[1] Blochmann 355. I presume he is the son of Sāīd Khān of Kashghar See Tar Ras'

assembled together and faced the rebels. A hot engagement took place between them and Sikandar Khān and Ibrāhim Khān near the town of Nimkhār[1] Muhammad Amin Diwāna attacked the rebels' centre, and levelled many with the dust But during the attack his horse stumbled and he was thrown to the ground The wretches crowded round him and made him prisoner, Though Shāham Khān and Shāh Budāgh Khān were somewhat disheartened by seeing the fate of Muhammad Amin yet they at length advanced in a devoted manner, and made many efforts They contended manfully, and the brave on both sides fell on the field As the faithless to their salt were superior in numbers, the imperial officers judged it right to retire to the fort of Nimkhār, and they reported the circumstances to the sublime threshold 'Ali Quli Khān and Bahādur Khan turned their rein towards Mānikpur and extended the hand of oppression there by plunder and rapine Majnun Khān Qāqshāl, who was an experienced soldier, did not think it advisable to engage the rebels, and sheltered himself in the fort of Mānikpur He sent messengers to Āṣaf Khān, calling upon him to join him, and when the latter heard of the disturbance he left a part of his men to guard the Garha country and took a number of experienced troops with him and came to Karra There he distributed among the soldiers the plunder which he had obtained in Cauragarha, and he also assisted Majnun Khān with a large sum of money When the latter was emboldened by Āṣaf Khān's help he frequently sent out brave men from the fort to contend with Ali Quli Khān's forces At this time, too, Majnun Khān and Āṣaf[2] Khan sent swift couriers and reported the state of affairs to court The messages of the royal sts came one after the other, when the royal *cortège* had returned from elephant hunting and H M was engaged in administering the affairs of the empire As the putting down of strife and sedition results in general tranquillity, and produces the comfort of the whole of mankind, H M, conformably to the precepts of King Wisdom, who is the Viceroy of the capital of Divine power, always gave his attention to such matters and regarded them as more obligatory than all ordinances and more meritorious than all other good actions

[1] A town in the Sītāpūr district of Oude on the left bank of the Gūmtī Jarrett II 176 and Oude Gazetteer

When the purport of the representations of the officials became known to H M, he, who is a world opening key, determined that the thorny tree of the seditious should be destroyed, root and branch, by the strong blast of severity before it raised its head to the sky and had become firmly planted Accordingly an order was issued for the assembling of an army, and in order that there should be no delay, Mun'im Khān was dispatched as an advance-force with a body of gallant men During these few days H M personally engaged himself, *from early morning till the end of day*, in *preparing* an equipment for the army A force was soon made ready such as that the swift steed of imagination could not enumerate by careering in the arena of computation When the troops upon troops of soldiers were gathered together under the shadow of the sphere-touching banners, H M directed that the military and other elephants should be brought into the field Out of them 2,000 were chosen to accompany the army

When H M had obtained leisure for necessary duties he made over the government of Agra to Tarsun Khān, and on the day of Tīr the 13th Khardad, Divine month, corresponding to Thurday 23 Shawwāl (24th May, 1565) he put the foot of dominion in the stirrup of fortune and crossed the Jamna As the season was excessively hot, the army marched at night time, and came, stage by stage, to Qanauj Mun'im Khān Khan Khānān, who had gone on in advance, there tendered his homage Qiya Khan, who from his evil star had come into the faction
252 of the rebels, obtained through the intercession of the Khān Khānan the privilege of kissing the foot of the throne Inasmuch as the granting of life is part of H M s nature, his numerous crimes were cast into the whirlpool of forgiveness and he was comforted by favours, and restored to his former position of confidence From there H M proceeded to the bank of the Ganges, and ten days were occupied in crossing the army At this time the imperial scouts brought the news that Iskandar Khān had on hearing the reverberation of the march of the royal army established himself in Lucknow On hearing of this audacity, the wrath of the Shāhinshah decided that he should march quickly there and personally chastise that wretch Accordingly he left Khwāja Jahān Muzaffar Khān, M'uin Khān and others of the officers in the camp, and at midnight went off on horseback He spent one night and one day on the march, and at dawn on the second day

the dust of the army rose up from the territory of Lucknow and became the collyrium of fortune's eye. An order was given that Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh, Shujā'at Khān and other heroes should proceed as the vanguard. Sikandar Khān, who from brainlessness and rashness had settled himself in Lucknow, became confused on hearing of the royal march, and strewing the dust of shame on his head took to flight. H.M. cast the shadow of fortune over Lucknow and reposed there. He appointed some gallant and capable men to continue[1] the chase, and those brave men followed up the fugitives, and wherever they fell in with them they with the glittering sword cast earth into the cup of their heads. Sikandar Khān escaped half-dead and joined 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur Khān. The prisoners had to stop on account of the exhaustion of their horses. 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, who were facing Majnūn Khān and Āṣaf Khān became shaken on hearing of this event. They withdrew from the siege of Mānikpūr and went in confusion to Jaunpūr. They drove their families before them and crossed the Ganges at the ford of Narhan.[2] They took refuge on the other side in places[3] difficult of access. H.M. tarried in Lucknow till he was joined by the camp. Thereafter he marched on slowly and continuously to Jaunpūr. When the stone was removed from the path, Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān and the other officers who were confronting 'Alī Qulī Khān entered on the highway of loyalty and joined H M.'s army two stages from Jaunpūr. They brought suitable gifts Among these, the presents of Āṣaf Khān,
which consisted of the rarities of the country (Garha) and included 258
warlike elephants and Persian and Turkish horses, were approved of by H.M , and the splendour of his favour shone upon the field of his hopes. From the time when Āṣaf Khan had by the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune conquered the territory of Garha, and obtained possession of the treasures of Cauragarha, he had drilled his troops so that they should be worthy of H M 's inspection. He now begged that he might now bring them before him, and as it is H.M 's excel-

[1] *tagamishī* The word is not in Steingass, but see Vullers I 453a, who quotes S de Sacy's note N et E IX 181. The Lucknow edition has a good note on the word

[2] Narhan in Champāran Jarett II 156 n

[3] *samīnhāī qalb* Bayāzīd says that the place was called Kandnā and that it was near the Son

lent habit to grant the petitions of the loyal, his request was grant and his hopes were gratified

Next day, when the Prince of the East (the sun) had sat on th throne of the fourth heaven and shed light upon earth, and the so diers of the night had been dispersed, Āṣaf Khān showed his army nearly 5,000 horse in a plain which was broad as the palm of the gen us of stoics, and open as the forehead of the generous He was mad the recipient of royal favours, and next day, which was the 3rd da of Tir, Divine month, *corresponding to Friday 14 Zi-l hajja (13 July* the standards were unfurled in Jaunpur The quarters inside th fort were made auspicious by the royal advent, and H M addresse ed himself towards the improvement of that country which ha been laid waste by the oppression of the rebels As 'Ali Quli Khā and the others had fled and crossed the Ganges, Āṣaf Khān and som officers of mark, such as Majnūn Khān and Shāh M hammad Khā Qandahāi were dispatched after them For the sake of greater cau tion and in order to keep up the prestige of the sovereignty the roya insignia [1] were placed under the charge of Wazir Jamil and sent to assist the imperial forces so that the officers might be able to perform the *kornish* and pay their due respects, and be zealous in service 'Ali Quli Khān and the disaffected officers had gone to a rugged place (*jai qalb*) [2] near Hajipur and entrenched themselves They applied for help to the black fated Afghans such as Sulaimān Kararānī, who had obtained the government of Bengal Fath Khān Bitani [3] (?) and hi brother Hasan Khan who was governor of Rohtas They were in the act of applying for such assistance when H M resolved to send one of his confidants to Sulaimān Kararani to deter him from joining them. Hāji Muhammad Khān Sistāni, who was distinguished for address and eloquence, was sent upon this service When he approached Rohtās a number of contumacious Afghans who were in league with the rebels forbade him to go to Bengal and took him before 'Ali Quli Khan

254 As Haji Muhammad Khān had old relations with 'Ali Quli Khan, and

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[1] *qūr bādshāhī* Blochmann 50 n4 and see *ul* 473 for account of Wazir Jamil Beg Apparently the *qūr* was sent in order to inspire awe, or perhaps to make the rebels believe that Akbar was with the army

[2] Kandna It was on the other side of the river from Hajipur

[3] The text has Batnī but the word is Bataní referring to the Afghan tribe Bitani See Jarrett II 402, 403, and Blochmann 204 n 1 and 476

the latter was desirous of gaining him over, he treated him with respect When he found that there was no hope of his being won over he put him under arrest Hāji Muhammad Khān did not let go the thread of loyalty and service, but continually gave him good advice. The first result of Hāji Muhammad's Khān's detention among the rebels was that he deterred 'Ali Quli from dangerous acts and induced him to enter the straight path of obedience Accordingly in the end he brought him and his mother to the sublime threshold, as will be recorded hereafter

One of the occurences was the dispatch of Hasan Khān Khazānci (treasurer) to Orissa, which is a territory lying to the S E of India. From the time that India was conquered, none of the princes had raised his standard over Orissa. The rulers of that country had always been powerful, and the Rajah who was now ruling them was especially so From the time when the Afghans had stretched their hand out over Bengal they had continually planted in the gardens of their aspirations the wishing tree of the conquest of Orissa, but it never bore fruit For on the borders thereof there were dangerous passes and lofty mountains, and heights and declivities innumerable, and difficult forests so that grasping hands of princes could not reach it. It is difficult for armies to tread on that soil Whenever any of the competitors for Bengal took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannāth, the ruler of Bengal could not lay hands on him For example, Ibrāhim Sur, who has been already mentioned, took refuge with the Rajah of Jagannāth, and the latter assigned him a tract of Orissa for his subsistence. Though Sulaimān Kararānī exerted himself he could not put him down On the contrary he was continually alarmed by him At this time, when Jaunpur was H M 's station, his sagacious mind, which[1] extracts the account of the morrow from the diary of to-day, determined to send one of his confidants to the Rajah in order to range him by gracious means in the lists of the obedient. Hasan Khān Khazānci was chosen for this service, and Mahāpā ttar, who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry, and of music, was sent along with him The two went together to Orissa.[2] As soon as the Rajah heard of the

[1] A slight variation of the phrase used above with reference to Khān Kilān, page of text 242

[2] Blochmann 611 n Mutamad Khan says he knew the Oriya language, so probably he came from Orissa. He was formerly in the ser- · Bahadur Shāh of Gujrāt.

5 Shāhinshāh's favours he sent out to welcome the visitors and had them brought with honour to his city. He treated them properly, and having bound the girdle of service on the waist of his soul he represented that if Sulaimān did not insert the ring of submission to the sublime court in his mental ear, he would collect an army and bring Ibrāhim, who was Sulaimān's competitor, against Bengal He would do such things to Sulaimān that he would be a warning to all strife mongers. After the Rajah had entertained Ḥasan Khān and Mahāpāttar for three months, he selected elephants of note and other valuable presents and sent them to court. Ḥasan Khān, Mahāpāttar and the ambassador of Rajah Mukund Deo, who was called Rai Parmānand, had the honour of paying homage at Nagarcīn when the imperial *cortège* had come there from Jaunpūr.

One of the events which occurred when the camp was at Jaunpūr was the flight[1] of Khwāja ʿAbdu-l-majīd Āṣaf Khān. Good God! the worldly who are not right-thinking cast themselves into destruction by their own efforts, and give such proceedings the name of policy! One of the great misfortunes is that along with their presumption and ingratitude they shake like willows with regard to their own prosperity, and from some slight suspicion do to themselves in a moment a mischief that a thousand enemies could not accomplish. Thus Āṣaf Khān, out of haste and volatility, committed an act whose shamefulness could not be removed by the labours of all the writers in the world. Though the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh pardoned those faults and so cleansed the cheek of shame from the dust of crime, yet the mark of them remained. The point of this preamble is that Āṣaf Khān, who after having been appointed to high office had lately been honoured by the command of a victorious army, had, owing to the fact that fear attaches to the skirt of the perfidious, been carried away by the tale-bearings of strife-mongers, and had disregarded the preservation of his position, and from a vain terror fled to Garha. The brief account of this affair is that from the time when Āṣaf Khān conquered the territory of Garha and had taken possession of the treasures of Cauragarha and had basely and ungratefully concealed them from his king and benefactor, by whose favour he had been advanced from the

1 According to Bayāzīd and the Tab Akbarī Āṣaf Khān was frightened by Muẓaffar Khān's making inquiries about the Garha treasure.

pen to the standard *az qalm-b-'ilm* ("from pen to panoply"), and had thereby prepared the materials of his own downfall, he had continually been under apprehensions Though he, from not understanding matters, had sent bribes to the royal clerks, yet this had no success 250 as nothing but earth (*i e*, death) will fill the greedy maw of such covetous ones They were always uttering dark hints At the time when he brought his excellent army before H M, and was treated with royal favours, the grandees were moved to envy and framed fictions and falsehoods Inexperienced and unintelligent friends and chattering strife-mongers made one into a thousand and caused Āṣaf Khān to lose heart. At last, on 3 Mihr Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 20 Safar 973 (16th September, 1565), he left his tents and goods and went off to Garha with his brother Wazīr Khān and some friends, and did not turn back until he reached there In the morning the well-wishers who had been named as his comrades reported the circumstance to H M Their representation arrived at Jaunpūr at the time when H M. was enjoying the pleasure of hunting He appointed Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to the charge of the army, and appointed Shujā'at Khān and some brave men to pursue Āṣaf Khān Shujā'at Khān arrived at Manikpur and searched for 'Aṣaf Khān He learnt that he had reached Karra and was preparing to go to Garha Shujā'at Khān secured boats and was meditating the crossing of the river. On the other side 'Āṣaf Khān got information of the coming of Shujā'at Khān and turned back with his army in order to stop Shujā'at Khān on the riverbank The boats had nearly reached the shore when Āṣaf Khān proceeded to oppose them A hot engagement took place between him and the troops who were in the boats On that day the interview was carried on up to evening by means of arrows and bullets When night threw her dark veil over mortals, Āṣaf Khān thought flight his best resource and went off during the night. When at dawn Shujā'at Khān heard of the flight of 'Āṣaf Khān, he got quickly into boats and crossed the river and went off in pursuit He came up with a party who had been left behind by Āṣaf Khān and learnt that it would be exceedingly difficult to reach him So he turned his reins and came and did homage He was exalted by kissing the threshold at Jaunpur.

Some of the occurrences was the sending of Qulij Khān a second time to Rohtās It has already been related that H.M had sent

7 Qulīj Khān to conciliate Fatḥ Khān and to confirm him in his allegiance He arranged that when the imperial forces reached Jaunpūr, Fatḥ Khān should come to do homage and should bring with him the elephant Bakht Buland at the time then H M was sent again for this purpose A fresh reason for this was that, before the imperial troops had left the capital, Sulaimān had sent an army to Rohtās in order that he might get possession of it with the help of 'Alī Qulī Khān Sulaimān's army had, with the assistance of 'Alī Qulī Khān, reduced Fath Khān to straits when the news arrived of the approach of the imperial army Thereupon Sulaimān's army withdrew from the siege, and Fath Khān, who was nothing if not two faced, when the neighbourhood of the fort was free from the molestation of Sulaiman's army engaged in collecting munitions and stores He also sent secretly a message to his brother Ḥasan Khān, who had entered into service along with Qulīj Khān, to the effect that he was now at ease about provisions and that Hasan Khān should by every possible means come to Rohtās As it was difficult for Hasan Khān to come openly, he had recourse to stratagem, and represented that some high official should be sent along with him so that they might go to Rohtās and might bring his brother to the king with the keys of the fort Accordingly Qulīj Khān was chosen for this service He set about carrying out the commands and arrived at Rohtas Though Fath Khān made hypocritical representations yet they were false Qulīj Khān perceived their worthlessness and returned As the taking of that fortress and the conquest of the whole of the Eastern provinces belong to another time I shall not treat of them at present

When Alī Qulī Khān had for a long time sat down in front of the victorious army and done nothing but strew on his head the dust of disappointment, he employed the time, which was one for shame and repentance, in developing still further his rebellion and disaffection He sent Sikandar Khān, Bahadur Khān and a body of troops to the territory of Sarwar in order that they might then ravage and plunder, When H M heard of this he appointed Shah Budāgh Khān 'Sāid Khān Qiyā Khan, Husain Khān (i e H K Tukriya), Bāqī Khān Maṭlab Khān, Maʿsum Khān Farankhudi, Calma Khān, Muhammad Amin Diwana, Beg Nuru d din Selim Khān, and Fattū Afghān made the leadership of Mīr Muizzu l mulk and directed that the army may

158 bar the path of the rebels and not suffer the dust of disappointment

settle on that country The imperial troops did not halt till they reached the pargana Khairābād. When H M the Shāhinshāh had administered such a remedy for the rebellious madness of 'Alī Qulī Khān, he proceeded to Allahabad 'Ali Quli Khān had thought that by sending his troops as above stated, he would cause a dispersion of the imperial army When he was disappointed in this, he turned to deceit and hypocrisy and began by sending to Mun'im Khān Bibi[1] Sarv Qad, a woman who had been distinguished in the service of H M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar), and who reminded him of their old friendship After that he sent experienced men to propose a reconciliation. Mun'im Khān in his simplicity, and on account of his being an old servant, withheld his hand from extirpating the disobedient He put faith in 'Ali Quli's deceitful words and made a representation to court, strongly recommending that the propositions should be accepted. H H the Shāhinshāh, though he was fully aware of 'Ali Quli's evil nature, accepted, from his perfect kindness and liberality, the Khan Khānān's representations and sent Khwāja Ghiyāsu d din 'Ali of Qazwīn to impress his princely graciousness (on 'Ali Quli) and to ascertain and report about what transpired at the meeting (between Mun'im Khān and 'Ali Quli)

When Mun'im Khān was distinguished by this great favour he wrote to 'Ali Quli Khān to the effect that they two should have an interview without the intervention of messages or messengers, and lay the foundation of sincerity and service As there was a report at that time that some of the devoted heroes such as 'Aādil Khān and Jamāl Khān Bilūc had resolved that they would lie in wait and finish off the scoundrel, 'Ali Quli Khān was very cautious about coming to see Mun'im Khān, and wished that the subject of a reconciliation should be carried on by letters and messengers Mun'im Khān did not agree to this and at last it was arranged that they should meet in the middle of the river, attended by two or three persons Accordingly 'Ali Quli Khān left his family where they were, and came with his army and boats towards the ferry of Causā and pitched his tents at

1 This apparently comes from Bayāzīd who calls her Aghāī Sarv Qad She was with Mun'im when he died and apparently was his wife or mistress Perhaps she is the Sarv bahī of Gulbadan Begam a Memoir and who went with Gulbadan B to Mecca A N III 145.

Baksar opposite the camp [1] of the Khān Khānan. Ḥasan Batanī Sulaimān Mankalī, Kālā Pahār, officers of the Afghans, were with him Messages and messengers passed between the parties, renewing the propositions of concord on both sides Next day 'Alī Qulī Khān got into a boat, accompanied by three men, viz, Shahriyār Kal who was
259 distinguished for courage, Sulṭān Muhammad Mirāb, and his qurci who had the name of Āhū-i haram [2] (the gazelle of the harem), and proceeded towards the Khān Khānān's camp From the other side the Khān-Khānan also got into a boat, accompanied by three persons, viz Mirzā Ghiyāṣu d dīn, 'Alī Bāyazīd Beg, and Mīr Khān [3] the ghulam of Sulṭān Muhammad Qabaq,[4] who was relied upon by Mun'im Khān, and went to meet 'Alī Qulī Khān

The banks of the river were lined by the two armies When the boats nearly met in the middle of the stream,[5] Alī Qulī Khān rose up and said "Kaifīyat [6] Legh" and "Peace be upon you"

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[1] Mun'im Khān was encamped at Narainpur which Bayāzīd says, was opposite Baksar and belonged to pergana Muḥammadābad and district of Jaunpūr

[2] Bayāzīd seems to call him Beg Qūrci Āhu i-haram is a name applied to a favourite youth or damsel In Hilālī's poem of the king and the beggar B M.M S Add 7781 p 20 he says that the pariah dog of the palace-environs is equal to an āhū-i haram, i.e, to a royal favourite See Ethe's translation Leipzig 1870 line 443.

[3] Bayāzīd has Manīr Khān

[4] The text has Rafiq but the variant Qabaq has the support of Bayāzīd The Bayāzīd Beg of the text is the memoirs-writer He has described the interview, and A F has evidently used his narrative.

[5] The text has jazīra-i-āb the peninsula of the river, and the phrase seems to be a reference to Bayāzīd's phrase the middle of the Ganges and Jamna" but of course the meeting took place far below the junction of these rivers Cf the use of the word Jamna at A.N III, 417, l 9 Probably A F uses the word jazīra in the sense of block or portion The phrase might be paraphrased as in the middle of the sheet of water"

[6] The Lucknow ed says Legh means master, and a note to the Bib Ind. text has adopted this explanation In Bayāzīd 123a the words are kaifast lagh Possibly it is a contraction of اولغ Ulugh great One variant is kaif akhī, "How is my brother? Bayāzīd seems to have kaifast Perhaps then the meaning is, "How is the lord or How do you do? Perhaps the legh is the Turki affix used to signify abundance Erskine renders it "All hail." Though A F seems to use Bayāzīd, he seems also to have had another authority Perhaps it was Ghiāṣu-d-dīn's report. It was Bayāzīd who supplied

Then he sprang into Mun'im Khān's boat and they embraced one another and sate down The time of meeting passed partly in hypocritical[1] weeping, and partly in 'Ali Quli's describing how he had sold service (i e, what work he had done for Akbar)

Some time, too, was spent in taking oaths and in making engagements After that it was agreed that Mirzā Ghiāsu-d-din 'Ali should go to the Shāhinshāh and represent the state of matters, and request that H M should also send Khwāja Jahan[2]—by whose counsels the affairs of state were managed—in order that 'Ali Quli Khān's mind might be fully set at rest, and that he might from the bottom of his heart make promises of loyalty After these arrangements they separated, each going to his own camp This affair took place in the beginning of Dai, Divine month, December 1565 M Ghiāsu d-din 'Ali went to court and reported the circumstances, and H M sent Khwāja Jahān agreeably to Mun im Khān's request On the next day, after the interview with 'Ali Quli Khān, Mun im Khān crossed the river with a select party and proceeded to 'Ali Quli Khān's quarters Shāham Khān Jalāir, the Mir Munshi, Haidar Muhammad Khan Ākhta Begi, Kucak 'Ali Khan Taimur Ikka and a number of others were with him 'Ali Quli Khān gave a great entertainment, and was very hospitable Afterwards Mun im Khan returned to his own quarters Subsequently Khwāja Jahan came, and Mun im Khan wished to take him with him and to go a second time to 'Ali Quli Khān Khwaja Jahān remonstrated and plainly said that 'Ali Quli Khān was a man (*jawan*) without moderation, and was displeased with him He did not think it advisable to go to his quarters. If Mun'im Khān was bent upon their going, he should take pledges for their security Mun'im Khan asked for Ibrāhim Khan Uzbeg as a pledge from 'Ali Quli Khan and obtained him Next day Mun im Khān and Khwaja Jahān went and had an interview with 'Ali Quli Khān in his quarters, and next day they had another meeting in Ibrāhim Khān s quarters Majnun Khan Qaqshal Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and Mirza Beg[3] were present at this meeting, and a reconciliation

the Koran for the two chiefs to swear upon

[1] Bayazid says they wept about the death of Humāyūn as they had not met since then

[2] i.e Aminu-d-din Blochmann 424

[3] Nephew of Khwāja Jahan and a poet Blochmann 424

took place between them and 'Alī Qulī Khān. Although much was said about 'Alī Qulī Khān's going to court, no effect was produced, 360 and from his deceitfulness he would not consent to kiss the threshold. He said that when he had shown so much ingratitude, he had not the courage to go. He would now send his mother and Ibrāhīm Khān, who was a grey-beard among them. When he had done good service, he would himself attend. After much discussion this arrangement was agreed to.

Next day 'Alī Qulī Khān sent his mother, and Ibrāhīm Khān and some noted elephants such as Bāl Sundar and Acapla (?)[1] and others by Mir Hādi Niẓām Āqā. He also sent Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī who was a sort of prisoner. The Khān-Khānān and Khwāja Jahān left the army on the river-bank, and, taking with them 'Alī Qulī's mother, Ibrāhīm Khān and the presents, proceeded to court.

The Khān Khānān had a sword and shroud hung round Ibrāhīm Khān's neck, and had his head and feet bared, and so brought him into the Presence. Through his intercession the pen of forgiveness was drawn over the varied offences of those ill-fated ones. The holy tongue dropped these words: "Though it is plain that these evil-starred ones will not adhere to their promises, yet as we love to please you, their offences have been forgiven. Their fiefs will be given to them as before, but so long as the imperial standards are in this neighbourhood for the purpose of hunting and recreation, 'Alī Qulī Khān must not cross the Ganges to this side. When the court is established at Agra, their agents will come and get the patents for their fiefs put in order. They will thereupon enjoy their fiefs in accordance with the orders that shall be passed." The Khān-Khānān was exalted to the pinnacle of glory by the royal favour, and an order was issued that the sword and shroud should be removed from Ibrāhīm Khān's neck. The good news of pardon were[3] conveyed to 'Alī Qulī Khān's mother, who was in the Shāhinshāh's harem and had cast her face into the dust of lamentation, and was waiting for the royal forgiveness. As the transactions of those unworthy

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[1] Ibrāhīm was Khān Zamān's paternal uncle.

[2] qu. Acala, i.e., immovable (?).

[3] *Rasānand* Apparently A.F. means that Akbar personally gave the good news, and Mu'tamid Khān takes this view.

wretches were hypocritical—as is not unknown to the acute and intelligent—the world adorning Deity willed that the evil inner nature of these ingrates might be impressed on the simple-minded.

Some days after they had the bliss of doing homage, news came of the battle of Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk and the other great officers. The particulars of this occurrance are that when Bahādur Khān and Sikandar Khān had, at the instigation of 'Alī Qulī Khān, stirred up the dust of strife in Sarkār Sarwār,[1] a large force suddenly arrived from the imperial camp. On hearing of this they got confused and lost courage and had recourse to deceit and fraud. They sent a message 261
to Mīr M'uizzu l-mulk and the other officers asking how it was reasonable to suppose that they were going to oppose the imperial forces and engage in battle. Their desire was that they (*i e*, the imperial officers) should be the intermediaries for cleansing their offences, and they were sending to court noted elephants which had come into their possession by the king's good fortune, and were such as H.M. loved. And when it appeared that their faults had been washed by the limpid waters of forgiveness, which flowed from the sea of his graciousness, they too would come and ask for pardon. As Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk and the other officers knew the deceitfulness of the set, they rejected their overtures (*lit.* put the mark of rejection on the forehead of the wish of those wretches) and wrote in reply that the record of their crimes was not of a nature to be expunged from the register of time save by the bloody deluge (*ṭūfān*) of the shining sword. Bahādur Khān again sent a message to Mīr M'uizzu l-mulk and requested that they should have an interview and discuss matters face to face. Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk agreed and came out of his camp with a few followers. Bahādur Khān also came out from his, attended by a few men, and embraced the Mīr. Proposals on both sides were submitted, but as deceit was patent on the foreheads of the contumacious, peace was not established, and the time passed in futile talk.

When the state of the matters was reported to H.M., he issued an order that Lashkar[2] Khan and Rāja Todar Mal should join the

[1] Blochmann 381 n 1. Perhaps the Saror of Jarrett II 185, Elliot takes it to be Surkārpūr in Faiẓābad

[2] Blochmann 407

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Dās, Dāūd Khān Faujdār, and others. On the other side the rebels were in three bodies: one under Bahādur Khān, one under Iskandar Khān, and one under Muhammad Yār, brother's[1] son of Sikandar. This last was in the van. A hot engagement ensued. The enemy's vanguard had the advantage somewhat, when the reserve-vanguard showed courage and drove it off. Muhammad Yār was killed and many others of the enemy perished. Sikandar, who was behind the vanguard with a chosen force, turned and fled, followed by the victors who slew whomever they reached, until they came to the bank of a black piece of water.

Sikandar, in fear of his life, cast himself into the black water and brought out his head from the black earth[2] (*siāh*). Many of his best soldiers went down in that slough of darkness. The victorious troops, who had pursued Sikandar, dispersed in order to plunder the fugitives. Bahādur Khān was in ambush with a body of men and came upon the left wing at this time of seizing and snatching. A battle took place and Shāh Budagh Khān fell from his horse, and was made a prisoner. His son 'Abdu-l-mattalib did not obtain the glory of good service, and Nāṣir Qulī and a number of ingrates strewed the dust of faithlessness on their heads and joined the enemy. Bahādur drove off the force and then proceeded against the centre. The centre, without fighting, let fall the thread of war from its hand and chose the disgrace of flight. Muhammad Bāqī Khān[3] withdrew himself under the pretext of guarding the baggage, and sundry persons from hypocrisy and treachery did not fight and turned their backs. Owing to their misconduct the army which had conquered was defeated Rajah Todar Mal, Qiyā Khān, 'Itmād Khān and the men of the reserve-vanguard gathered together and stood their ground, but as the army was in confusion there was not a successful result. This was the consequence of presumption!

[1] Bayāzīd has "sister's son" and the T.A. says he was Sikandar's son-in law.

[2] Apparently the piece of water was lake or morass Sikandar struggled out of the mud and water, but many of his followers were drowned or slain. Badāūnī, according to the Bib Ind ed, makes Sikandar cross the river Siyah (the Sye?)

[3] This is Adham Khān's elder brother.

army with his men If they considered that fighting was the proper course, they were to take part, if it seemed advisable to accept the petitions of the rebels, they were not to allow them to despair of the royal clemency When these two loyal servants arrived with their troops, they at once sent a message to the rebels to the effect that if their protestations of devotion, etc, were genuine they should honestly proceed to court Otherwise, it was not manly to waste time and to put their hands to deceit As their hearts and their tongues were not in accord, they were not guided aright They waxed still bolder in their contumacy near Khairābād,[1] and as the imperial army was not aware of the intreaties of 'Alī Qulī and of the graciousness announced by the Shāhinshāh, and also as the first body of troops had displayed indifference to fighting, the Rajah[2] and Lashkar Khān determined upon war and drew up their forces The centre was officered by Mīr M'uizzu l mulk, Itmād Khān khwājasarā (eunuch), Mīr 'Alī[3] Akbar, Rājah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān Daulat Khān Faujdār and others, the right wing by Qiyā Khān, Hasan Akhta, Sher Sultān, Rajah Mattar Sen, Karamsai[4] (?), Mihr 'Alī son of Ustad Yusuf and others the lef wing by Bāqī Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Mattalib[5] Khān, Fattu, Nāṣir Qulī Uzbeg and others. The vanguard was under Muhammad Amīn Dīwāna, M'ṣum Khān Fa-
262 rankhudi, Qatlaq Qidam Khān, Shāh Fanāī, Sad Rahamat Uzbeg, Qalmāq Bahādur, and others. The reserve vanguard (*iltmish*) was under Khān 'Aalam, Hindū Beg Moghal, Rai Sāl[6] Darbāri, Rai Patr

[1] Jarrett II 177 and Oude Gazetteer

[2] See Blochmann's account of the battle in his notice of M'uizzu l mulk 381

[3] M'uizzu l mulk's younger brother Blochmann 382

[4] He is mentioned again along with Rām Cand under the year 985 A.N III 201 Perhaps he is the Karm Cand of the Tūzuk and is a grandson of Bhārī Mal cf Blochmann 387 n 1

[5] So in text but Blochmann 403 has Matlab

[6] Rai Sāl Darbārī B 419 where he is called the son of Rai Mall Shaikhāwat But according to Tod's Annals of Rajāsthān II chapter on Ambar he was the son of Sūja and apparently the grandson of Rai Mall Tod has a long and interesting account of his advancement He is often mentioned in the A N Vol III and at p 809 he is stated to have been raised to the rank of 2500 in the 47th year of the reign He was also employed under Jahāngīr

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Those misunderstanding ones did not perceive with what perfect knowledge the Lord of the Age had directed a conciliatory course Whoever acts in this way has himself to thank for the result.[1]

263 Next day the dispersed soldiers reassembled and proceeded towards Qanauj The leaders sent representations descriptive of what had occurred H M., who is a mine of clemency, passed over such grave offences, inasmuch as he had lately overlooked other offences, and sent for the officers Those who appeared to have behaved with insincerity remained in disgrace and were debarred from the bliss of doing *kornish*, while the sincere were, in spite of the condition they were in, rewarded by special favours.

One of the occurrences of this time was that, when H.M was in Jaunpūr, Sher Muḥammad Dīwāna[2] set to plundering Samāna[3] and soon got the punishment due to his actions This ill omened wretch was one of the servants of Khwājah M'uazzam Afterwards he entered into the service of Bairām Khan, who made him a favourite on instant of his good looks In the time of Bairām's power he held a confidential position, but when adversity came he took the path of ingratitude Something of this has been already said in its proper place. As H M is a fountain of justice, though the desertion was advantageous to himself, yet he could not approve of it as such vile conduct is the worst of qualities in a man So Sher Muḥammad did not become a *persona grata*. For some time he lived in the town of Sāmāna. When 'Alī Qulī Khān and a number of others rebelled, and H M 's forces marched to extinguish the flames of their sedition, this predestined wretch collected a crowd of vagabonds, and proceeded to make a disturbance Mulla Nūru-d-din Muḥammad Tarkhān, who was the faujdār of that part of the country, had left one Mir Dost Muhammad in Sāmāna to manage the affairs of the pargana One day that scoundrel invited Dost Muḥammad to his house, and, in the very midst of the entertainment, was sharpening the arrow (for his destruction) Suddenly, while the feast was going on, he put the arrow into the notch (curve) of the bow and struck that innocent man in the breast and killed him He

[1] *Lit* Whoever meets with such a result, what he sees he sees of him self I am not sure of the meaning

[2] Blochmann 524

[3] In Sarkār Sirhind, J II 296

then laid hold of all the goods and chattels which were in that *par gana* and rushed off to *pargana* Mâler[1] He killed likewise the Shiqdâr of that pargana, which appertained to the exchequer lands, and seized whatever property was there Vagabonds flocked round him and he made incursions into the provinces, till at length Mullâ Nurû d din collected a number of men and set about putting him down The madman was enjoying himself in the village of Dhanuri[2] (?) which is on the borders of Samâna On hearing of the arrival of Mullâ Nuru d-din he did not make much account of it and proceeded to attack the Mullâ with a small force 264

In the moment of the attack his horse struck against the trunk of a tree and fell A number of men ran on foot and seized him The Mullâ put the ill-omened madman to death, and was rewarded by princely favours[3]

One of the occurrences was that H M visited Chunar from Jaunpûr. As the Shâhinshâh's natural disposition is to forgive injuries, he, at the urgency and intercession of Mun'im Khân Khân Khânan, drew the pen of pardon over the record of the crimes of 'Ali Quli Khân and other rebellious lords, and then was struck by the idea of seeing Benares and the fortress of Chunar, which is one of the celebrated forts of India. With this intention he left Âshraf Khân in charge of Jaunpur and marched off on the day of Dai ba mihr 15 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 3 Rajab, 24th January, 1566. In three marches he reached Benares and shed the lights of justice over all the inhabitants thereof He ordered his camp to halt there, and went on with some chosen followers to Chunar He surveyed the inside and outside of the fort and received inward and outward pleasure Meanwhile the hunters brought the glad news of elephants being in the forests in the neighbourhood of the fort, and he proceeded with a number of special attendants to search in these forests. After exploring about two *kos* they came upon a herd of elephants He directed that those mountain like forms should be surrounded on all sides

[1] Text Mâlez, and variant Mâlner See Jarrett II 296

[2] So written by Blochmann Perhaps the variant Danbûri is right

[3] Badâûnî speaks of Nûru d-din having the fief of Safîdûn in Sirhind He died in poor circumstances Badâûnî III 197

and then following out the rules of hunting, ten elephants were captured

Their necks were bound by strong ropes, and they were brought along with the tame elephants to the fortress From there he returned to his camp at Benares.

One of the occurrences was H.M the Shâhinshâh's making a rapid expedition against the Khân Zamân. As he is a talisman of constant wakefulness he perceives every Divine and material truth even before they reveal themselves, and gives indications thereof by the tongue of fate Accordingly at the time when Mun'im Khân opened the lips of
265 supplication and interceded for 'Alî Quli Khân, H M. said "We pardon him, but it will be surprising if he remain constant in the ways of obedience" And so it turned out in a short space of time For when in accordance with the Khân Khânân's request 'Alî Quli Khân and Bahâdur Khân were granted their fiefs, this was conditional upon Khân Zamân's not crossing the river while H M's camp was in the neighbourhood[1] It was also stipulated that when the royal standards returned to the capital their agents should come there and have the patents (title-deeds) passed through the offices, and that thereupon possession of the fiefs was to be given, On the very day when H M was proceeding to Benares and Chunar, 'Alî Quli Khân crossed the river and came to Muhammadâbâd, and sent men to Ghâzipûr and Jaunpûr H M had returned from hunting and had halted at Benares when the news came that the wretch had broken his compact and crossed the Ganges The world melting wrath of the Shâhinshâh blazed forth, and the disloyalty of those blackfated ones, which he had winked at, became manifest He spoke in an imperious manner to Mun'im Khân about their conduct The Khân Khânan was completely confused and hung down his head His lips were closed and the thread of reply was broken Khwâja Jahân, Mozaffar Khân, Rajah Bhagwant Dâs and a number of the faithful officers were left with the camp, to follow slowly and stage by stage, while H M himself set out on the night of Dai bâdin 23 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Saturday 11 Rajab, 2 Feb 1566, in order to chastise 'Alî Quli Khân His courtiers and devoted followers gathered round and in front of the state umbrella, and vied with each

[1] In Azimgarh

other on their coursers and bore away the ball of swiftness from the north wind and the breeze of morn. Jáfar Khān Taklū and Qāsim Khān were sent against Ghāzīpūr. When they reached the gate of the fort, the ill-fated inmates became aware of their coming and cast themselves down into the river from a bastion which was near it, and went to Muhammadābād, where they informed 'Alī Qulī Khān. He got confused and fled in consternation. When he came to the bank of the Sarwār[1] he and those who were with him got into some boats which were kept there for such an emergency, and carried themselves into safety. The royal cortège crossed, on the night they set out, the Jaunpūr river on elephants.

At the end of the night he halted for some time on his elephant and in the morning set off again. A portion of the day had passed 206
when by marching rapidly they came up with 'Ali Quli's camp. He had left his tents and baggage and taken the road of flight. They went on till the third *pahar*. 'Alī Qulī Khān's elephant Bakht Buland had become *mast* and fell into their hands. Thereafter Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, M. Najāt Khān and a number more were sent on ahead. It was evening when the news came from them that 'Alī Qulī was in the act of crossing the Sarwār. As they had come a great way, and but little of the day remained, a halt was made. At dawn the march was resumed, and on that day Āwāz Khān, son of Islām Khān and brother of Farrakh Husain Khān, left the enemy and joined the imperial forces. The advance-guard arrived at the bank of the river, and seized as the gifts of victory the boats which 'Alī Qulī Khān and his people had left, and which were full of goods. They ascertained from the boatmen the particulars of 'Alī Qulī Khān's adventures, and then the army marched along the bank of the Sarwār. The whole of the country high[2] and low (?) was searched, but no trace could be found of the vagabonds. It has been stated by trustworthy authorities

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[1] This seems to be the Sargū or Gogra.

[2] Text *hamgī bawādī u barārī*. *Wādī* means the valleys and low lands, and *barārī* waste lands or deserts, being the Arabic plural براري The Lucknow edition says they are the names of two villages *Rārī* means in Hindustānī coarse grass and so the meaning may be, they searched the hollows and the prairies But the word *barārī* is used again in the sense of deserts at vol III p 83, line 13

that had 'Alī Qulī Khān been in Muḥammadābād on the night it arrived, the wretch would have been caught. Apparently Mun'im Khān played this trick, as he did not, for his own purposes, wish that 'Alī Qulī should be caught. In the first place, he did not permit a march against him that night, and, secondly, he sent him warning. It became known that 'Alī Qulī had gone to the fort of Cilūpāra[1] by forest-routes. H.M. wisely winked at Mun'im Khān's conduct and took no notice of it. Next day, as there were no boats, and the ford by which that swelling river (the Gogra ?) could be crossed was not known, the army marched along the bank and encamped opposite Cilupāra. Shots[2] were fired on both sides. When 'Alī Qulī knew that H.M. was present in person he left the place. Next day the army marched from there, and going along the river-bank came to Mau[3] and encamped.

On this strange journey forests were traversed and various wild beasts, both land and aquatic, showed themselves. Active young men hunted them. Various kinds of animals came under H.M.'s eye. He bade the soldiers shoot them. As the imperial[4] camp was passing along, river-animals, such as crocodiles, came out of the water and showed themselves on the banks, but when the dust of the army rose up on the distance they returned to the water. There were some animals such that arrows and bullets had no effect on them. In fine, the royal cortège was in the neighbourhood of that town when news came that Bahādur Khān had taken advantage of the opportunity to come to
267 Jaunpūr and rescue his mother. He had also imprisoned Ashraf Khān and meditated an attack on the sublime camp. Accordingly the royal cortège turned back from the bank of the Sarwār and proceeded to the camp.

The particulars of this affair are as follows. When the reverberation of the expedition against 'Alī Qulī Khān reached Sikandar Khān

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[1] Text *Jalūpāra*, but the place is Cilūpāra in Gorakhpūr, Jarrett II 175 where the existence of a fort is mentioned. It is Cilūpara in Bayāzīd.

[2] This is taken from Bayāzīd.

[3] *Mau Nāthbhanjan in Aẓimgarh, fourteen miles from Muḥammadābād.*

[4] Apparently the imperial camp is meant, Akbar's special retinue which was ahead of the main body of the army. Or perhaps it is the advance-camp that is meant.

and Bahādur Khān, and when they heard of 'Alī Qulī's mother's having been seized by Ashraf Khān in Jaunpūr, and were aware that he had not a large force with him, and that it would be a very easy matter to seize the fort of Jaunpūr, they marched rapidly thither. As Ashrāf Khān had not taken steps to strengthen the fort, they burnt the door and entered it. A party also put up ladders on the wall and came in. When Ashraf Khān heard of this, they had already entered Bahādur Khān imprisoned him, and released his mother and took her off with him. Though Jaunpūr had been for a while in his and his brother's fief, and they had many connections with the citizens, he plundered and ill-used the city. After robbing many of the merchants he hastened off to Benares. There too he plundered and then went to Madan Benares, which was known as Zamānya. There news came that the royal standards had returned from following 'Alī Qulī. Sikandar and Bahādur went to the ferry of Narhan, which was their usual crossing, and passed over the Ganges.

When 'Alī Qulī went off at the pressure of the sublime army, and the turmoil caused by Sikandar and Bahādur was brought to the royal hearing, as has been reported, H M. turned his rein on the bank of the Sarwār and proceeded towards his camp, lest, perchance, the agitated dust of the rebels should reach the hem thereof. But the wretches had fled on hearing of his approach, and tranquillity was restored to the people of the camp From there he proceeded towards Jaunpūr. On the day when he reached the town of Nizāmābād[1] the ceremony of weighing H M took place, and there was a great feast Mankind received delight from the Shāhinshāh's bounty and offered up prayers for his long life and reign Thereafter he marched on and arrived at Jaunpur. When this rich city was adorned by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, and there appeared a great remissness on the part of the imperial servants in uprooting the rebels, H M. determined on fixing his residence there until the 268
seditious should be destroyed, root and branch, and tranquillity restored In accordance with the order the nobles and pillars of the empire laid the foundations of grand buildings, and it fell from the

[1] In Jaunpūr, Jarrett II 164. The T.A says the weighing was practised twice viz., on the day, a year, according to the Hijra calendar, and again on the solar day See Blochmann 266

royal lips that until the dust of the existence of the oppressors was removed from the skirt of this province, this city would be the seat of empire An order was issued to all the officers who had gone on leave and were spending their time comfortably on their estates, directing them to enrol themselves in the royal forces in the appointed[1] rendezvous. The army was ordered to pursue the rebels once more, and an order was given not to desist until 'Alī Qulī was captured.

When the facts were known to 'Alī Qulī he sent to court M Mīrak Reẓavī, who was one of his special companions, and represented his grief and pain He made excuses for all his faults and by a thousand subterfuges and smooth speeches he induced Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān to be once more his intercessor. The Khān Khānān, who knew H M 's disposition, had not the courage for this office, and accordingly a number of honoured persons whom H M reverenced on account of his abundant sense of Divine worship, such as Mīr Murtaẓa Sharīfī, Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṭānpūrī, and Shaikh 'Abdu n nabī Ṣadr, were brought forward by him They relying upon the Shāhinshāh's graciousness opened the mouth of intercession at the foot of the throne, and recited anecdotes about forgiveness. That mine of mercy, though he knew that their (the rebels') hearts were not sincere, and that the real object of the rebels was to gain time, yet granted their request out of favour to those ignorant men (the intercessors), and once more pardoned the rebels' offences, on condition that they repented of their evil deeds, and should in future never conceive the idea of opposing the holy will, but should always remain constant in the path of loyalty and devotion. When they showed signs of this, their estates were to be restored to them as formerly The Khān-Khānan and the other grandees returned thanks, and an order was given that Mir Murtaẓa, Maulānā 'Abdullah, and M'ain Khān Farankhudi should go to 'A'i

[1] *Ba bulj̄ār-i-m'ahūd*, *būljār* is given in the dictionaries as a Persian word meaning a place of refuge or of fighting Zenker however gives it as a Turki word and as meaning the gathering place of an army See also P de Courteille Another form is *mulj̄ār* and this is the word used by Badāūnī II 190, Blochmann 242 note 4. Mulcār or Malcār is the form in Bādshāhnāma I Part II p 109, top line, etc and apparently the word was often used to mean an intrenchment or place of refuge

Quli Khan and confirm him in his repentance, and also give him the good news of pardon. H. M. thereupon renounced his intention of staying in Jaunpur, and decided upon returning. On the day of Din 24 Isfandārmaz Divine month, corresponding to Monday 11 Shábān, 3rd March 1566, the march from Jaunpur to Agra began. In one week the camp reached Mānikpur and encamped on the bank of the Ganges. The officers in accordance with H. M.'s orders made a bridge over so great a river in one day, such as that the camp could cross by. (At the time when H. M. was returning to the capital, Ju- 269
naid Kararāni, brother's son of Sulaimān and son of 'Imād, obtained the bliss of kissing the threshold, and was encompassed by princely favours.

CHAPTER LIX.

Beginning of the 11th Ilāhī year, to wit, the year Bahman of the first cycle.

A thousand thanksgivings that the spring of dominion has revived, and that the banner of the New Year has been upreared! The world has anew turned her face towards equability, and the elemental forces have assumed fresh power.

Verse.[1]

Clouds changed garden-dust into Tartar-musk,
The zephyr quickened the fire of the rose,
The blossoming branch became a ball of camphor,
The dark hyacinth changed into burning aloes of Qamār,
By the feet of the maidens of the garden-pavilion
Dust became like mirror holding water,
'Twas the season of love-glances and beauty-worship
The season of blossoms and of wine-drinking
The rosebud and narcissus have joined hands
Strive to commit your heart to an alert hand

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[1] The verses are rather obscure and the fancies are, as usual farfetched, but the notes of the Lucknow editor are helpful The first line means that the clouds by discharging rain on the garden have evoked fragrance and so made the soil into musk of Tartary The fire of the rose is poetic for its red colour The comparison of the blossoms to a ball of camphhor may remind us of Ômar Khayyām's expression of the white hand of Moses on the bough The hyacinth, or the spikenard, has become fragrant, and so seems as if it were burning the aloes of Qamār, i e, the best aloes The earth has assumed the appearance of bright mirror like water from being covered by a profusion of white flowers Or perhaps *azpai* means "for the sake of" and the interpretation is that the earth has become a mirror for the use of the garden maidens, that is the flowers The lines are Faizī's and occur in his *diwan* under the letter *sā* See I O MS 3155, p 271*b* There are two more lines in the original at the end, one refers to tulip-adorned wine and the cupbearer's locks, and the other bids Faiẓī guard his heart.

The spring breeze gave like an invisible messenger the glad tidings of victory and fortune The gates of Divine abundance opened for the terrene and terrestrials, and the imperial servants were gladdened by the news of celestial victories After three hours and fifteen minutes of Monday 18 Sh'abān 973, 10th March 1566, the sun entered the Sign of Aries, and the year Bahman, viz, the 11th year of the first cycle began For two or three days Karrah was the exercise ground of the sublime host, and the New Year's feast took place there The Khān-Khānan Mun'im Khān and Mozaffar Khān and others were left there for the settlement of the affairs of Khān Zamān, and for the return of those who had been sent to him, and the royal camp proceeded towards Kālpī, and from thence to the capital On 19th Farwardin, the day of Farwardin, corresponding to Friday 7th Ramẓān, 28th March 1566, the shade of the imperial umbrella descended upon Agra, and thereby the dignity of that spot surpassed the sky After spending some days there, H M went to Nagarcin, which had been built then, and that delightful spot was irradiated by his presence In fine when 270
H M the Shāhinshāh from a regard to his subjects proceeded to Agra, Mun'im Khān and Mozaffar Khān awaited in Karrah the return of the envoys When the latter approached 'Alī Qulī Khān, he went forth to meet them and treated them with respect, and used a glozing tongue He came back to the path of obedience by promises and oaths which are the documents of hypocrites, and then Mun'im Khān and Mozaffar Khān, having been freed from their duties there proceeded, stage by stage, to the capital When they came to Etāwah, Mozaffar Khān, having become suspicious of Mun'im Khān, posted on to the threshold, and was received with favour He explained the double-dealing of the grandees and impressed this on H M. Afterwards Mun'im Khān and the other officers came to Court Lashkar[1] Khān was removed from his office of Bakhshī, and Khwāja Jahān was reprimanded The great seal was taken from him and he was dismissed to Mecca The severity used towards these men, which was the retribution for their deeds, caused greater circumspection on the part of Mun'im Khān The reputation of Mozaffar Khān was increased, and by the mediation of the courtiers,

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[1] B 407 He was Mīr Bakhshī and Mīr 'Arz.

the offences of Khwājah Jahān were forgiven H M the Shāhinshāh personally attended to the administration of affairs, and the result was that the world assumed a new aspect.

One of the occurrences was that H M the Shāhinshāh displayed his world-adorning graciousness to the servants of the sublime threshold, and directed his attention towards the assessment (*jama'*) of the *parganas* In accordance with his orders Mozaffar Khān set aside the *Jama' raqami*[1] (assessment according to kinds of produce?) which had

[1] Cf B 349 the Maaşir III pp 221, 222 and J II 88 The name given to the old settlements in the text is *Jama i-raqamī i-qalmī*, that is, perhaps 'The assessment which was expressed in Raqam or Siyāq characters i.e., in contractions of Arabic words, instead of in Hindi figures See the advertisement prefixed to Gladwin's Revenue Accounts, and Carnegy's Kachchari Technicalities s.v Raqam But, most probably, the word *raqamī* refers to the assessment being made according to the kind of produce. The word *qalmī* perhaps means that the assessment was a paper one and not based on actuals. Blochmann has taken his account from the Maaşir and not directly from the A N., see his note 1 p 349 The Maaşir passage occurs in the notice of Moşaffar Khan and has the words *qalmrūrā* the empire, for *qalmī ra* but it is *qalmī rā* in the I O MSS., and this seems to be correct. B. also has *qalb i-walāyat* which he renders unsettled state of the country but in the A N and also in the Maaşir it is *qillat* paucity In Jarrett, and also in the Persian original, the 15th instead of the 11th is given as the date when the great office of the Viziership devolved upon Moşaffar and Todar Mal I think that 15th here is a clerical error for 11th the words yāzdahan and pazdahan differing chiefly by a dot It is true that the 15th is mentioned lower down as the initial date of the ten years settlement but the context shows that the settlement in question is Todar Mal's which was made in the 27th year, and long after Moşaffar's death The paragraph before us is an important one, but it is obscurely expressed. The original estimate was a conjectural one, and not based on local inquiries Hence it was very unequal Now under Moşaffar ten Qānungoes, as well as other experts, made the assessment, as far as possible, on the basis of the actual produce of the lands. A. F remarks that it was not really a *hāl hāsil* assessment, i.e an assessment based on actual produce but when compared with the first assessment it might receive that name (When A F describes this new assessment as an instance of Akbar's graciousness to his subjects, he means that it relieved them from the injustices and inequalities of the old "paper" settlement and saved them from the necessity of bribing the clerks See J II 88

been made in the time of Bairam Khan and in which, on account of the plurality (*kasrat*) of men and the paucity (*qillat*) of territory, a nominal increase had been made for the sake of appearances All these (papers) had remained in the public offices and been regarded as authentic, and had become the tools of embezzlement for the slaves of gold. Qānūngoes and others who were acquainted with the whole of the territories the empire fixed according to their own estimates the actual produce of the countries and established a new assessment

Though it was not a regular estimate (*hāl-hāsil*), yet in comparison with the former one, it might be so called

As the branding[1] department, of which an account has been given in the final volume, had not then emerged into being, at this time the number of attendants for all the officers and servants of the threshold was fixed, so that every one should keep some persons in readiness for service. There were three classes of the ordinary soldier assigned to the officers The first class had 48,000 *dāms* a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24,000

One of the occurrences was that 'Abdullah Khān Uzbeg, who had been defeated and had gone to Gujrat, was turned out by Cingiz Khān in accordance with the agreement made with Hakīm Ain al-mulk 27
From ill-fatedness he did not become circumspect and wandered about in the desert of calamity. He again came to the borders of Malwa and raised the head of sedition Shihābu-d-din Ahmad Khān, who had been previously appointed to manage the affairs of Malwa got ready an army and marched against him The wretch was nearly captured. With a thousand troubles he conveyed himself to 'Ali Quli Khān and Sikandar Khān Thereafter he went to the abyss of annihilation

One of the occurrences was the flight of Jalāl Khān Qūrci The

[1] The account of the substitute for the branding regulation has no connection with the paragraph about the revenue assessment. The sentence about the pay of the soldiers is obscure It cannot mean that each private soldier got 24 48 000 dāms a year This would amount to about Rs 1000 a year whereas we find B 251, that troopers did not get more than Rs 30 a month or Rs 300 a year Probably the sums represent the amounts allotted to each officer for support of his contingent See B 349 note 1, where it is suggested that the *dām* may have been of less value at this time

explanation of this is that, as the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh is pure and chaste, he wishes that all mankind and *especially those* near to him be so likewise When he heard that Jalāl Khān kept a beautiful youth and was immoderate with regard to him, he was displeased and separated them. That light-headed one (Jalāl Khān) left the path of wisdom and one night went off with the young man M. Yūsuf Khān and others were appointed to pursue him, and they seized him and brought him and the youth to Court He was ordered to be suitably punished For a long time he was kept in a portico (*jilaukhana*)[1] and was kicked by high and low. Afterwards H M's kindness remembered Jalāl Khān's good fellowship (*nadīmī*) in which *he was unrivalled*, and he was *restored to favour*

One of the occurrences was the appointing of Mahdī Qāsim Khān to prospect the territory of Garha It has already been related how Āṣaf Khān became a renegade at the time of service and trod the path of disloyalty. When the imperial camp returned from Jaunpur to Agra, H M. resolved to send to Garha Mahdī Qāsim Khān, who was one of the old servants of the family. He was to administer the territory and to arrest Āṣaf Khān who had perpetrated so much wickedness. Mahdī Qāsim Khān girded up the loins of resolution and set out, but before his army arrived, Āṣaf Khān got information and with much regret left the country. He became a wanderer in *the* fields of wretchedness, and, like a wild beast, took refuge in the forests

Mahdī Qāsim Khān arrived at that rich country, and after taking possession of it hastened off after Āṣaf Khān 'Alī Qulī Khān, who was always trying to win over Āṣaf Khān, recognised this as a good opportunity, and wrote letters to him, and so showed that he was about to break his compact (with Akbar) The simpleton (Āṣaf) foolishly
272 went off and came to Jaunpur with his brother Wazīr Khān and

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1 Jilaukhāna is given in Forbes as an antechamber It does not occur in Persian dictionaries It appears from a passage in the Maaşir 'Ālamgīrī 175, and which is quoted in Maaşiru l umarā I. 803, that the *jilaukhāna* was a recess under the public staircase to the Darbar or hall of audience and that the "kicking *lakad kob-kole was symbolical* That is, Jalāl was regarded as kicked because high and low passed over the steps above his head. See the account in Maaşir 'Ālamgīrī l. c *of* the treatment of the Jodhpūr idols

joined 'Alī Qulī Khān Mahdī Qāsim Khān became governor of Garha.

One of the occurrences was as follows As H M the Shāhinshāh wandered about under the veil of inattention and was continually arranging some pleasant screen for himself, he at the time he was residing at Nagarcin, both for the sake of administration which the wise can understand, and for ostensible amusement, which all can appreciate, employed himself in polo playing, which in truth is an image of world-conquest and government In the season of enjoyment he carried off the ball of pleasure from the world's plain In appearance he was engaged in sport and amusement inwardly he was occupied with realities, and was carrying on the world's business. In this pursuit he devised wondrous inventions Among them was the burning[1] bal By means of its light he with ease followed the sport of polo playing in dark nights

With[2] the crescent-moon like stick he drove the ball beyond the stars In appearance the methods of sport were perfected In reality horses' paces were improved, and men were taught exertion and activity, which were indispensable for warfare

One of the occurrences was the death of Yusuf Muḥammad Khān Kokaltāsh, the elder brother of M 'Azīz He died from excessive drink on the day of Khur 15 Khurdād, Divine month corresponding to 5 Zī Q ada, 24th May 1566 after five days' illness A remarkable thing was that when his body was removed next day from Nagarcin to Agra it was still warm H M the Shāhinshāh was, from his kindness of heart, much grieved and showed much sympathy with the mourners, and behaved very kindly to them

One of the occurrences was the departure of Mahdī Qāsim Khān for the Hijāz It has already been mentioned that he had been appointed to the charge of Garha, and directed to drive out Āṣaf Khān. When that territory came into his hands without exertion, he was

[1] Blochmann 298 The ball was made of palas wood which, A F states is light and burns for a long time. It is difficult to see how it remained alight when knocked about by the polo-stick.

[2] It is very difficult to make sense of this Presumably A F means that the globe of fire, i.e., the ball, surpassed the stars or meteors in brilliancy when it was driven along by the cawgan.

unable to manage it on account of its extent and bad condition He was overcome by depression and in the midst of this year, he, without the royal permission, left the country and went southwards with the intention of going to the Hijāz Seeing that proximity to great saints, who are possessed of pure spirits, is not beneficial when there is no real connection, what can result from proximity to holy places which have acquired sanctity from association with saints, especially when *it is attended by the displeasing of so great a master? When*
273 the fact was reported to H M he pardoned his (Mahdi Qāsim's) folly and made arrangements for the administration of the country Shāh Quli Khān Naranji and Kākar 'Ali Khān with a number of heroes were appointed to the province By their being sent, the distractions of the country were set right. They themselves were treated with princely favours

CHAPTER LX

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to put down the sedition of M. Muhammad Hakīm, and other prosperous events

While the Shāhinshāh was enjoying himself at Nagarcin, it came to his hearing that Muhammad Hakim Mirzā had, at the instigation of short-sighted men, become disobedient and had marched against Lahore. The explanation of his coming there is as follows From the time that M Sulaimān had fled at the report of the coming of the imperial army and had retired to Badakhshān, he continually had the idea of coming again to Kabul Now, when he became certain that none of H M's officers was there, he thought he had his opportunity, and having, in conjunction with Haram Begam, gathered together his troops the fourth time, he once more proceeded against Kabul When M Muhammad Hakim heard of his coming, he made over the fort of Kabul to M'aṣūm,[1] who was distinguished among his followers for courage and wisdom, and went off with Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi, his prime minister, to Shakardara[2] and Ghorband M. Sulaimān came to Kabul and besieged the fort After some days he perceived that the lasso of his power was too short to entangle the battlements He learnt that the Mirzā was in Ghorband and its neighbourhood, and wished to accomplish his object by the deceitfulness of Haram Begam With this evil design Haram Begam left M Sulaimān at Kabul and went herself to Ghorband She sent able men to H Hakim and gave him the message that he always was dearer to her than a son of her own body, especially since there had been an additional alliance[3] Her whole soul was directed towards perfect concord and harmony with him, and to building yet higher the foundations of alliance The object of her present coming was to have an interview, and to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and to guard them from being weakened or loosened M Hakīm was deceived by the Begam s cajolery and agreed to meet her in the

[1] Blochmann 131 note 1
[2] North of Kabul
[3] Referring to his marriage with her daughter

274 village of Qarā-Bāgh, which is twelve *kos* from Kabul, and to ratify the alliance When he had determined upon an interview he sent his confidants ahead in order that they might make conditions and promises void of hypocrisy When the envoys produced their credentials, the Begam swore great and strong oaths that there would be no trickery, and that the heart and tongue would accord, and that deeds would correspond with the words When the Mirza's men heard the Begam's oaths, they, in their folly, arranged that they would urge the Mirzā to have an interview with the Begam at Qarā Bāgh and that *he would tie the knot of sonship and concord*

When the Begam saw that the plot was arranged, she sent messengers to M Sulaimān saying that she had engaged the Mirzā's men to bring him to Qara Bāgh and that now he should leave his camp and a few troops near the fort, and make a rapid march with some men and place himself in an bush near Qarā Bāgh When the Mirzā came there he (Sulaiman) should make him prisoner When M Sulaimān heard this he left Muhammad Quli Shighāli, who was one of his trusted officers, with the camp to besiege Kabul, and hastened off himself by night marches *He lay* in ambush behind a ridge near Qarā-Bāgh The envoys of M Hakim, who had returned after hearing the Begam's strong oaths, looked only to externals and were unmindful of the inward perfidy, and gave the Mirzā a favourable account of the promises and of the interview All the Mirza's men urged his going to see the Begam, except Bāqī Qāqshāl, who spoke against going, and ascribed the oaths to deceit and treachery He plainly said that the Begam wanted, by this pretence, to deliver him into the clutches of M Sulaimān He stripped off the deceit which that deceiver had contrived In spite of this, M Ḥakīm was helpless and went off with some of his confidants towards Qarā-Bāgh On the way one of the Kabulis who had come with the Badakhshis on M Sulaimān's rapid march, separated himself from *them* and *joined* M *Hakim's people.* He told them that M. Sulaimān *was lying in ambush behind a certain ridge with a chosen body* of men and was watching for his opportunity The Kabuli himself had come with them that night When the Mirzā heard this he turned round and took the road to Kabul When M Sulaimān got news of this he followed him and came up with some of the Mirzā's men and made them prisoners Whatever was in the rear was

captured Bāqī Qāqshāl and his brethren were close behind the Mirzā and urged him on Some of the Badakhshis got close up to the Mirzā and it was thought that they would capture him Bāqi Qāqshāl and his brethren fought bravely and by arrows and bullets 275
occupied the enemy so that the Mirzā could go on ahead In this way they brought the Mirzā out of that dangerous place M Sulaimān pursued him up to the Sanjad defile, but when he recognised the fact that the Mirzā had escaped, he was compelled to halt The baggage of the Mirzā and his men fell into the hands of the Badakhshis When night came on the Mirzā halted in one of the defiles of Ghorband and sent men to Ghorband to bring him some things which had been left there Then he marched on to near the *kotal* of the Hindu Koh Next day he passed through the *kotal* and came to Mazra' i ashraf, which was in the possession of the Uzbegs From there he advanced one or two stages Khwāja Hasan and the men who were of his party wished to take the Mirzā to Pir Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, and to ask help from him But Bāqi Qāqshāl did not agree to this and said he would take the Mirzā to the sublime Court Khwāja Hasan and a number of others went to Balkh, and Bāqi Qāqshāl and his brethren, and those who were in accord with him, went back from there and brought the Mirzā to Ghorband From there they crossed over to Jalālābad by the way of Isā[1] and Bahra[2] From there they came to Peshawar, and then to the bank of the Indus The Mirzā crossed the river and sent a humble petition, together with an account of the dispersion that had taken place, to the threshold of fortune His ambassadors delivered this at Nagarcin Inasmuch as fortune watches over the sublime family, the news of the troubles in Kabul had already arrived At that time Faridun, the maternal uncle of the Mirza was in attendance on H M, and had been given permission *to* go to Kabul As the Mirzā was young and unprotected, Faridun was to arrange his affairs and to confirm him in the path of loyalty and to take care that seditious men should not have an opportunity of speaking to the Mirzā The affair of the coming to Kabul of M Sulaimān occurred

[1] Perhaps this is the Isakhel of the I G

[2] Badāūnī has Panjhar and probably this is the correct reading He says that Khwāja Hasan Naqshbandi got lost by going to Balkh

was his nephew's grandson After Sulṭān Husain Mīrzā's death, as a great dispersion took place in Khurāsān, Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā entered the service of H.M Getī Sitanī Firdūs-Makānī (Bābar), and was received with favour When the diadem of empire came to Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī that prince also showed him kindness. He had two sons, one was Ulugh Mīrzā and the other Shāh Mīrzā Both were successful as his servants. In spite of that, several times they showed signs of opposition, but H M (Humāyūn) from his innate kindness winked at this. At last Ulugh Mīrzā met with the reward of his deeds in an attack on the Hazāras He left two sons, Sikandar Mīrzā and Muhammad Sultan Mīrzā) After Ulugh Mīrzā was killed, H M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī cast the shadow of his favour over his sons and gave to Iskandar Mīrzā the title of Ulugh Mīrzā and to *Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā that of Shāh Mīrzā.* When *H.M.* the Shāhinshāh came to the throne he showed kindness to Muhammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his grandchildren and relatives. When Muhammad Sultān Mīrzā had grown old he was relieved from military service and given the pargana of 'Azimpūr in Sarkār Sambal for his maintenance, so that he might spend his days in tranquillity and in offering up prayers (for Akbar's success) Several children were born to him in his old age— 1st, Ibrāhim Ḥusain Mīrzā, 2nd, Muḥammad Husain M, 3rd, Mas'ūd
280 Ḥusain M, 4th, 'Aāqil Husain M As the kindnesses of H M the Shāhinshāh extend over all classes of men, every one of these Mīrzās received fiefs suitable to their conditions, and took part in all the expeditions Especially they were attached *to the royal stirrup in the Jaunpūr* commotion After the royal standards had returned from there they got leave to go to their fiefs in Sambal. When the sublime army left Agra and went to the Panjab to extinguish the seditious flames of M Ḥakim Ulugh M and Shāh M in combination with Ibrāhim Ḥusain M. and Muhammad Husain M raised the standard of rebellion, and having collected a number of vagabonds stretched out the hand

that part of the country, advanced to put down those wretches As the divine destiny intended to deal hardly with them, their destruction was tied in the knot of another season, and Yārshāhi was defeated after fighting manfully. Many goods such as gold, elephants, etc, fell into the hands of those scoundrels, and they went on towards the borders of Delhi, committing rapine. Tātār[1] Khān made Delhi strong and Mun'im Khān came from Agra in order to repulse them Those ill fated ones knew that Mālwa was empty and went there Near Sampat they fell in with Mīr Mu izz-al mulk who had donned the pilgrim's[2] garb and was going to the Panjab, and plundered him Mun'im Khān did not think it advisable to follow them, and so returned to Agra The rebels took possession of Mālwa which at that time had been assigned to Muhammad[3] Quli Khan Barlās, but who, on account of sundry affairs, was then attached to the stirrup of fortune, (i.e was at Lahore on personal attendance on Akbar) His son in law Khwāja Hādi, who was known as Khwāja Kilān, strengthened Ujjain, but some traitors who were with him came out and joined the Mirzās. The Khwāja's goods were plundered, but he himself escaped on account of his high birth Qadam Khān the brother of Muqarrab Khān Deccani was in Hindia. Muhammad Husain M besieged him Muqarrab Khān Deccanī was in the fort of Santwās, and Husain Khān the sister's son of Mahdi Qasim Khān came back from escorting Mahdi Qasim Khān who was going to the Hijaz He had reached Santwās when the turmoil of the Mirzās showed itself He too took 381
refuge in Santwās Ibrāhim Husain M prosecuted the siege, and at this time Muhammad Husain M got possession of Hindia and put Qadam Khān to death When they brought his head to the edge of the fort of Santwās Muqarrab Khān lost heart and submitted. Husain Khan[4] too came out. Though Ibrāhim Husain M offered him service he would not accept of it When H M the Shāhinshāh proceeded to extirpate Āli Quli Khān he came forward and obtained the bliss of service *In fine, when the news of this affair was brought to the royal* hearing, he issued an order that Muhammad Sultān M should be removed from 'Āzimpur to the fort of Bānā and be guarded there

[1] Blochmann 42

[2] Meaning that he was going to visit Akbar whom A F represents as a saint

[3] Blochmann 341

[4] This is the famous Husain Khan Tukriya

CHAPTER LXI

Beginning of the 12th Divine year from the Accession, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the first cycle

At this time, when the territory of Lahore became by the advent of the sublime cortège a rosegarden of fortune, and H M. the Shāhinshāh was engaged in captivating hearts, the bounty of spring encircled the land, and the balmy breezes began to blow The gardens afforded a wondrous spectacle to beholders, and the *tulips* and other flowers cast nooses of enchantment over the onlookers

Verse

Arise for the peacock of spring has come
The call of the nightingale has come from the garden
The red rose has fallen all over the grass,
Or[1] have parrots set their beaks on their wings?

After eight hours, fifteen minutes, of Tuesday 29 Sh'abān 974, 11th March 1567, the sun entered (Aries), and the 12th year, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the first cycle began, and the equable mind of the Shāhinshāh felt a desire for hunting and for the *qamargha*,[2] which is the most delightful form thereof An order was issued that birds and beasts should be driven together from near the mountains on the one side, and from the river Bihat (Jhilam) on the other Each district was made over to one of the great officers and Bakhshis, Tawācis and Sazāwals were appointed to every quarter Several thousand footmen from the towns and villages of the Lahore province were appointed to drive the game A wide space within ten miles of Lahore—like the capacious heart of princes—was chosen for the collecting of the animals During the space of one month,

1 The Lucknow editor points out that this refers to the parrot's crimson beak and green plumage

2 The T Alfi p 627 says that such a great hunt never occurred either before or afterwards and that *50 000* beaters were employed

while the officers and other persons, both high and low, were actively engaged in driving the game, H M was chiefly engaged in stablishing the foundations of justice and in developing inward and outward civilization At length there was a suitable completion of arrangements, beaters were collected, and there was a large assemblage of animals First H M the Shāhinshāh went to the hunting ground, and viewed it from the circumference to the centre Every one of the grandees and other servants who had exerted himself in this delightful service was gratified by H M's approbation Then he placed the foot of dominion in the stirrup of auspiciousness and made his tiger like steed career in the pursuit of the prancing deer He used the arrow, the sword, the lance and the musket At the beginning, the hunting ground was ten miles in circumference But day by day the *qamargha* was pushed on, and its area lessened Within the space his swift steed sometimes swept afar the game from the ground, and sometimes he caught the lightning footed deer by the lasso Various modes of hunting were displayed Among the intimate courtiers, M 'Azīz Kokaltāsh came into the middle of the *qamargha* and attended on the auspicious stirrup The officers put up screens in front of their stations and guarded the game, in the daytime by their eyes, and in the night by blazing torches There was pleasure from morning till evening and from evening till morning After H M the Shāhinshāh had, during five successive days, enjoyed various kinds of sport, the great officers and the attendants on the harem were allowed to come into the hunting ground Gradually the servants of the court were allowed to enter until at last the turn came of individuals from among the troopers and footmen.

One of the wonderful occurrences that took place during the hunting was that Hamid Bakari (of Bhakar) one of the *yesawals* had become evilminded and had placed an arrow on his bow and discharged it against one of the servants of the Court The latter abided his time and reported the matter to H M in the hunting ground The royal wrath ordered that he should be capitally punished and gave his special sword to Qulij Khān, in order that he might relieve that unruly one of the burden on his neck. Qulij Khān twice struck him with that segment of a diamond, but did not injure a hair of his head With the tongue of fate it was uttered

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Verse.[1]

If the swords of the world move from their place
They'll not touch a vein so long as God does not will it.

On this account the mystery of destiny was accepted and his life spared, but as a warning his head was shaved and he was mounted on an ass and taken round the hunting-ground.

One of the occurrences of the hunting-time was the arrival of
183 Muẓaffar Khān. He brought Wazīr Khān the brother of Āṣaf Khān and begged the forgiveness of the two brothers The brief account of this is that when Āṣaf Khan by his bad fortune fell into the snare of 'Alī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān's society, he did not like their company and was disgusted with their arrogance. Also 'Alī Qulī cast eyes of avidity on his property. Āṣaf Khān was looking for an opportunity of separating himself from them. Meanwhile, 'Alī Qulī sent Āṣaf Khān along with Bahādur Khān, and kept Wazīr Khān under surveillance. Wazīr Khān wrote an account of the facts to his brother and suggested a rendezvous for escaping In accordance therewith Āṣaf Khān separated one night from Bahādur Khān and proceeded towards Karrah and Mānikpūr. Wazir Khān also came out of Jaunpūr and hastened along the same road. Bahādur Khān heard of what Āṣaf Khān was doing and pursued him, and came up with him near Cunār A fight took place between them, and Āsaf Khān was defeated and made prisoner. Bahādur Khān put him into an elephant-litter and went off. His men had dispersed in pursuit of plunder when Wazīr Khān and his son Bahādur Khān arrived When he heard that Āṣaf Khān had been captured he made ready, and while Bahādur Khān's men were

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[1] These lines are proverbial, and are quoted by Bābar, Erskine 216, apropos of a blow he received on his arm. The translation there given is "However the sword of man may strike, it injures not a single vein without the will of God" In this translation and in the Bib Ind text of the A. N the 'iẓāfat is read *tegh i-'Ālim* In P de Courteille's translation I, 453, the izāfat is omitted, the translation being — "Quoique l'epee soit capable de bouleverser le monde, elle ne coupera pas une veine sans la permission de Dieu" In the Clarke MS in the Victoria and Albert Museum there is a picture of Ḥamīd's punishment According to the T. A Elliot V 317 Ḥamīd was drunk

dispersed he came up and fought bravely. Bahādur Khān could not resist him and fled, but made a sign for the killing of Āṣaf Khān, whom they were, bringing along on the elephant The guards wounded him once or twice with swords The top of his finger was severed and he was wounded on the nose, when Wazīr Khān's men suddenly pressed forward and released Āṣaf Khān They came to Karra and reposed there. In this fight Bahādur Khān the son of Wazīr Khān distinguished himself, and on this account acquired glory by receiving such a title[1] (Bahādur Khān). Āṣaf Khān repented of his past life and recognised in all these misfortunes and losses the results of his exclusion from the sublime threshold, and with feelings of shame earnestly betook himself to the Court. He sent his brother Wazīr Khān to Muẓaffar Khān at the time when the latter was, in obedience to royal orders, proceeding from Agra to Lahore. Wazīr Khān came to Delhi, and Muẓaffar Khān treated him with great kindness and took him with him. He (Muẓaffar) had an opportunity of representing the case when H M was engaged in hunting, and he begged forgiveness for Āṣaf Khān H M pardoned him and his brother and issued a diploma of favour in Āṣaf Khān's name, directing him to proceed to Mānikpūr and act in conjunction with Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl. When the sublime cortège returned to the capital he had the bliss of doing homage and received princely 284 favours

In fine, when the *Qamargha* was at an end, H M. ordered a return and came to the river Rāvī, on whose bank Lahore is situated, and which flows with ocean-like majesty. H M the Shāhinshāh took in his hands the reins of trust in God and put his steed to the river. That fleet, fiery nature passed lightly over, like the breeze The attendants, who necessarily were close by, also put their horses to the water and all crossed and arrived at the shore of safety except Khūsh Khabr Khān *Yesāwal* and Nūr Muḥammad, the son of Sher Muḥammad, who were drowned When H M. reached Lahore he spent his

[1] The Iqbālnāma in its account of the 12th year says that Wazīr's son got the prize of valour on this occasion and the title of Bahādur Khān It adds that he afterwards became insane and that he was alive and over 80 years of age in the 14th year of Jahāngīr, i.e., at the time of writing and 54 years after the fight.

[2] Cf Badayūnī, Lowe, 92.

days in the administration of affairs and the distribution of justice which are part of his nature

Among the occurrences was the flight of Muhammad Amin Diwāna. The brief account of this is that he was distinguished among *the champions (ikkajuanan) for his courage and daring He also led* an ill regulated, intemperate life At the time that the camp was at Lahore, he encountered one of the *faujdars*,[1] as he was riding a special elephant (*fil khaṣa*), and he launched an arrow from the quiver of unrestraint against him When this boldness was reported to H M, an order was issued for his being put to death The courtiers attached to the harem interceded for him, and H M granted him his life, but ordered him to be beaten (From his ill fortune he[2] left the road of fortune and fled that night to Āli Quli Khān, who was the head of strifemongers)

One of the occurrences was that Junaid Kararāni, who had obtained the bliss of service, and received princely favours, fled, owing to a groundless apprehension, from Hindaun,[3] which had been assigned to him as his *jagir*, and went to Gujrāt Those who are illfated and choose remoteness from the seat of dominion and fortune, think that they are going to better themselves, but in reality they increase their loss and cast themselves into the well of wretchedness. At the time *when H M., after arranging the affairs of the Panjab, was meditating* a return, there arrived from Agra petitions of well wishers and especi-
85 ally of Mun im Khān to the effect that Āli Quli Khān, Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān, had again twisted their heads out of the line of obedience and stretched out their necks for rebellion The misbehaviour of M. Hakim had increased their frenzy, and in their folly and disloyalty they had recited the Khuṭba in the name of the Mirza! Those heedless, fortune-overturned ones had closed their eyes to the beholding of the glory of the Shāhinshāh, and for the sake of their own designs had cast the simple Mirzā into the whirlpool of destruction.

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[1] Superintendents of elephants. See B 126.

[2] He was with Bairām Khān when he was killed and helped to save his child. B 334

[3] J II 183 Then in Agra Sarkār now in *Jaipūr State 71 miles* S W Agra. It is a large commercial town.

Kingship is a gift of God, and is not bestowed till many thousand grand requisites have been gathered together in an individual Race and wealth and the assembling of a mob are not enough for this great position It is clear to the wise that a few among the holy qualities (requisite) are, magnanimity, lofty benevolence, wide capacity, abundant endurance, exalted understanding, innate graciousness, natural courage, justice, rectitude, strenuous labour, proper conduct, profound thoughtfulness, laudable overlooking (of offences), and acceptance of excuses And with all those notes of perfection, of which a few out of many are mentioned in detail in the ancient books of ripe philosophers, so long as the subject of such encomiums has not wisdom sufficient to overpower improper desires and unbecoming anger, he cannot be fit for this lofty office And on coming to exalted dignity if he do not inaugurate universal peace (toleration) and if he do not regard all conditions of humanity, and all sects of religion with the single eye of favour,—and not bemother some and be stepmother others,—he will not become fit for the exalted dignity Thanks be to God! The holy personality of the Shāhinshāh is a fount of perfect qualites, and a mine of holy principles Volumes would not be sufficient to describe the glories of the Lord of the Universe How then can an incidental reference be sufficient? Give all that thou hast, and purchase eyes, and behold the world adorning qualities of our spiritual and temporal king so that thou mayest know what is kingship, and what is the meaning of sovereignty!

In fine when the account of the disloyalty of this crew was reported to H M, his equable disposition was affected and he made over to Khān[1] Bāqi Khan M Mirak Raẓavi who, at the time of the return of the royal cortège, had come to court in order to arrange about the fiefs of Ali Quli and Bahādur H M resolved to proceed to Agra that he might punish the sedition mongers He rapidly arranged for the settlement of the Panjab, and alloted the parganas of

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that province to great officers, such as Mīr Muhammad Khān Kalān
286 and Quṭbu d dīn Khān and to their sons and brothers, and to the other devoted soldiers The whole administration of the province he committed to Mīr Muhammad Khān, and on the day of Tīr, 13 Farwardīn, Divine Month, corresponding to Monday, 12 Ramẓān, 23 March 1567, he returned his standards towards the capital He was encamped at Serai Daulat Khān when the elephants Gajgajan and Panjpāya, which were noted animals, died on one day A number of superficialists were saddened by this H M said, "We draw a good omen from the event, viz, that those two unlucky brothers (Ali Quli and Bahādur) will, in this campaign, hasten to the pit of annihilation" Good God! What capacity, what intellect, and what insight!

When the standards of fortune reached Sahrind, what shall I say of the folly displayed by Moẓaffar Khān such as that all were astonished? The account of this affair is that H M the Shāhinshāh always kept himself informed of the condition of the soldiers and peasantry, and showed a paternal interest in amending the ways of mankind He guarded men against improper actions and used to make efforts to elevate their characters At this time it came to the royal hearing that Moẓaffar Khān had developed a fancy for the smooth (i e, beardless) face of one Quṭb Khān and had flung away the veins of judgment H M from his native kindness sent for the latter and made him over to keepers lest Moẓaffar Khān should fall into great evil from this snare That besotted one assumed the garb of a faqir and went off into the wilds. He did not recognise the extent of the royal kindness and thoughtfulness H M the Shāhinshāh who holds with perfect control the balance of discernment and appreciation took no notice of all this ignorance and indiscrimination but treated him with princely graciousness and sent the servant (Quṭb) to him He also guided him by weighty admonitions He indulged in hunting during the whole of this march, and conferred joy upon mankind

While he was encamped at Thānesar, a *dispute arose among* the Sanyāsis which ended in bloodshed The details of this are as follows Near that town there is a tank which might be called a miniature sea Formerly there was a wide plain there known as Kūrkhet which the ascetics of India have reverenced from ancient times Hindus from various parts of India visit it at stated

times and distribute alms, and there is a great concourse In this year before H M's arrival, the crowd had gathered There are two parties among the Sanyāsis one is called Kur,[1] and the other Pūrī A quarrel arose among these two about the place of sitting The asceticism of most of these men arises from the world's having turned its back on them, and not from their having become cold- 287
hearted to the world Consequently they are continually distressed and are overcome of lust and wrath, and covetousness The cause of the quarrel was that the Puri sect had a fixed place on the bank of the tank where they sate and spread the net of begging The pilgrims from the various parts of India who came there to bathe in the tank used to give them alms On that day the Kur faction had come there in a tyrannical way and taken the place of the Puris, and the latter were unable to maintain their position against them

Their leader Kisu Puri came to Umballa and did homage, and made a claim for justice, saying that the Kurs had fraudulently come and taken their place He added that though they had not the strength to encounter them, yet they would, trusting in God engage in fight with them, and would either shed their own blood or take the place from them The Kurs represented that the place belonged to them by inheritance, though the Puris had settled there for some time Now they would sit there, and the site would remain theirs as long as there was life in their bodies When the sublime cortège came to Thanesar, and H M went to the spot and flung out the jewels of advice and counsel to those vain spirits, it was like casting pearls on the ground, and their absurdity and error only increased Their desperation and disposition to kill themselves augmented and they entreated with fervent supplications that there might be a fight and a slaughter As both parties were disordered in their minds and desires and had entered on the pathlessness of misery, they obtained permission to have a contest, so that in this way they should obtain the punishment of their wild deeds and so learn a lesson It chanced that on that day a great number of each party had assembled The two sides drew up in line and first one man on each side advanced in a braggart fashion, and engaged with swords, Afterwards

[1] Or Gur But apparently the names represent the Kurus and Pāndūs See Badayūnī Lowe, 94

bows and arrows were used After that the Puris attacked the Kurs with stones As the Puris were few in number, H M signified to some men who understood fighting with stones, such as the Petamcahā,[1] of Turān, and the Cirus of India, to assist the Pūris They joined the Puris in their attack on the Kurs and so exerted themselves that the Kurs could not withstand them and fled The Puris pursued them and sent a number of the wretches to annihilation They came up with their Pir and head, who was called Anand Kur, and slew the miserable creature The rest scattered The holy heart, which is the colourist of destiny's worship, was highly delighted
288 with this sport. Next day he marched from Thānessar

When the camp reached Delhi M Mirak Raẓavi, who in Lahore had been made over to Jān Bāqi Khān, and who was waiting for his opportunity, fled from prison Jān Bāqi hastened after him, and as he did not catch him he was afraid to come to court H M. the Shāhinshāh visited the shrines of the saints and sought for inspiration He also distributed abundant alms among the devotees of those places Tātār Khān, who was the governor of the city, represented that Muhammad Amin Diwāna, who had fled from Lahore, had come to the town of Bhojpur, and that Shihābu d din Khān Turkamān, who was the jāgirdār thereof, had kept him concealed for some days in his house and then supplied him with a horse and money and sent him to the rebels On hearing this terrible news the wrath of the Shāhinshah, which never blazes forth without just cause, grew high, and he issued orders to Shāh Fakhiru d din Mashhadi to bring the wretch to court Next day he marched on and, when he came to Palwal,[2] Shāh Fakhiru d din[3] did homage and produced the inauspicious one. He was made over to Hasan Caghatāi and executed at that place

When the expectants in Agra heard the sound of the approach of the sublime cortege the Khān Khānān and a number of loyalists

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[1] I cannot find the word Petamcahā Apparently it is a mistake for Yetimahā or yetmishāha meaning young men slaves etc The T Alfi has piadagan shaiisherbas Samarkandi The Cirus (Cheroos are a wild tribe in Mirzāpūr, etc

[2] An ancient town in the Gurgāon district See J II 286 and note

[3] B 406 He married a daughter of Kāmran

went out to welcome H M and were exalted by doing homage The Khān Khanān reported the condition of the country and read a list of the crimes of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, and of the other rebels who had raised their heads anew How can I say that clemency and advice are profitable to one who is innately bad? They do harm, for such an one regards conciliation and monition as weakness and increases in his sedition Accordingly eminent sages have seen no remedy for the inwardly bad except prison and stripes And when even this remedy does not act upon the wicked, it is kindness to mankind and indeed to themselves to send them to the abode of annihilation Those responsible for the affairs of the kingdom and the intimates of H M had not arrived at an understanding of this mystery and had on the first occasion not permitted the Khedive of the Age to make an end of those wretches They brought the mind of H M over to their view, and the raising of the veil remained in abeyance When Ālī Qulī Khān and the other rebels heard that H M had marched to extinguish the flames of the sedition of Muhammad Ḥakīm Mīrzā they in their foolish thoughts considered this to be their opportunity and indulged in seditious imaginings Ālī Qulī Khān went from Jaunpur to the town of Sarharpur which was the jāgīr of Ibrāhīm Khān, and Iskandar Khān came out of 289
the city of Oude (Ajudhya) to join this rebel tyrant All the sedition mongers assembled in that town and agreed that Ālī Qulī Khān should, with his forces, proceed by the way of Lucknow and take possession of the whole country to the bank of the Ganges, that Bahādur Khān should proceed to Karra and Mānikpur against Āṣaf Khān and Majnun Khān, and that Iskandar Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān should take possession of the Sirkār of Oude and its neighbourhood After making this evil compact they separated Ālī Qulī Khān proceeded to Sarkār Qanauj As the fief holders in that part of the country had no leader who could cope with him they went off to Qanauj When Ālī Qulī Khān reached Qanauj M Yusuf Khān, who was the fief holder thereof, took refuge in the fort of Shergarha. The people dispersed and petitions of the loyalists arrived one after the other at court Fortune stepped out to do her work

CHAPTER LXII.

March of the Shāhinshāh from Agra to Jaunpur, and the deaths of Khan Zaman and Bahadur Khan on the field of victory.

As the sublime office of world rule is in reality guardianship and watching, H.M. the Shāhinshāh in consequence of his rectitude of intention, and contrary to the practice of most former sovereigns, finds his own satisfaction in the soothment of his subjects, and his own joy in the peace of mankind. Assuredly, the unique pearl of the Caliphate fitly adorns the diadem of such a crowned one who, in spite of so much majesty and glory, keeps himself at the Court of the Eternal and is strenuous in the administration of justice, and who considers the repose of mankind to be his own ease. Certainly, whoever withdraws himself from obedience to such a sovereign, works destruction to himself with his own hands. Especially if he be one who has been nurtured by the sublime family, and has gathered by its means the materials of outward grandeur! What inhumanity and baseness, and folly, are in those who use those materials of grandeur in rebelling against their benefactor! Whenever there is such a sovereign, and such opposition, the Divine favour assists the former and gives victory in every campaign. The affair of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khān, and the uprooting of those two haughty wretches are a specimen of this. The abridged account is as follows. When the sublime cortège returned successful from the Panjab campaign to the capital, and the rebellion and crimes of Ālī Qulī Khān and Bahādur Khan and the other leaders of sedition had been reported to H.M., he resolved to proceed to the eastern pro-
290 vinces and to extinguish the flames of sedition. He appointed Mun'im Khān Khan Khanān to the charge of Agra, and chose out 2,000 war elephants to accompany the troops. Before the army marched, he ordered Mozaffar Moghal, M. Qulī, Qulīj Khān, Saiyid Muhammad Maujī, Hājī Yusuf, to proceed quickly to succour M. Yusuf who was shut up in Qanauj. He himself put the foot of in*tent into the stirrup of dominion on the day of Ashtad 26 Ardībi-*

night, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 26 Shawwal, 6 May 1567

When he arrived at the town of Sakit,[1] Āli Quli Khān, who was engaged in stirring up strife at the Qanauj ferry on the banks of the Ganges, fled as soon as he heard of the expedition of H M, and went towards Manikpur where his brother, Bahadur Khān was confronting Āsaf Khān and Majnun Khan The royal army advanced from Sakit to the bank of the Ganges and next day it crossed that tempestuous river and went on stage by stage When it reached Mohan,[2] Muhammad Quli Khan Barlās was made leader and there were sent with him Mozaffar Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Shah Budāgh Khān, his son 'Abdu l matlib Khān, Hasan Khān, Qiyā Khān, Haji Muhammad Khān Sistāni Āādil Khān, Khwāja Ghiasu d din Āli Bakhshi, and other brave men on the day of Dibadin 23 Khurdad, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 24 Zi l Qāda, 2 June, 1567, against Iskandar Khān, who had opened out the hand of sedition in Oudh H M himself went on towards Karra and Manikpur When he came to Rai Bareilly, reports were received from Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khan to the effect that Āli Quli Khān and his brother intended to make an attack on Gwāliār, and wished to cross the Ganges. Immediately upon hearing this H M resolved to make a rapid march Most of the officers, some from cowardice, some from sloth, and some from regard to their bodies and some because they did not want the rebels to be disposed of until their own ends had been served (lit until the market of their selling of themselves was brisk), did not approve of this rush The wise Shāhinshāh did not strip the veil from the behaviour of any of them, but committed his design to God, and on the night of Zamiyād 28 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday, 29 Zi l q'ada, marched rapidly from the town aforesaid.

A wonderful circumstance was that H M. left the usual road on account of its length and took the middle road, which was shorter, in 291
spite of its being stated that it was without water, and that owing to the springs of secret aid which yielded abundance to the Shāhinshāh's army, plenty of water was found on the way For before this the

[1] Sakita in text Ancient town in Etah district

[2] In the Unao district of Oude 18 miles from Lucknow

rain of mercy had fallen and filled the ponds. He marched the whole night and half of the next day and reached Mānikpūr where Muḥibb 'Alī, the jāgīrdār, rendered his services. As the march had commenced at the beginning of the night, and few were aware of the route, and a forest intervened, the troops got dispersed and missed the right track, and only a few kept in touch with H.M.'s stirrup But what fear of paucity of followers is there for him whom Almighty God vouchsafes to keep? (On the way, Āṣaf Khān did homage near Mānikpūr and was graciously received) He was immediately sent on ahead in order that he might hasten to his own camp which was opposite Khān Zaman's. Nor had any long time elapsed when Ratwā Mewrah[1] who was a swift courier and a trustworthy intelligencer, brought news that Ālī Qulī and Bahādur had made a bridge over the Ganges in pargana Singraur[2] and had crossed. When H M received this information, he at once mounted, and though but few men were in attendance, he went on trusting to the armies of the grace of God. He left Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Khwāja Jahān, and others in charge of the camp in order that they might conduct it to the town of Karra, and be on the watch He went from the village of Shaikhān, which is a dependency of Mānikpūr, and at the end of the day, on Sunday, he crossed the Ganges on an elephant. As it was the beginning of the rainy season, and the river was in flood, a strange agitation and outcry arose from the people when H M drove his elephant into the water For the crossing of such a destructive river was an impossibility and it was only by the miraculous power of the Shāhinshāh that this swelling ocean gave a passage to that mine of holiness He crossed without trouble by fording the river, and the spectators knew that this was a proof of victory! At the time when the sublime cortège crossed there were not more than eleven persons in attendance, viz, M Koka, Saif Khān Koka, Dastam Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Khān 'Aālam, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Darbār Khān, Shahbāz Khān, Saiyid Jamālu d dīn, 'Aādil Khān, Dilāwar
202 Khān. There were also several elephants. On the day when

[1] The Mewrahs were natives of Mewāt. See B 252.

[2] Singraur is the old name of Nawābganj The town of Singraur is still extant on the left bank of the Ganges, a few miles above Allahabad Elliot Supp Gloss II 105 and J II 161

the cortège crossed the Ganges and the river-bottom was trodden by the elephants, two of them, Khudā Bakhsh and Bāl Sundar were raging and roaring in their impetuosity. These two were noted for their courage, swiftness, fighting and rank-breaking qualities, but when the sublime cortège had crossed the river and had approached the rebels, the elephant Khuda Bakhsh abandoned his fierceness and became cautious. The drivers and faujdārs were saddened on seeing this condition, but H.M. the Shāhinshāh said with the inspiration of fortune that the circumstance of such a fierce elephant's becoming cautious was an announcement of victory, for victory and success accompanied the cautious and intelligent. Moreover, by the elephant's becoming cautious his reliance was no longer upon elephants and their fierceness. He was confined to reliance upon the assistance of God and whosoever was confined to reliance upon the Divine favour and goodness was bounded by victory. In truth two[1] lofty points were made by that exhibition of marvels which were fitted to be the illuminated books of an inspired treatise. When night came on they reposed by the side of the river, while the rebels were one *kos* off. H.M. in reliance on the Divine aid ordered that they should halt here. At the same time Majnūn Khān and Āṣaf Khān came and did homage. Majnūn Khān and a number of others were of opinion that they should, without delay, fall upon the camp of the wretches that very night. Āṣaf Khān represented that they had taken up a strong position and encompassed it, and that it was not proper to attack at this time. Moreover in the day-time men fought better on account of their conduct being visible. His view was approved of and H.M. dismissed the arrivals after giving them exalted admonitions. He ordered that they should report to him twice in each watch, and that they should arrange for scouting, lest the rebels should hear of his having come and should depart.

'Alī Qulī and Bahādur in their pride and arrogance were utterly careless and got no information. That night, when the sublime army had arrived, they spent in drinking, and with their

[1] The Lucknow ed. explains that one point was the omen derived from the elephant's becoming cautious or serious, and the other was that the change in the elephant's condition showed that they were to rely solely on God.

paramours, and had grand feasts (*bishkan*[1] *bishkan*), by which very phrase they drew an omen for their defeat. More wonderful still, on that night a man went near the rebels' tents and cried out "O all ye doomed ones, know that H.M. the king has crossed the Ganges with an innumerable host to destroy you." As the cup of their life was full, they considered the report of the arrival of the royal standards to be an artifice of Āṣaf Khān and Majnūn Khān and so waxed more presumptuous. It would seem that this warning came from an ignorant loyalist. He was apprehensive that as H.M. had crossed that river with a small force, while the enemy had 3,000 or 4,000 experienced horsemen, he might by this device cast a stone of dispersal among them so that they should not engage. He did not know that hidden armies were marching along with the world's lord.

In fine, on the morning of day of Mārisfandr 29 Khurdād, Divine month, corresponding to Monday the 1st Zī-l-hajja, which was in truth the first day of royal victory and the last day of the lives of the wretches, H.M. called for his cuirass and stepped
293 out in the armour of the mystic aid. He placed the helmet of fortune on the head of majesty, and all the gallant men of the company prepared for war. The centre was dignified by the presence of the Shāhinshāh, the right wing was commanded by Majnūn Khān Qaqshāl, and the left wing by Āṣaf Khān. Muhibb Ālī Khān and a number of heroes formed the vanguard. H.M. rode on the elephant Bāl Sundar, and M. Koka rode in the canopy on the same elphant and thereby his position transcended the skies. At sunrise H.M. proceeded against the camp of Khān Zamān. It appeared that the blackhearted rebels had begun to march off. An order was issued that Majnūn Khān should quickly advance with his troops, and not let them get away. Having such a strong support they pressed forward and engaged the enemy's rear. After some time Āṣaf Khān was also ordered to advance quickly. As the air was

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[1] A. F. puns here on the word *bishkan* which means revelry, etc., but which may also be read as *bashikan*, i.e., "Defeat us defeat us." See the note of the Lucknow editor. *Bishkan-bishkan* is explained in the Bahār 'Ajam as a great feast accompanied with singing and dancing. Possibly the word is *ba-shikan ba shikan*, fold on fold, or curl on curl.

very warm, and the elephants were slow in moving, the world-conquering prince got down from the elephant and mounted a horse. The wretches did not believe that H.M. the Shâhinshâh was himself present, and thought that the fight was due to the rashness of Âṣaf Khân and Majnûn Khân. When there was much contest and they saw the majesty of the army and the onset of the elephants, they understood that it was the sublime cortège of the Shâhinshâh, and that H.M. in person had set the foot of victory in the stirrup of conquest, 'Âlī Qulī Khân and Bahâdur Khân set their hearts on death and stood in the plain of rebellion, and as eternal renegades determined upon war. With this evil idea they drew up their forces and sent a number of their best men against the imperial vanguard and bowmen (*ūqci*). At this time the whole force of the imperial army which was with the Shâhinshâh was about 500 men, and about 500 elephants. The distance between H.M. and the vangard was now less, and Bâbâ Khân Qâqshâl, who was in command of the bowmen, joined this body (where Akbar was). A hot engagement with swords and arrows took place, and by the aid of the Shâhinshâh's fortune the enemy was driven off. The victorious troops pursued them and drove them up to 'Âlī Qulī Khân's line. The rebels got confused in their flight and could not distinguish head from trunk, or front from behind. It was an instance of fortune that, in that flight, the horse of one of the fugitives struck 'Âlī Qulī Khân's horse so that his turban fell off. 'Âlī Qulī Khân was astonished and dispatched Bahâdur Khân against Bâbâ Khân Qâqshâl. Bahâdur Khân came up with the bowmen and made a hot fight. From time to time 'Âlī Qulī got reports from Bahâdur and sent him fresh reinforcements. Bâbâ Khân saw that the enemy were full of force and retreated. Bahâdur Khân pursued him and advanced as far as Majnûn Khân. Just then 294
his horse was struck by an arrow and reared and flung Bahâdur Khân on the ground. The brave men of the army of fortune fell upon him. Wazīr Jamīl[1] seized him; but from wickedness and greed took something from him and let him go. Nazar Bahâdur, a loyalist and a servant of Majnûn Khân, threw himself upon him and captured him. (The victors surrounded Bahâdur Khân's comrades and shot them with arrows.)

[1] Blochmann 4"

During this joyful time while the lord of the world was moving rapidly about on horseback, and the combatants were putting their hands on the collars of the foe and slaying them, and 'Ali Quli Khān was standing in the pride of his disloyalty and was inquiring after the position of Bahādur Khān, a *mast* elephant called Citrānand, which was one of the royal elephants, rushed against the elephant Gaj Bhanwar, which was *one of the special elephants and which had ceased to be mast* Gaj Bhanwar did not withstand him, but fled, followed by Citrānand Gaj Bhanwar's driver drove his elephant among the ranks of the rebels, and the latter opposed to Citrānand the elephant Ūdiya Citrānand left Gaj Bhanwar and ran at Ūdiya and with one mountain breaking blow stretched him on the dust of destruction A great discomfiture ensued among the rebels, and many of their leaders became the harvest of the sword The weeds and stubble of their existence were burnt up by the fire of Divine wrath and the lightning of the Shāhinshāh's power A number who fled from the field of battle were killed on the roads by the peasantry, whose *animosity had been excited by their oppression* *The spring breeze* of victory blew upon the nursling of fortune, and the Naisān cloud of victory scattered pearls over the garden of dominion. *The* field of battle was cleansed from the dust of the sedition of the rebellions, and the figure of victory emerged from the curtain of Divine favours and gloriously established herself on a lofty dais H M the Shāhinshāh was on horseback and was making inquiries about 'Alī Quli and Bahādur At this time Nazar Bahādur appeared before H M, with the captured Bahādur Khan mounted in croup behind him H M the Shāhinshāh opened the lips of commiseration and said, " Bahādur,[1] what evil had we done to you that you have been the cause of all this strife and sedition?' Confusion and shame laid hold of him he hung down his head and said nothing After being questioned many times there came from his ungrateful lips the expression,[2] God is to be praised, whatever happens " It would seem that the wretch *did not* at his latest *breath perceive* his faithlessness and wickedness. Otherwise words of repentance would have come

[1] The text has Bahadur i mā " our Bahādur

[2] According to the T Alfī Bahādur thanked God for seeing Akbar at the end of h s (Bahādur's) life B M MS Or 465 p 630a

upon his *tongue* But whoever turns away from such a mighty lord is ruined temporally and spiritually, and becomes bad outwardly and inwardly In spite of such sedition, H M the Shāhinshāh did not wish to send him to the hollow of annihilation. After urgent solicitations from the officers, Shāhbaz Khān and Bansi Dās Kambu were ordered to relieve his neck of the burden of his head by the edge of the sword. Just then the warriors captured and brought Shahriyār Kul, who was one of 'Ali Quli's confidants The servants cast his vexing head also to the dust H M the Shāhinshāh inquired about 'Ali Quli Khān A number of persons said that he had left the field, and another set were agreed that he had been killed Meanwhile they brought Bātu who was 'Ali Quli's *faujdar* When they examined him, he said that he had seen 'Alī Quli killed by a royal elephant with one tusk, and gave the marks of the elephant and the driver. By order, all the elephants of the vanguard were produced, and that man pointed out the one tusked elephant Nain Sukh (delight of the eyes), saying that this was the elephant that killed 'Ali Quli Thereafter an order was issued that whoever brought a Moghul rebel's head should get a gold mohar, and whoever brought a Hindustani's head should get a rupi The crowd ran off after heads and brought them in, and were paid. Physiognomists examined them At last one brought the head of 'Alī Quli which had been lying under a tree There was a doubt about its genuineness Meanwhile a Hindu named Arzāni, who had been all powerful with Ali Qulī, and who was one of the prisoners, heaved a deep sigh on seeing the head He came forward and took it, and then smote his own head severely 295

It now appeared that a mysterious arrow had struck 'Alī Qulī, and M. Beg Qāqshāl claimed that it was his arrow which had struck him In fact the rebel was in the agonies of death from this arrow when the driver Somnāth drove his elephant Nain Sukh against him 'Alī Qulī said to him, "I am one of the leaders of the soldiers, take me before H M. and you will be rewarded." The driver took this to be idle talk, and drove his elephant over him. He was trampled under the foot of the elephant, or rather, under the weight of his sins and ingratitude A contemptible wretch severed the head in order to get the ashrafi, and was bringing it away. On the road a slave[1]

[1] The Iqbālnama says he was one of Akbar's *chelahs*. Blochmann 233.

named Ghālib carried off the head from him, and brought it before H M. and asked for the reward Thereafter H M. dismounted from his horse and placed the face of supplication on the ground of thanksgivings The great officers and others who had distinguished themselves were rewarded by promotion, and the heads of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur were sent, along with bulletins of victory, by the hands of 'Abdulla, son of Khwāja Murād Beg of Qazwīn, who had been for a
296 time Dīwān of H M Jahānbānī Ashiyānī, to Agra, Delhi, Multan and other parts of the dominions Thus the imperial servants' stock of joy was increased and advice and warning were given to the waiters upon events who had gone astray. This glorious victory, which may be considered as the masterpiece of daily-increasing fortune, took place in the territory of the village of Sakrāwal, which is in the province of Ilahābās They made it a city and gave it the name of Fatḥpur The phrase *fatḥ i Akbar*[1] *mubārak* is the date of the imperial victory

One of the wonderful occurrences was this that when the standard of fortune marched to put down the ingrates, and Mun'im Khān was left in charge of Agra, the market of the empty-brained and talkative became active The disobedient and disaffected exceeded all bounds. Mun'im Khān, who had faith in the father, teacher, and director of Abulfaẓl, the writer of this volume, came to him and sought for moral support from him. That mine of testifiers (shahud) spoke lofty words about the greatness of the Lord of the Age and gave a wondrous indication about the extirpation of the opponents of his dominion. At his request (Mun'im's) it was arranged that he should hold that night a special Sufistic service and that he should come and report what transpired on the occasion Next morning, a marvellous joy was seen on his noble forehead, and he stated that it had been intimated to him in the night that the heads of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur would soon be brought in Mun'im Khān was delighted on hearing this good news, and returned thanks to God But a little time had elapsed when they brought the heads of those two faithless

1 Blessed be Akbar's victory The words yield 974 The Iqbālnama says that *du khun shud* was the date of Shamsu-d-d and Adham Khān's deaths and *du khūn shuda* the date of the deaths of the two brothers Ālī Qulī and Bahādur, but this last chronogram yields 975 instead of 974

rebels. What is strange in such a revelation being made to those who address themselves to the Divine Court and are followers of the mystic way?

When by the blessing of the heavenly aids which attend the armies of H.M the Shāhinshāh both at home and abroad, such a dominion adorning victory had been manifested, H M. went off the same day to the province of Ilahabās, as sundry disloyalists were stirring up strife there At evening that territory obtained the morning of dominion by the advent of H M. He passed the night in that pleasant place, Some renegades from fortune who had fled and joined 'Alī Qulī, such as Shaikh Yusuf Cūlī, were captured H M. spent two days there and on the third proceeded to Benares. There many of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur's soldiers, such as Martaẓa Qulī, did homage. From the innate kindness of H M. their offences were forgiven. The women and dancing-girls of Bahādur Khān fell into the hands of the imperial servants and Khwāja 'Aālam the eunuch there was attached to the saddlestraps of auspiciousness and promoted to near attendance on H M. As the people of Benares had from ignorance and disloyalty shut their gates, the royal wrath decreed that they should be plundered But he soon forgave them Shihāb Khān and a body of troops were sent to protect and rule Jaunpūr, and Qulij Khān was sent with a force to Sirharpūr, where the 29
families of some of the Uzbegs were. After spending three days at Benares, he proceeded to Jaunpūr, and arrived there on the second day. The lights of safety shone upon the men of 'Alī Qulī who were there and they came under the shadow of the Shāhinshāh's favour He stayed three days in Jaunpūr and the inhabitants who had been buffeted about, were tranquillised by the Shāhinshāh's kindness. From there the royal cavalier of the steed of fortune made a rapid journey to Karra, where the great camp was He accomplished the journey in three days and came to the bank of the Ganges at the Karra ferry. At that time not more than four or five persons had kept up with him. He crossed the river in a boat and alighted at the Karra fort. Near Manikpūr Khwāja 'Aālam absconded, but was recaught. From that city an order was issued for the attendance of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khanān, and the jagirdars of the country were allowed to go to their estates. They were exhorted to cherish their tenants. Some of the evil-disposed and seditious, who had fled from

the holy threshold and joined the rebels and who were always stirring up strife, and had now been caught by fortune's lasso, such as Khān Qulī Uzbeg, Yār 'Alī, 'Aālm Shāh Badakhshī, Mīr Shāh Badakhshī, Yahiya Bakhshī, Calma Khān fosterbrother of M 'Askari, were made the subjects of wrath and trampled by *mast* elephants M.[1] Mīrak of Mashhad, who was one of the special confidants of 'Alī Qulī, and who had fled from the imperial camp and been caught in Karra, was, along with other offenders, trussed up and brought into the plain of justice All the other strifemongers were executed in his presence, and then an elephant was let loose against him[2] The elephant caught him in his trunk and squeezed him and the stocks, and shoulder boards, and flung him from one side to the other As a clear sign for his execution had not been given (by the driver) the elephant played with him and treated him gently. For *five successive days he was brought out* and tortured *in the place of* execution At last on account of his being a Saiyid, and on the intercession of courtiers, he was granted his life. On the same occasion Jai Tawāci brought Shāh Nāṣir Khwājā, who was a ring leader of the disloyal, to Court, and he was capitally punished

Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān came according to orders from
298 Agra to Karra and was exalted by doing homage Out of the abundance of his bounty, H M conferred upon him all the fiefs of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur, in Jaunpur, Benares and Ghāzipur up to the bank of the Causa river, and he went off successful to Jaunpur and

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[1] Bāyazīd tells us 91a, that he was the Atka of Salīma Begam It seems from the Iqbālnāma that the mahout was told not to *kill him*

[2] The text has *ba kundha u du shākha* با کنده و دو شاخه A foot note states that most MSS have bakundha 'i du shākha, but that the conjunction is right as *kundha* is a large piece of wood which is put on the feet of criminals and du shākha is something placed on their necks But an illustration to the Clarke M.S of the Akbarnāma Victoria and Albert Museum South Kensington, by the contemporary artists Maskīnā and Banwālī Major, which has been reproduced in the Journal of Indian *Art for October 1904*, makes *me doubt* if the conjunction is right and if a conjunction is required The illus*tration refers to* the passage in the text and shows the prisoners with a circular piece of wood probably the *du shākha* or lignum duos ramos habens of Vullers, which confines their wrists while their feet and necks are tied with cords Probably *kundha-i-du shākha* should be rendered " manacles

the victory and of the slaying of 'Alī Qulī and Bahādur, and this had come before the troops reached Oudh, yet as the common people regarded those two wretches as *asses'*[1] *heads*, they considered the
299 news to have been fabricated When at this time the news became notorious, Sikandar continued to keep it secret, and, using trick and stratagem, he sent for Raḥmān Qulī Qūshbegī *saying that he had* several things to communicate The imperial servants did not agree *to this At last he sent Ḥājī Ughlan*, who was one of his confidants to the officers They had a discussion with him, and it was arranged that Rahman Qulī should go with Hājī Ūghlan and come back after settling the agreement The two went off the same day and returned They reported that Iskandar repented of his past deeds and was looking forward to his obtaining through the intervention of the officers the blessing of kissing the threshold. He wished *that they should first, by themselves, see one another* in an appointed place and confirm the agreement by oaths It was arranged that as next morning was 'Id Qarbān, his desire should be fulfilled on that day

In short, Iskandar vacillated and put off the imperial servants by stories and pretexts, and at night came out by the fort-gate, which was towards the river, and crossed over by means of some boats which he kept in *readiness for the day of his retreat*, and came out of the whirlpool of danger, half alive When, in the morning, the imperial servants became aware of *Iskandar's flight, they immediately* entered the city and beat high the drum of victory As Sikandar (sic) had left no boats on that side, there was a delay of two or three days in pursuing him, on account of their having to collect boats from other ferries. Meanwhile Iskandar arranged for the security of his family and sent a message that he still stood by his promise,

[1] *sar-i-khar* This expression has several meanings one being that of "scarecrow," but here it means an intruder or one who is always turning up unseasonably Thus it corresponds to our phrase bad penny and also more nearly to the phrase, borrowed from Dickens of "King Charles head The people had got so accustomed *to* hear of 'Alī Qulī and his brother rebelling and then returning to allegiance that they did not believe this time they were really dead The phrase *sar i khar paida shud* "An ass's head appeared, is similarly applied to any worthless thing coming into one's hands again on to false news

and that he had crossed[1] the river on account of men's fears. He now wished that Muhammad Quli Khān, Mozaffar Khān and Rajah Todar Mal should enter a boat and come into the middle of the river and that he should come with ten men and salute them, and hear directly what had been agreed upon. When his mind has been set at rest he would go to the world protecting court. Those three magnates agreed to his proposition. Iskandar Khān came from the other side with four or five of his confidants in a boat, and held a conference which was a picture on water and a knot on the wind. The imperial servants took oaths and did what was proper in the way of conciliation. But Iskandar did not abide by his word, and said that he could not just now, when he was an example of crimes, have the courage to kiss the threshold. What was necessary was that, in forgiveness of his crimes, his *jagir* should be left as it was, and that he should be nominated to service in the province, so that he might by good actions make himself fit for royal favour. As his tongue did not accord with his heart, he spent the time in idle talk and in spite of the rains he went off two stages down stream and sent an untrue message, alleging the force of the current on the banks. When the 300
imperial servants perceived that nothing would come from the rogue except deceits and vulpine tricks, they crossed the river and pursued him. He, after traversing quagmires and floods, conveyed himself to Gorakpūr. There Sulaimān Quli, an Uzbeg who had fled to the Afghans from 'Ali Quli Khān, and who held the ferry on behalf of the Afghans, collected boats and crossed him over and his men with all rapidity, and so saved him from the billows of the wrath of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. The great officers came to the borders of the Afghan territory, but as orders for entering that territory had not come from Court, they halted and sent a report to Court, relating the facts and asking permission to enter the country. The petition arrived on the day that H.M. reached Agra, and an order was issued that as that remnant of the sword had gone out of the dominions, they should be content at this time with what they had done, and should set about arranging the distracted condition of the province

[1] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he took them across with him on the first occasion and used the time afforded by the negotiations in having them conveyed to a place of safety.

Sirkār Oudh was made the fief of Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās and the other officers were summoned to Court.) When the rescript reached the imperial servants, they established Muḥammad Qulī Khān in the government of the Sirkār and set off for the capital. There they did homage and were recipients of auspiciousness.

CHAPTER LXIII

Expedition for the Capture of the Fortress of Citūr

To overthrow the neck stretching rebel is to establish oneness, which is the choicest worship in the fore court of plurality, and to make current the coin of peace and tranquillity By the lord of the Age's realising this truth, the pillars of the Divine vice regency are revealed and a stock of bliss conferred on mankind God be praised! H M the Shāhinshāh, by the help of eternal favour, and the assistance of secret hosts, sees his own happiness in giving peace to mankind and day by day increases his efforts to control and remedy the madness of the refractory and wrong headed. The Divine aid keeps close to his holy personality and renders him successful, both in spiritual and in temporal matters At the time when the capital was made resplendent by the lights of his justice, and when the army was not yet rested from its labours, the news came of the rebellion of the sons of Muhammad Sultān Mirzā and of their scattering the dust of dissension in the province of Malwa When they had withdrawn their heads from bearing the burden 301
of obedience to their spiritual and temporal king, and had become vagabonds in the land of destruction, they, after long wandering with little result (*lit* much twisting of heads and littleness of speech), had found Malwa empty and had gone there It passed into the holy heart of the lord of the Age, who knows hidden secrets and is a mine of pity and gentleness, that if he, in consideration of the condition of his soldiers, overlooked the quelling of these sedition-mongers, he would be acting contrary to God's will, and that if an expedition were undertaken to put down this disturbance, and he personally took part in it, he would be acting contrary to the canons of reason, for the set were not of such a nature as to require his presence for their suppression And it is an axiom of the laws of sovereignty that whatever can be done by words should not be done by the sword, and that whatever can be done by the courage of officers of middling or lower rank should not be made over to great ministers In respect to the scale of duties, regard should

always be had to the laws of sovereignty, which are an expression for judgment and appreciation If in accordance with the laws of sovereignty, attendants of the threshold of fortune were nominated for this service, the first men of the country, who regarded obedience to their king as the bliss of two worlds, would in a moment gird up the loins of effort and proceed to perform it, but delay would be caused by having to collect the soldiery, whose presence was indispensable, and in this way a little affair might become a great one Now the laws of sovereignty did not admit of delay in such matters Accordingly the Shāhinshāh of the universe and the sage of the time resolved to dispose of this business by his own ripe understanding, and by giving attention under the guise of inattention, and care under the screen of carelessness. He in appearance overlooked the thing, and in reality applied his genius to putting down the disturbance On the day of Rashn 18 Shahriyur, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 25 Safr, 30 August 1567, he set out to hunt in pargana Bāri, where he had often enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *citas*, in order that the loyal and devoted leaders might come without the notoriety of being sent for, while others, either their servants or not, would, seeing that there was no prohibition, readily assemble in order to pay their respects. When men should have quickly assembled, a number of them would be picked out and sent on this duty With this judicious idea he set out from the capital and, having encamped at Bāri, he went on hunting towards Dholpur and Gwālyār which are in the direction of Malwa The officers and other servants turned the face of hope towards the camp and arrived in crowds If all the faithful servants of the court, who were associated with hunting, should be added up, they
302 would be enough to conquer a world, if all the loyal heroes were gathered together who could count them? and if the servants of the servant were also collected, who could estimate their numbers?

When Dholpur had been made the camping ground, Sakat[1] Singh, son of Rana Udai Singh, was in attendance on the victorious stirrup H M, either from pleasantry, or in order that the presumptuous rebels of Malwa might be led by the circumstance into the slumber of negligence, said to him that though most of the land-

[1] Blochmann 519

holders and great men of India had paid their respects, yet the Rānā had not as yet done so, and that therefore he proposed to march against him and punish him H M also asked what service the prince would render in this case On one occasion he spoke at large about these matters with the prince, and the latter made hypocritical proffers

At last that crooked minded one, from want of understanding and from taking a jest seriously, ran away In his folly he ran away from apparent dishonour, and fell into real disgrace For the ignorant fellow imagined that H M was meditating the punishment of Rānā under the pretence of hunting, and that he himself would get a bad name to the effect that he had gone and brought H M against his father He did not know that it was all a joke, and that there was no reason why this powerful and God-restrained one should personally proceed against such a class of landholders Nor did he perceive that, on the supposition that his notion was correct, his running away from such a good fortune was to throw himself into the lowest hell of destruction and to hurry from disrepute to misconduct When the news of his flight reached the royal hearing, the Shahinshāh's wrath was stirred up and jest became earnest And in truth this was proper, for, from the time of the accession, most of the leading men of India who had cocked the hat of pride and had not lowered the head of obedience before any of the Sultans, had bowed down and kissed the ground except Rānā Udai Singh, than whom there was in this country no one more foolish and arrogant This audacious and immoderate one in whom the turbulence of ancestors was added to his own haughtiness was proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court His brain was heated by the consciousness of his possessing abundant land and wealth, and numbers of devoted Rajputs and so he left the path of auspiciousness. H M's world-conquering genius decided to chastise him In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month corresponding to the middle of Rabi' al awwal, about 19 September 1567, the expedition took place and he set off towards conquering the territory of Hindwāra When the vicinity of the fort of Sivi S[illegible]par which is famous in that country, became the encamping ground it transpired that the fort was empty Before H M's arrival the 303

servants of Sūrjan, the governor of the fort of Rantanbūr, had become terrified and had gone off together with the peasantry. H.M. the Shāhinshāh took the evacuation of the fort as an omen of great victories and remained two days in that pleasant spot He ordered the fort to be victualled from the neighbourhood and made it over to Nazr Bahādur From there he marched six stages and encamped at the town of Kotah, which is one of the strong places in that country, and then made over that fort and its territory to Shāh Muhammad Qandahārī and left him there Marching from thence, he halted in the vicinity of the fort of Gāgrun

One of the occurrences was that the acute, wisdom-gathering, enchanting, spiritually and physically elder brother (of the author) Shaikh Abu l-faiz Faizi was exalted by being brought from the chamber of retirement to the court of service of the world lord and was distinguished by the Shāhinshāh's favours This new fruit of the garden of knowledge had continually been gathering wisdom in attendance on the conductor of the heavenly caravans, the garland twiner of the pinacothek of Plurality in Unity—his honoured father—and in a short time had attained high rank in his truth teaching school, which was the meeting of the two seas of perception and illumination, and the rendezvous of the comprehenders of theory and practice One of the results of this association was that his tongue was loosed for word adornment and for poetry The renown of his excellences embraced the outer as well as the inner world Inasmuch as it was the holy nature of his honoured father to draw his foot under the skirt of retirement and so conserve his spirit, and as he, for the sake of concealment, chose the teaching of rational and traditional sciences, he kept closed the road of intercourse with the classes of mankind From the blessed influence of his spirit, his sons did not indulge their natural inclinations nor were affected by the sight of this deceitful world He (Mubarak) spent all his time in adorning his soul, and in hiving wisdom and in good actions And though that enlightened old man divined the ambushes of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and was one of his faithful believers, he did not bring the unique pearl of love into the market And in spite of its great value and of its being keenly sought after in the bazar, and of there being a purchaser who could appreciate it, he did not bring it into the mart of sale And because

the doing homage to him (Akbar) was to do homage to Plurality under the guise of Unity, he chose solitude rather than Plurality. Moreover, those attached to the unique worshipper of God (Akbar) received salaries from that fountain of truth On this account he (Mubārak) had no intercourse with the lords of dominion and pillars of the empire And though many of his profession spread, by the 304
instrumentality of the outwardly great, calumnies against him out of envy, and made trouble—afterwards falling into the abyss of failure through the acute perception of the truth-discerning prince—his mind was not at all disposed to have dealings with the well meaning persons attached to the court, and did not take the customary means to remedy his affairs

At the time when the Khedive of the world was meditating the conquest of Citūr, mention was made to him of the light-increasing lamp of perception and most excellent of brothers (Faiẓi), and an order was given for the attendance of that nosegay of ability. A party of evil-dispositioned and short-sighted persons who did not know the real facts took this gracious summons to be the prelude of censure and sent a peremptory order to the governor of the capital.

On the night of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday 20 Rabi al awwal (975), 24 September 1567, when a portion[1] of the blue robe (of night) had disappeared, and that seer (didawar) had gone off to contemplate the new flowers of the garden, a number of Turks came and surrounded our abode. It appears that a part of evil-disposed, base people, who were the scorched centres of the sands of envy, had supplemented their wickedness by suggesting to those ignorant capturers that the Shaikh would hide his son, and seek excuses for not sending him Their sole wish was that some harm might happen (to Faiẓi). When the real fact was known there was an increase of astonishment, but owing to the delay in the appearance of that overflowing abundance of absolute excellence, their stratagems and wickedness assumed almost the appearance of truth and they were about to commit an outrage, when my honoured brother arrived! Thereupon the disturbance was quelled, and that set was drowned in shame As the gates of

[1] Apparently the meaning is that it was near morning and this view is supported by the beginning of the ode

acquisition were closed, it was difficult to make arrangements for the journey, but this obstacle was also smoothed by the exertions of pupils and friends But a *stone of distraction fell into the skirt of* that night, and all the members of the family were sunk in the whirlpool of grief[1] He who was acquainted with the secrets of creation (Mubārak) set himself to assuage their restlessness He said that at first the face of his heart had in consequence of human nature been saddened by the evil-natured gossips, otherwise his feelings would have been joyous Nothing but exultation and delight could be produced and maintained from this apparently grief-causing event. Just about then the good news of promotion arrived and the bolt upon rejoicing was withdrawn. In the first instance it was a draught of pain which touched the palate of him who did not know the congregation of wisdom, and then after some days the glad tidings arrived of the kindness shown by the Cyrus of horizons A stock of everlasting joy came to hand The following ode was composed about this time in praise of the favours bestowed.

[1] Presumably it was Faiẓī who at first felt pain but possibly it means the other members of the family Faiẓī was then 20 and A F 16 years old. The ode cannot have been composed or at least not completed for several years for it refers to the births of Akbar's sons, of whom Daniel was not born till 979 The troubles of Faizī and his family did not end with this introduction to Akbar It was two or three years after it viz., in 979 (1569 70) that the persecution of the family occurred of which A F has given a long account in the Āīn See Jarrett III 429

CHAPTER LXIV.

Faiẓī's Ode.

At dawn the Solomon[1]-like messenger bearing good tidings
Arrived with an open brow like that of Felicity.
His face brightened the heart like a company of friends,
His lips shed pearls, like the band of the generous,
By his head he, like Genius, seized greatness,
By his feet he, like Power, gripped wide countries,
Friend and stranger gathered around him
As round a rich host on a feasting-day.
His loins were girt with alacrity and speed
As the path of the Zodiac girdles the revolving spheres
A lofty plume appeared in his cap
He seemed a gracious bird[2] *with outstretched wings*
An auspicious rescript bound upon his head
Showed[3] its preface atop where Reason's seal is,
A letter he had *received in the glorious court*
Was a summons from the prince of the Caliphate
Auspicious harbingers proclaimed, " Read
Thy letter of release, O sorrowing captive "
The distant view of the courier caused me an agitation
Worth hundreds of non-agitations
My heart fluttered at the motion of his bells
As flutters the[5] Nazarene's soul at the swaying of the *nāqūs*

[1] Perhaps alluding to Solomon's being able to fly though the air on his carpet. Or possibly Solomon was the courier's name *This is the* view of the Lucknow editor A Khwāja Sulaimān is mentioned, A. N III 460 as having been sent on a mission to Shahbāz Khān.

[2] Literally a pheasant.

[3] Apparently means that the heading or superscription was at top of the summons and so resembled Reason which has *its seat in* the head. Perhaps the meaning is that the courier *carried the document on his head.*

[4] Couriers wore bells on their caps, or on their necks or had them on their staffs.

[5] An allusion to the word "*tarsā*" a trembler, which is a name for a Christian. The *nāqūs* is the wooden

I kissed his crippled feet,[1] forgetting that
This action was an impediment to his advance
His sudden call produced such ecstacy[2] in me
As the Divine attraction excites in the pilgrim
How shall I write of that time when my heart s boat
Was tossed on the billows of the tempest,
A quickening Spring visited my words garden
A youthful morning came to my spirits' tulip,
Whiles I was disturbed, thinking by what argument
I could raise doubts about absolute verities,
Wherefore diversity of practice in Islām?
Wherefore ambiguities in the words of the Qorān?
Why did false witness shoot out the tongue in the tribunal
Of pride and hypocrisy, and claim belief,
If such be the religion of Islam in this world
Scoffers can have a thousand smiles at the Musulman faith!
Whiles I went on, like Reason, thinking how I could comprehend
The secrets of the wisdom of Grecian sages
What ideas did the "First Master" (Aristotle) entertain?
What explanation was given by the "Second Interpreter"[3]?
What is Divine wisdom that the precepts thereof
I may engrave on the tablets of my soul?
But how shall truth's light shine upon
My heart which is not turned towards the holy lamps?
What path is there to the genius which understands
The nature of heat, cold, moisture, and the dryness of the desert and the mine?[4]
How does the sage by the touch of h s forefinger

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[1] Perhaps he means that he kissed his feet so hard that he made them lame and this is how the Lucknow editor understands the passage

[2] *Zauq* A Sufistic word. *Jazab.*

[3] Alfrabius, i.e., Al ā Nasar See D'Herbelot and Biog Universelle I. 820 He died 339 A H It is not clear why he is called the 2nd Interpreter He was called 2nd Master according to D Herbelot. He was born at Fārīb in Turkey wh ch is the same as Otrar where Timur died He translated the Analytics of Aristotle

[4] Cf Blochmann 38 Kānī perhaps means m neral here

Understand the condition of the heart by the arterial current?
What is the path to mathematics by whose discipline 206
I may learn the mysteries of the revolving spheres?
Why is the fifth sphere the throne of Mars?
Why the seventh the portico of Saturn?
Whiles I was taken with the weighing of the jewels of poesy
The scales of the balance were full of words and meanings
My brain was perfumed with the ʿiṭr of Firdūsi
My fancy's ear filled with the fame of Khāqāni
Whiles I meditated on prose and belles-lettres
And turned with a smitten brain to the Gulistān's ——
Whiles I was occupied with riddles,[1] since perhaps
They would act as a file upon iron,
My tongue full of wisdom's words, and yet
My head not a moment clear of secret madness
Reason showed to my exterior[2] Tayfuri's[3] asceticism
The Sanʿāāni's[4] love impressed my brain

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[1] Faizi composed enigmas or riddles on the 99 names of God
B.M MS Add 7794, p 302

[2] Literally "to my skin

[3] The famous saint Tayfūr, b. ʿIsa, commonly known as Buṭāmī. He is also called Bāyazīd, and was born 777 A D See Beale O B. Khazina Auliya I, 519, and Jarrett III, 352

[4] Sanʿaā is the capital of Yemen The person meant seems to be ʿAbdu-r Razzāq b Hammān and is commonly known as Shaikh Sanʿaān He is the hero of a popular story which has been told in verse by Farīdu-dīn ʿAttar in his Mantiq-aṭ taiyir for the reference to which I am indebted to an article by Dr Bacher in the Z D M.G for 1880, Vol 34, p 614. See Garçin de Tassy's edition of the poem pp 45-60, v 1150 1564, 1857, and his translation, Chapter XIV, p 64, 1863 The story is also told in a collection of stories called the Jāmiʿ al ḥikayāt, I O M S 791, which, however, I have not been able to see Ethe's Cat, p 524. See also Bahar i ʿAjam and Vullers Ṣanʿaān. It appears that Shaikh Sanʿaān was an elderly man and in great repute for sanctity When on his way to Mecca with several hundred disciples he had a dream in which he was told that it was fated he should go to Rūm (Asia Minor or Greece) and worship idols. He at once started off and in Rūm he saw and fell in love with a Christian girl for whose sake he abjured Muhammadanism drank wine, and herded swine. He after a time repented and was retracing his steps to Arabia, when the girl also had a dream and was induced to adopt the Muhammadan faith. She followed the Shaikh into the desert, and he too

There was intellect prologuising demonstrative reasoning
There were rays of visionary love which burnt books
There were flowery gales of knowledge turning over their pages
Of my soul what shall I say? One soul had a hundred appetites!
Of my heart what shall I boast? One love and a hundred griefs!
The eyelashes which encircled the eyes of youthful singers
Lacerated my liver as if they were tiger's[1] hairs,
My father—may his kindly shadow long endure!
Did not suffer me to abandon study
As perchance I might by his assiduous teaching
Become, like himself, one of the Divinely learned.
His advice ever was, "O famished one of life's morning
Receive wisdom's morsels (*luqma*) from Luqman's[2] tray
Lust not after beauteous fairy-forms
Lest Satan's wings sprout from thine arms
Let not sweat[3] be aye dropping from thy brow
For such floods, like heaping cotton in the fire, end in destruction

had a vision telling of her conversion He turned back therefore, and the two lovers met again But the girl was exhausted by her fatigues and only lived to obtain the Shaikh's forgiveness, and died at his feet after being instructed by him in the true creed Mr. Ellis has kindly shown me a notice of the story in Rieu's Cat of Turkish MSS 185b, where it appears that there is a Turkish poem on the subject by Ziyāī Celebī who died in 992 A.H An autograph note by Dr Rieu states that the story has been treated in Kurdish and is referred to in Jaba's Kurdish poems, , and that it is also mentioned in Ouseley's Travels III, 258, and in Sam Mīrzā's anthology, 149b Mīr 'Alī Shīr also treated of it, and Pertsch's Berlin's Cat. 674, 8, mentions a copy of the poem as an extract from Farīdu-d-dīn's Masnavī Ouseley mentions in the passage referred to by Rieu that he saw a picture of Shaikh San'ān at Sārī. No doubt Faizī got the story from Farīdu d dīn

[1] Ghazalan, antelopes, and also musicians and singers Tiger's whiskers are supposed to be aphrodisiacs Perhaps the meaning is, "As many tiger-hairs pierced my liver, as there are hairs in the eyelash of a fawn"

[2] Luqman or Lokman is the eastern Esop

[3] The reference is to the sweat of shame

What is thy heart's condition, and what is Love?
Be not o'ercome (by love), for glass[1] will not make an anvil
Why has thy heart opened to Indian love?[2]
Seek[3] not the key of the K'aaba from the monkish cross"
In fine I moved between reason and madness
For wisdom was mingled with unwisdom.
The sound of the footsteps of the Sultan's courier
Roused me to wakefulness from the sleep of neglect
I know not what was the magic whereby
My mind was freed from foolish thoughts
God be praised! that attraction flung my soul
From the stony field of sorrow into a condition of repose
All those weeds and thorns of lusts were consumed
By the sparse rays of the Divine lightnings
I become an alert rider on a swift steed
Which careered in its wisdom through the spheres,
Like Noah I traversed the tempestuous ocean
Like Khiẓr I went alone in the desert
In ecstasy of joy I so hastened along
That I was like a spirit freed from the body's chain
I moved like a petitioner on the highway of respect
With my heart's fist I snapped the bonds of sloth
Meanwhile all my imagination and inquiry were engaged
In considering how the affair would be arranged
On the way there came to the point of the pen of my thought
The broidery of the Shahinshāh's praises with a Saḥbānlike[4]
eloquence

1 Faiẓī's heart is represented as being as brittle as glass

2 عشق هند نژادان 'Ishq-i-Hindnashādān "The love treated of or felt by natives of India. I take this to refer to Faiẓī's being engrossed with tales of Indian love, and also perhaps to his having then begun his paraphrase of Nala and Damyantī The line may also refer to Faiẓī's having been smitten by love for Hindu girls and boys It appears from the extracts from Faiẓī's poem given by A. F. that he regarded India as peculiarly the land of love See A N III 688, the land of love See A N III 688, line 16 id p 682, l 6, id 694, l 6 from foot, which is a poem on love

3 Probably this is a reference to Shaikh San'aan's forsaking his religion for the sake of a Christian girl

4 Saḥban b Wail An Arab famous for his eloquence. Hammer Purgstall History of Arab Literature II., 203

Suddenly the blackness of his encampment[1] showed itself afar off
'Twas a blackness which made my eyes bright
It was announced to the royal tent "Lo!
The garden-bird has come to the gate of Paradise"
An order issued to treat it kindly and to bring it in
Raising me from darkness' abyss to the sky of bliss
Fortune's lord[2] drew the rein of my star
Towards the court of the world ruler
First I kissed the dust of the thereshold
I reached the fountain-head which cures the thirsty
I placed my forehead on the ground in thankful adoration
I made ablution not of my body but of my soul
What shall I say of the door of his fortune's abode
'Twas a wondrous exemplar of the Divine Court
No earthly court, for in it there were
A hundred times more things of pleasure and grace.
They who dwell in the precincts of that sublime place
Are approximated to the attendants of heaven
Men of light and leading stood around.
The exalted Cyrus sate on a Grecian[3] throne
Akbar Shāh[4] the bestower of glory on India's night
Lamp of the court of dominion of Taimur's dynasty
God be praised! from the noble nature of that country
Both trees and soil yield aloes and balsam[5]

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[1] Akbar's camp before Citūr

[2] *Qāid daulat* Presumably means the officer at the head of the division called the "*ahl-daulat*

[3] *I presume that the meaning is* that Akbar united the splendour of the early Persian kings with the enlightenment and world sway of Alexander Or the reference may be to Greek philosophers

[4] Cf the verse in Jarrett III, 405 This one is written in red ink in several MSS

[5] *bānī* Apparently by *bān* is meant the fragrant *baqāīn*, or Melia Bukayun also known as Melia sempervirens, which is also known as Persian lilac and is also perhaps the *bedmashk* or fragrant willow The reference can hardly be to "*Oil of Ben* for India does not produce this, nor is it a perfume Nor I think can *lubān*, frankincense, be intended, for that too does not belong to India. There is the variant *Kānī*, minerals, which is perhaps more likely to be right as the poet is speaking of what the ground (*Khāk*) produces, but most MSS seem to have *bānī*

'Twas signified that I should sit and enjoy myself.
In the antechamber of the assembly of friends
I sate down before the pedestal of the Shāh's throne
My speaking tongue ran over with encomia
Eloquent men of 'Irāq and Khurāsān
Poured out pearls of praise over my words
One was amazed and said, "Who is this magician
Whose tongue makes pearls and corals?"
One said with wonder, "This noble pearl
From what cloud of Naisan[1] was it produced?
What is this new singing-bird
That revives the notes of the nightingale?"
The tongue of the evil-thoughted was lengthened against me;
As my heart's palace had a lofty base
The moisture of my spirit did not evaporate in a hot reply
For there was on Faizi's lips abundance (*faizānī*) of cool water
My Shāhinshāh soothed me with varied kindnesses 303
So that I gradually became less and less bewildered
He opened his mouth to ask, saying, "O parrot,
Who was the doorkeeper of your garden of speech?
Who gave brightness to the dark city of your fancy?
Who laid the foundation of your lofty rhymes?"
After paying the respect of ground-kissing I said,
"O Ruler, whose orders are obeyed by the spheres,
The peace of thy reign is my gracious teacher
And the horn-book of its instruction is a large one
If you ask the secondary cause, my father was my teacher
For truly I have no greater or purer than he,
So long as my tongue has wagged with the joy of speech
My teeth have been sharpened by my father's kindness
From the beginning of the disease of ignorance till convalescence
He administered remedies to my inward pains."
Then he (Akbar) said, "Of those profound leaders
Who placed the things of excellence in the scales

[1] Alluding to the story that in the month of Naisān the rain-drops form pearls

Which one has followed the right road in verse
So that there are no wrong steps in his gait
Which one has traversed the spiritual world?
Whose vision has been disturbed by the abyss of madness?"
I humbly said to the Shāh, "O Protector of speech,
The record of the society of poets is not ignoble
The eloquent who before this have uttered speech,
From whose lips have been struck out jeux d'esprit
Were all wise and pure of heart
And kept themselves pure from iniquity
They drew true pictures by the movement of their thoughts
They revealed subtleties by the quickness of their intellects
All are present by the witness of their souls though their bodies are hidden (i e they are dead)
All exist by their divine personality, though themselves have perished
Especially that most eloquent one of Ṭus (Firdusi)
Who was an old husbandman of the gardens of speech
Estimate his deeds from the Shāhnāma
For Rustum of Sijistān is not his equal in strength of arm
Save this he reaped no harvest, it was loss
That he lived in the time of the slaves of Nuh [1] Samāni
Had he been in the appreciative cycle of the Shāhinshāh
His days would not have been dark nights
Next comes the Ghaznī toper [2] whose spiritual wine
Gives lasting intoxication to the soul,
Ask not about that parterre adorner of the garden
For he has made pomegranate plots in his garden
'Tis a variegated garden so that were it terrestrial
You might gather flowers from it for a hundred Springs
It would be fitting to write with the ink of the heart
The truth showing excellencies of the Shirwāni [3]

[1] Nūḥ b Manṣur seventh king of the dynasty, succeeded his father 385 A.H., 995 A D His general Alptegḥin was the master of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's father

[2] Ḥakīm Sanāī See Jarrett III 341 and n 1

[3] Khāqānī The work referred to is his poetical description of the two Iraqs

His choicest work is the "Tahfa-al-'Irāqin"
It should be passed from hand to hand like a flower
Ask not after the magical work of the treasure-scattering Treasurer[1] 309
For his pen was a dragon over hidden treasures
If another's poems are placed beside his
It is like putting a false prophet's[2] fancies by the text of the Quran
Of Anwari what shall I write, from whose genius
Burning[3] rays flash out to highest heaven
The combination of spiritual fervour with ability
Is like nature contending with the crisis of illness
Behold the sweet-tongued Zahir[4] who produced
A spiritual banquet of fresh dainties
But his excellencies were not as fully known
As is the collyrium[5] of Ispahan farmed in the world
Critics call him "the creator of ideas"[6]
You will perceive that his lofty ideas are not threadbare
God be praised for the hierophant who in the invisible world
Became a Solomon by his "Language of Birds"
From 'Attār[7] comes the medicine for lovers' pains
For when his shop was broken up, he received the Holy Ghost
Behold the sugar-sprinkling of S'aadi whose spirit's plume
Waves o'er his sweet genius like a fly-flapping fan
He shed joy among the spiritual nightingales

[1] Nizāmī who was resident of Ganj which also means a treasure. Ganj is now a Russian town and is called Elizabethpol

[2] Matnabbī A false prophet Also the name of an Arabian poet born in 915 A.D

[3] A play on the name Anwarī

[4] Zahīru-d-dīn Faryābī See Daulāt Shāh

[5] That of Ispahan was the best. Vullers s.v surma, but perhaps the expression is merely an allusion to Kamālu d dīn b. Ismāīl, who is styled Isfahanī D Herbelot says the *surma* of Hamadān was the best

[6] *Khallāq i-māānī*, "Creator of conceits Rieu Cat II 580b See also D Herbelot and Daulat Shāh His name was Kamāl Isfahānī A translation of one hundred of his love songs has lately been published by Dr Gray See Athenæum of 12 March 1904

[7] Faridu-d-dīn Attar, author of the Mantīq-at-tāir He was a perfumer and gave up his shop on receiving "a call.

Who sang sweetly in his Bostân and Gulistân
Khusru[1] of Hind is ancestor of the spiritual Khusrûs
Who wielded sovereignty over spiritual thrones
He is the admired Lord of Lords of speech's kingdoms
For his *sway extends over Îrân and Tûrân*
What shall I say of the exquisite conceits of Hafiz
Men and[2] spirits know the mystic tongue,
The soft flow of the Kirmânî[3] garland-twiner
Gives fresh life to the adult brain
The eloquence of Akhsîkti[4] and Umânî[5]
Is not inferior to that of Isferangi[6] and Tabasî[6]
In fine, to number the pillars of spirituality
Unless we pass over many like Rafî' Lunbânî[7]
Requires that the equitable critic of his rivals should possess
Such rapidity as existed in the tradition of Solomon![8]
Hail to the inspired songster of Jâm
Before whose eyes the spectacle of worlds was effaced
From his abundant pleasantness words mingled with subtleties
Spirituality shone forth in a beauteous form
No one after him attained to his universality
Eloquence in prose and verse closed with him

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1 The well known Delhi poet, who was called the Sultân of poets The text and MSS have *ma'ânî* and apparently this must be right If we could suppose Faizî to have written *mughânî* the line might be translated, 'Khusru of Hind is different from the fire worshipping Khusrus, for, etc

2 *Janî* Perhaps it means animals

3 Khwâja Kirmânî He is known as the *nazhl band i-zha ra* or garland twiner of poets D S 249 Author of the Humâî Humâyûn He died about 1350

4 So called from Akhsikat in Farghana D S 121 He was a contemporary of Khaqani He is mentioned by Bâbar, Erskine 5 His name was Asîru-d-din

5 For 'Umânî see D S 172 He was Asîru d-din 'Umânî and was a pupil of Nasîru-d-dîn Tûsî He belonged to Hamadân.

6 Saif i d dîn Isfarangî died 1166 A D, D S 126, Shamsu-d-din Tabasî son of a Qâzî, D S 161 He died 626 A.H

7 Rafî u-d-dîn Lunbânî called the 2nd Sahbân He belonged to the village of Lunban near Isfahân Daulat Shâh, 155 'Umânî celebrated him

8 Alluding I suppose to Solomon s governing the winds and flying through the air

To compare competitors with him
Would be the tale of the swift steed and the pack bullock
One by one, all have reposed on the bed of death
They have drawn over their heads the sash of concealment.
In the ear in which such profound strokes repose
What place is there for such and such's poetry?
Now, too, there are innumerable poets
But they're set on property and the dog-keeper's board
They have a dog's hunger and in pursuit of their desires
And for want of bread have thrown all honour in the dust
They are blinded and are bad craftsmen of an obsolete pattern
Their darkened souls are mud-choked, deserted wells
They are captives to the buying and selling noxious goods
In the market of disgrace, which may the dust of time cover,
Sometimes they bring out rough expressions
Which look like sheets thrown over the body of the sense
Sometimes they produce frigid conceits in a hot garb
Like cold water poured in winter into a hot bath
They carve undressed potsherds and on them
Affix the price of Badakhshān rubies
Their compositions are so rugged that they won't stick
To the heart even if you fasten them with glue
If you dip their poems in the Seven Seas
They will come out dry as dust-scattering sand
They have robbed a hundred volumes from the masters
So what they have pillaged cannot be counted,
To the fancy the inky pages of their writings
Look like the black blanketed, asinine Multanīs [1]
With iron pen, nay, with diamond pen
The've drawn useless lines on truth's pages
A heart that looks for the colour of truth in their poems
Asks from the rattan the flower of the anemone

[1] Multānī is a contemptuous name given to Hindus by the Turks as the first Hindus they encountered came from that quarter. See Vullers s.v. *gilīm*—*goshān* was the name of a race of men with immense ears, and perhaps the expression *siyah gilīma* "black blanketed" refers to this

'Tis best to shut the garden door in their faces
For this ragged[1] crew would throw the flowers into the dust?
As no one (else) was in the world, I this day am he
Who makes speech new in a new *divan*
I'm a stranger from the spiritual country in this station
Of the caravan of speech and have all its equipment
Now has heaven granted me the key of speech [me
The aperture is from the heart, the turning of the key is from
The angelic ones of the pleasant home of fancy
Have made all my meanings *houris* and pages
They have watched over the beauteous tablet and writing
And preserv d my pen from the scraping of calumny
My interview with the slave-cherishing Shāhinshāh
Was like the conversation of Moses with God
He said, "Rise and draw *wisdom from your pen*
For to day the world of speech knowing is entrusted to you
Set your pen to subtleties for in the wonders of verse
Farazdaq[2] *is mean beside you, and so is Hissānī*[3]
What magic is there in the tricklings from your pen
That it should surpass in colour the masterpiece of Mānī?"
The order was, "*Present to us of your subtle poetry*
Whatever amount you can, in future
Any poet who contends with you in speech
Should have his neck *twisted by you with correction's hand*'
What shall I say of the golden dress of red silk
Of me the naked being clothed in gold from head to foot?
What shall I say of how when drawn up from the dust
I was exalted by receiving a swift horse (*caugans*)?

---

[1] *Oak dāma*, slits made on right and left sides of skirt for ornamental purposes B Ajam But here the allusion *seems to be to* torn slits

[2] Farazdaq An early Arab an poet who wrote panegyrics See Daulat Shāh 22 1
Farazdaq bin Ghalib Wrote satires also

[3] Hissanī Hassān son of Sābit, born 563 A D., a poet who sang the praises of Muhammad He was a companion of the prophet and was given by the latter Mary the Coptic girl's sister Shīrīn in marriage Daulat Shah, 7 He is also called Husāmī from husām a sword See Beale art Hassan and Hammer Purgstall 1 406

What shall I say of the treasures of his favour 311
Of white and red money I gathered in purses?
What shall I say of how I received
All that befitted a Khān and a *Tarkhān*?
Two blessings showed themselves to me from fortune's door,
My evil horoscope[1] was changed to a good one
One was, I was made a tutor to the great princes
Who were branches of the tree of honour
1st, There was H M Sulṭan Selim the ocean-hearted
The bridal chamber of whose intellect is the billowy ocean
2nd, Shāh Murād the winged broidery of Hope
Who makes the skirt of heaven his collar
3rd, The courteous Daniel whose happy stars
Have bestowed on him brotherhood
But in truth I was when beside them
Like a schoolboy before his old Instructor
Hail heaven minded ones who in their perfect wisdom
Are joined with the spheres in world government
'Tis a mistake to turn to letters the eyes of him
Whose heart-eyes are opened to Reason's tablets
For why should a head lighted by the rays of guidance
Deposit the blackness of ink in its heart's[2] core?
The other blessing was the prostration of discipleship
Whereby I lowered the strength of sensuality,
By heaven's kindness each of those two great boons
Is a bounteous favour to my star,
World protecting Shāh, Sun of mighty power
Who is to day the life of the world, and the world of the living
I speak the truth, for the seven[3] moulds
You impart the soul, and the soul which is the soul of souls
Together with the glory of fortune, majesty of nature, and height of power

---

[1] The Lucknow ed has a useful note which states that the terms *ankīs* and *lahyān* are two figures used in geomancy one being indicative of evil and the other of good

[2] A play on *sawad* blackness (of ink) and *suwaydā* the blackness or core of the heart

[3] *Haft jalab* The seven heavens or the seven climes

Give a thousand times more than all that reason can comprehend.
On the feast day of thy birth it would be proper
To sacrifice celestial dromedaries
Thou hast no option as regards kindness and grace
What can come from the sun but sunshine?
Repentance brings back with the acme of entreaty
Him who on leaving your door's safety binds on the load of the litter
Let it not displease if for the glorious hearing
I tell a new tale with confirmatory oaths.
By that God who hath implanted in the Shāh's nature
Princely graces and perfect humanity
By the heavens by observing whose motions
The acute philosopher governs nature
By the division of the stars into Fixed and Planetary
All which are drops of existence in heaven's ocean
By the order of the elements which on Being's page
All form feet[1] (metrical) in the poem of Existence
By the conjunction of organisms whose dissolution
Works the overthrow of progeny
By the talisman of man's body which is a microcosm
Before which the senses and the intellect are confounded[2]
By the zeal of the pure souls who have never made
An untrue oath for the sake of eternity (?)
312 By the forehead-adorning dust of the performers of *sijda*
Who excel the devotion of the saints of Lebanon[3]
By the road-dust of the travellers to the holy station
By the guides of the path of certitude
By the acute unitarianism of the son of Arabi[4]

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[1] There is a play on the word *arkānī*, which means both pillars and poetic feet.

[2] *buldānī* It apparently means "to render stupid

[3] of A N III, p 84 line 11 Perhaps the Druses are meant

[4] Muhiyu d dīn Ibn Arabī See D Herbelot under Arabi Mohieddin He was a native of Spain, and flourished about 1229 He wrote the Fuṣūṣ al ḥukām and also the Kīmiyā-i-Saādat which was a favourite book of Akbar B 103 This last is a book about the unity of God.

By the austere cloak of the Pir of Kharqān[1]
I became not (I swear) from pelf a believer in
Thy Majesty glorious in fortune and throne
Whom the glorious Deity has placed in splendour.
That thou mightest henceforth be the *qibla* of me the beggar
'Tis worship to prostrate oneself before thy face
For as regards worship thou art the world's altar
Enough! The God-knower knows thy perfections
Thou art the altar of the hopes of the pious
The prostration of service toward thee is right for men
In this matter there is no conflict of faiths
Why should thy shrine not be my fortune's *attār*
When judge and sage turn their heart-faces to thee
Every hair of me speaks in praise of thy favours
To me the charge of impiety is preferable to that of ingratitude
Who can describe the niceties of thy favours
The things of ecstacy come not within the bounds of words
To put the woof of words and thoughts o'er the full moons[2] of thy justice
Were to place cotton raiment on the moon's shoulder
When I put[3] on the pilgrim's robe to visit thy throne's shrine
The rose of paradise became a thorn in comparison therewith
From eve till morn my bosom is pricked
By the budding-breasted bride of my heart,
My pen-bow has pointed word-arrows
For piercing the hearts of the envious
A holy strain is poured forth by the birds of my fancy
When my pen's palm tree swells with sap
All their pens do not equal the movement of mine

[1] The person meant is Abul Husain who wrote a book about Sūfism and died 980 A D Kharqān is the name of a place near Bistām in Persia

[2] I presume that *badūr-i-adal* means full moons of justice The next line refers to the idea that muslin or cotton is burnt up if exposed to the moon's rays

[3] I confess I do not fully understand the next four lines I presume Faizī means to say that in comparison with his pilgrim's dress the rose of paradise is a thorn [illegible]

There is a difference between the Shāh's ensign and the shepherd's staff
From the Attic salt which I sprinkle from my pen
My inkstand can claim to be a salt-cellar
From the glorious morsels at the Shāh's banquet
What comes to my soul is like balmy wine
If grace and favour assist me
I'll ascend hundreds of steps above Hope's summit
My tongue's wish does not exceed the bounds of respect
Grant my desire such as Thou knowest it!
This is the end of my request
On Thee is my trust!

Where was I? Whither has the plenteous flood of words carried me? In fine, as the design of the lord of the world in undertaking this expedition was based upon benevolence to all, the great officers, who regarded service as the substance of their religion, gathered together for their duties without any arrangements having been made for the forming of camps. The great encampment assumed another appearance from the assemblage of a victorious
313 soldiery. H.M.'s innate dignity demanded that he should proceed in person to chastise the Rānā, while a number of officers should be *dispatched to Malwa in order to cleanse that province from the dust* of the rebellion of the sons of Muḥammad Sulṭan Mīrzā. The lot of this service fell upon Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī and others who had received fiefs in Malwa, undertook the preparations. They set out from the fort of Gāgrūn and did not draw rein till they reached Ujjain. The Mīrzās fled to Gujrat. The details of this are that when they heard that the grand army had left the capital and was advancing stage by stage, Ulugh M., who was the eldest brother, and whose head itched with contumacy, departed and went to Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. and Muḥammed Ḥusain M., who were in Ujjain, in order to join them and plot his own destruction. When those wretches got the news of the arrival of the imperial forces at Gāgrūn, they were amazed and went off to Māndu. There Ulugh M. quitted his body (i.e., died) on the uplifting of the noise of the drums of fortune. The other brothers perceived that to resist the royal army was

beyond their power and fled towards Gujrāt There they joined Cingiz Khān, who had been a slave of Sultān Mahmud of Gujrāt, and who, after his death, had seized several of the forts of Gujrāt, such as Cāmpānir, Broach and Surāt There, too, they misconducted themselves and spread dissension until they threw the dust of destruction on their own heads after the conquest of Gujrāt An account of that masterpiece of good fortune will be given in its proper place In short, the victorious troops cleansed Malwa from the dust of those ill fated ones, and then went to repose in their fiefs They sent to Court reports of their success and of the abandonment by the rebels of the imperial territories

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CHAPTER LXV.

(This chapter has been translated by Major Price. Miscell Translation, O. T. F Vol. II.

H.M.'s Siege of the Fortress of Citūr.

At the time when the sublime camp was pitched in the environs of Gāgrūn, on account of making arrangements for the Malwa campaign, Āṣaf Khān and Wazīr Khān, who had fiefs in this neighbourhood, went off in accordance with orders to attack the fortress of Māndal. It was one of the strong forts of the Rāna, and was defended by the valour of Rawat Balvī Solangi, but by the *prestige of the* Shāhinshāh they conquered it. After the completion of the arrangement for the Malwa army, though the imperial forces were in
314 appearance few in number, yet H. M. relying on the Divine aid, and being contented to have secret auxiliaries, ordered a march forward with the idea that perhaps the Rānā might hear that the army was small, and so might come out of the defiles, and be thus easily disposed of. But as that ill-fated one knew that the army had not much of a siege-train with it, and thought that on that account H.M. would not attempt to take fortresses, he strengthened the fort of Citur, which, *in the opinion of the short sighted, was such a place that the lasso of* conquest could not attain to its battlements, and supplied it with provisions sufficient for several years. He also left in it five thousand gallant Rājputs, and devastated the surrounding country so that there did not even remain grass in the fields, and himself retired to the defiles of the hill-country. When the sublime army encamped in the neighbourhood of Citur, H. M. did not judge it proper to pursue that doomed one, and to enter the heart of the hills. By Divine inspiration he decided to capture the fort of Citur, which was the foundation of the Ranā's power, and the centre of his dominions, and on the day of Ābān 10 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 19 Rabī-'al akhir, 20 October 1567, he arrived at the outskirts of the fort and pitched his camp. At this time there was a great storm of wind, accompanied by thunder and lightning so that the earth was

shaken. But after an hour the sky became clear, the world was revealed and the fortress appeared in the distance.

Verse.

A fort on the face of that mountain
Reared its head up to the fourth heaven
The bird of the imagination could not reach it
No one knew its nature and condition.

The world-conquering mind decided upon besieging that sky-high fortress and upon hemming in the garrison. Accordingly he next day marched from that station, and encamped on the skirt of the mountain, on the summit of which was the fortress. He then rode out, accompanied by some of his courtiers and made the circuit of the mountain. The surveyors, who are always in attendance on the royal stirrup, found by measurement that the circumference was more than two *kos*, while it was five *kos* at the part used by the general public. H.M. applied himself to the task of taking the fortress and directed the Bakhshis to set out the batteries. The troops who had come along with H.M. went to their batteries, and those who came up afterwards had separate batteries. In this way the whole circuit of the fort was encompassed in the space of one month. During the same time some of the officers were sent to devastate the Rānā's territory, and to punish the contumacious. Āṣaf Khān with a number of officers was sent off to Rāmpūr, and 315 he opened it with the key of the sword, and received the applause of the Shāhinshāh. As the Rānā was pointed out as having gone to Udaipūr and Kombalmīr, Ḥusain Qulī Khān was sent with a large force to lay hold of him Ḥusain Qulī Khān arrived at Udaipūr, which was the Rānā's capital, and slaughtered the rebellious Wherever he heard of any gathering of rebels of Udaipūr, or the hill-country of Kombalmīr, he consumed them with the lightning of the fiery sword. He obtained much booty and made great search for the Rānā. But as he could get no trace of that vagabond, he, in accordance with the royal command, returned and was exalted by the bliss of doing homage.

Whilst the army was engaged in besieging the fortress, it came to the royal hearing that I'timād Khān of Gujrāt had been defeated

by Cingīz Khān and the Mīrzās, and had come to Donga'pūr. About this time I'tmād Khān's petition, accompanied by suitable presents, was received. Among the latter was a sea-elephant[1] which had exceedingly long ears, and had strange motions. H.M. the Shāhinshāh received the envoys graciously and dismissed them along with Hasan Khān Khazānci and a conciliatory rescript. At this time he (I'tmād) had not the good *fortune to* come and kiss the threshold. Ḥasan Khān came to Agra from Gujrāt and there had the *felicity of doing* homage.

As H.M. was very desirous of taking this fort, which was famous for its height and strength, the gallant spirits of the army were continually rushing upon it and daringly attacking it. Thus acted Khān Aālam and 'Ādil Khān. But as terrestrials cannot reach celestials, so these efforts were abortive. H.M. was very solicitous about this and was continually forbidding those intrepid men and saying that such mode of attack should not be called courageous Rather it was to be called rashness which the wise regarded as remote from moderation, and as blameable. But those men were overcome by rashness and did not give ear to these wise counsels and were continually rushing to the ambit of the fort, with the result that many had the cheek of their courage stained with red wounds. Many also drank the wholesome cup of martyrdom, for the arrows and bullets which those rank-breakers discharged passed off after grazing the surface of the walls and battlements, while those which the ill-fated garrison discharged reached men and horses. Accordingly an order was issued that proper spots should be selected
316 and that there the walls and bastions of the fort should be mined, and that then these mines should be filled with gunpowder and set on fire. When the walls and bastions had thus been destroyed, brave men could enter. Also that at one place a covered way (*sābāṭ*) should be made. The servants of the Court girded up their loins of effort for these two works Though there were many batteries, for

[1] *Fīl-i-daryāī*. Major Price thinks this must have been a hippopotamus, but in reality it was an African elephant This species has very long ears and the epithet daryāī which means river, ocean, refers to its having been brought by sea. The hippopotamus has short ears. Jahangir mentions the animal as an elephant in his Memoirs Tūzuk. P 158

the holy warriors had made various shelters and enclosures for their protection all round the fort, there were three principal batteries. One was the Shāhinshāh's special battery and was opposite the Lākhūta Gate, and was in charge of Hasan Khān Caghatāi, Rai Pattar Dās, Qāẓī Alī Baghdādī, Ikhtiyār Khān Faujdār and Kabīr Khān, it was here that the miners worked The second battery was in charge of Shujā'at Khān, Raja Todar Mal, Qāsim Khān Mīr Barr-u-Bahr. In this battery they constructed, in the height of the rains, a covered way of the length of a bowshot, from the middle of the hill, on the summit of which the fort was situated The third battery was in the charge of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-Majīd Āṣaf Khān and Wāzir Khān and many other noted heroes As to send for large mortars from the magazines would cause great delay, a large mortar which could throw a ball of half a *man* was cast in H M 's presence. When the garrison became aware of this fact, which never had entered into their ideas, the smoke of astonishment suffused their obfuscated brains, and they recognised that the foundation of their destruction had been laid, and that there would be daily progress to this consummation. As they were helpless, they had recourse to craft and sent, firstly Sāndā Silāhdār, and secondly, Sahib Khān, and made use of entreaties and lamentations They offered to enrol themselves among the subjects of the sublime court, and to send a yearly present. Several of the officers approved of this offer and made representations to this effect to H M They advised that in accordance with this agreement they should withdraw from this difficult task, but the sovereign dignity did not accept this view, and made the coming in of the Rānā a condition of release from the siege. Although the great officers were brought into straits by the long contest and endeavoured to get away from the dangerous place, they were not successful, and as the defenders did not know the bliss of service, they assembled on the walls and bastions and waged hot war. There were many dexterous artillerymen among them and they continually showered balls on the trenchers and other workmen. The latter protected themselves by shields of raw hides and laboured hard at making the covered way. But, in spite of all precautions nearly two hundred men were killed daily. Day by day the *sābāṭ* was pushed forward, and the mines advanced The coin of presents was poured into the lap of the workmen's hopes, and silver and gold

were reckoned at the rate of earth On two[1] sides they produced a broad, mud wall such that balls could not penetrate it, and it was sinuous in shape as being for the destruction of those viperous and scorpion-like natures. The miners also drove their mines and
317 brought them up to the foot of the fort They made two excavations contiguous to each other under the wall and in one they put 120 *mans* and, in the other, 80 *mans of gunpowder. An order was given* that the brave and enterprising should stand armed, and in readiness, and be on the watch so that when the mines were fired, and the wall broken down, they should rapidly take possession of the fort. On the day of Isfandārmuz 5 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Jamāda-al akhiri, 17 December 1567, the gunpowder was set fire to The bastion was pulled up from its foundation and sprung into the air with all the ill-fated soldiers who were on it. The match of the second excavation had not taken fire when the assailants, seeing that the wall had been demolished, rushed on heedlessly to the breach in order to enter by it All at once the second mine exploded, and the troops who were entering, and also a body of their opponents who were preparing to prevent them, were involved in the catastrophe and their souls severed from their bodies by the fierce storm. Their limbs were blown here and there, and stones were carried for leagues. The report of the explosion extended to fifty *kos* and more, and astonished those who heard it The cause of this accident was that there was one train for both mines and so it was fired from one place One mine took fire after the other, and the brave men made their attack without noticing this and without reflection. Before this, when it was reported to H M that the mines were ready, he had observed that they should be fired from two places lest there

[1] I understand the "two sides" referred to here to be the two side walls of the *sābāt* or covered way But Niẓāmu-d-dīn Elliot V 326, speaks of "two sides of the fort" as if there were two *sābāts* one on each side of the fort. My friend, Mr Irvine, in his learned work on the army of the Indian Mughals p 276, considers a *sābāt* to be mainly a trench, but from what Niẓ-amu-d-dīn and others say it seems to me that there was not much excavation of the ground and that the *sābāt* was mainly a covered way above the surface of ground It had earthen walls on each side and a roof of planks, etc , which was strong enough to carry a sentry box or other house from which a man could fire

should be delay in the ignition of one of them Thus he had foreseen the accident with his far reaching vision Kabir Khān and the other superintendents of the work formed their own ideas, and the fire ran quickly from one point to two places But as the thing was fated to occur, planning was of no avail, and that took place which took place Nearly 200 of the victorious troops ascended to heaven, and among them there were about 100 men of note About twenty of the latter were known to the king, and among them were Saiyid Jamālu-d-din son of Saiyid Ahmad, one of the Saiyids of Bārha, and who was distinguished by H M 's favour Others were Mirak Bahādur, Muhammad Sālh son of Mirak Khān Kulābi who was in his early youth a fiery spark of valour, Hayat Sultān, Shāh 'Ali Ishak Āqā, Yezdān Quli, M Biluc, Jān Beg and Yār Beg, brothers of Sher Beg Yesāwal bāshi and Mirak Bahadur A number of about forty who were, as they thought, protected in the defiles of the mountain and were waiting 318
their opportunity, were overwhelmed by earth and bricks from the fort After the taking of the fort it was ascertained how they had been destroyed Of the enemy, about forty were consumed by the wrath of God and sent to the abode of annihilation When the catastrophe became known to the other combatants they advanced and engaged in battle Their opponents sacrificed their lives in one place, and in the other exerted themselves in raising up a wall, till in a short time they succeeded in building another broad wall as high as the former one On the same day a mine was exploded in the battery of Āsaf Khān, but it did not take fire properly. About thirty of the garrison were killed, but, though no injury was sustained by the imperial army, the progress of the siege was not advanced. Although the situation was such as might have opened the eyes of the doomed garrison and have led them to supplication and lamentation, yet as something had occurred to the besiegers which the superficial might regard as a subject of exultation, the besieged made it an adminicle of presumption and pride The genius of the sovereign recognised the catastrophe as a cause of increased exertion, and strove more and more Though some of the assailants had been slain, the devotion of the others increased, and though the garrison shewed exultation, H M the Shāhinshāh was tranquil, for he knew that there had been a want of plan and gradual progress in regard to the siege, and he pointed out to the eager spirits that haste

was not effective in matters of this kind Patience and planning were necessary For first, there was the strength of the position, secondly there was the strength of the fortifications, and thirdly there was the large supply of *provisions* and *the number of fighting* men His mind fixed upon the completion of the covered way, which was the best mode of capturing a fortress, and he devoted himself more and more to this work He frequently visited the *sabaṭ* and went close to the fort and used to fire at those of the garrison who showed themselves. One day that *tiger* of the mighty forest was going round the fort When he came near the Lākhuta battery the holy warriors were engaged in prosecuting the seige under the protection of the wall H M stood under the wall and fired from the loop holes His servants were in attendance Jalāl Khān was *standing two removes from* H M and had placed *his shield on the top of the wall, and was watching from behind* it the shooting by the garrison. The devoted men who were in the battery were admiring the skill and rare failure of one of the musketeers of the fort who had injured many of the *ghāzīs* Suddenly *that seldom erring marksman* aimed at Jalāl Khān's head and fired He shot him through the flesh but did not do him much harm
319 H M the Shāhinshāh remarked "Jalāl Khān that marksman does not show himself, if he would do so, I'd avenge you" He aimed at the musket which projected from the loop hole and said, "We shall *this very instant take revenge for you* on his gun ' The firing and the passing of the bullet through the aperture and its striking the marksman were all one and the same thing Though it could not be exactly ascertained at the time, yet the lowering of the musket indicated that its owner had been hit Afterwards it was found that the royal gun had finished the wretch, and that he was named Ismā'il and was the head of the musketeers The king's good fortune calmed the men of the battery Similarly, H M killed many of the noted members of the garrison and sent them to the sleep of annihilation One day he came to the battery towards Cituri, which is a little hill near the fort, and was superintending the work He was going slowly along at a place where many bullets and cannon balls were coming, and as he had perfect reliance on the Divine protection and assistance, *no dust of apprehension* entered his mind Suddenly a large cannon ball fell near him and

martyred twenty of the brave combatants. On another day a bullet struck Khān 'Aālm, who was standing near the King; it passed through his cuirass but when it came to his under-garments it was, by the Divine favour, cooled by his sweat. This, too, increased the confidence of the leaders of the holy war. One day a bullet struck Moẓaffar Khān, but eventually did no harm. During the siege many such instances of the Divine protection occurred, and were a cause of guidance to the simple, and increased the devotion of the loyal.

A lofty genius is the key to difficult enterprises, and a lamp of the mysteries of destiny. Especially, wherever such a lord of fortune put his heart into an arduous task, he easily accomplishes it in spite of the apprehension of worldlings. Thus it was by the lofty genius of the Shāhinshāh, which is the interpreter of the Divine aid, that the work of the *sābāṭ* was accomplished under the supervision of Rajah Todar Mal and Qāsim Khān Mīr Barr-u-Baḥr Excellent quarters were constructed on the top of the sābāṭ, and H.M. stayed in them for two nights and one day before the work was completed, and directed the operations. The fortunate combatants strung up their hearts to the taking of the fort and destroyed its walls. The besieged also displayed bravery. H.M. personally put his heart into the conflict, and kept up a fusillade. He took up a place on the *sābaṭ* and watched the spectacle of the brave-hearted and of the chain-breaking tigers. During these two nights and a 320
day those gallant men so engaged in conflict that they took neither sleep nor food. The strength of both sides was exhausted. At length on the morning of Daibamihr 15 Isfandarmāz, corresponding to Tuesday 25 Sh'abān, 23 February 1568, that sky-based fortress was conquered. The account of this glorious event, which might serve as the bulletin of fortune, is that on the previous night an attack was being made on the fort from all sides, and several breaches were made in the walls. There were manifest indications that the fortress was ruined. Near the *sābāṭ*, brave men of the conquering army had pressed forward and had destroyed much of the solid wall of the fort. Half of the night had passed when the garrison crowded into the breach and, while part of them gave themselves up to destruction, the other brought muslin, cotton, wood and oil and were filling up the breach so that when the *ghāzis* should approach they should set fire to the heap and prevent anyone from

and struck his trunk with his sword and cut it off Though his trunk was severed, which makes life difficult it made wonderful
322 conflicts before it died It had killed thirty distinguished men before it was wounded, and it slew fifteen afterwards The elephant Madhukar also displayed wonderful deeds. A wonderful thing was that the elephant Kādira ran away inside the fort on account of the noise and tumult, driving before it a number of doomed men who were coming to the breach The lane was narrow, and it trampled and scattered them all It was by the Divine aid that such a great boon was conferred 'Azmat Khān, who was riding on the elephant, was wounded, and died of his wounds a few days afterwards H M used to state that, at this time, he was standing on the wall of the fort and contemplating the Divine aids. The elephant Sabdiliya came inside the fort and was engaged in casting down and killing the Rajputs A Rājpūt ran at him and struck him with his sword inflicting a slight wound The elephant, however, did not regard it and seized him with his trunk Just then another Rājpūt came in front of him and Sabdiliya turned to him while the first man escaped from his grasp and again daringly attacked him from behind, but Sabdiliya behaved magnificently H M also said that in the very heat of the conflict a hero, whom he did not recognise, came under his observation A Rājput who was separated from him by a low wall challenged him to combat, and he joyfully went towards him. One of the imperial soldiers, whom also H M did not recognise, ran to the assistance of the other hero, but the latter forbade him saying that it was contrary to the rules of chivalry and courage that he should come to his aid when his opponent had challenged him. He did everything to prevent him from helping him, and engaging personally with his opponent he disposed of him H M used to say that, though he endeavoured to find out this brave and chivalrous man, he did not succeed Presumably he was one of the mysterious men who put on a bodily form in order to help the spiritually and temporally august one In the beginning of the fight there were fifty elephants, and at the end as many as 300 entered the fort and trampled down the enemy H M related that he had come near the temple of Gobind Syam when an elephant-driver trampled a man under his elephant The elephant rolled him up in his trunk and brought him before H M The driver said that he did not know

the man's name, but that he appeared to be one of the leaders, and
that a large number of men had fought round him with sacrifice of
their lives.. At last it came out that it was Patā who had been
trampled to death. At the time he was produced, there was a
breath of life left in him, but he shortly afterwards died. There
were 8,000 fighting Rajpūts collected in the fortress, but there were
more than 40,000 peasants who took part in watching and serving.
When the standards entered the fort some of the garrison squeezed
themselves into the temples, thinking that they were holy places and 323
and that the idols would help them, and awaited the sacrificing of
their lives. Others awaited their doom in their own houses. A
number lifted up their swords and shortened their lances and came
forward to face the holy warriors. The latter disposed of those evil-
fated ones by their swords and lances. A number of those who were
in the temples and in their houses came out on seeing the ghāzis,
but were struck down before they could reach them.

Verse.

No one ever saw such battles
Nor ever heard of such from the experienced
What shall I say of that battle and engagement
I cannot mention one *item* out of a hundred thousand.

From early dawn till midday the bodies of those ill-starred men were consumed by the majesty of the great warrior. Nearly 30,000 men were killed. The reason of so many being killed was that on the *former* occasion on 3 Muharram 703, 16 August 1303, when Sulṭān 'Alā'u d-dīn took the fort *after* six months and seven days, the peasantry were not put to death as they had not engaged in fighting. But on *this* occasion they had shown great zeal and activity. Their excuses after the emergence of victory were of no avail, and orders were given for a general massacre. But a large number were made prisoners.

One of the wonderful things was that the Shāhinshāh's wrath had been greatly excited against the skilful musketeers, but though much search was made no trace of them could be found. At last it transpired that those evil-doers had, by means of the disguise of trickery, carried off their lives in safety from the fort. The

they got out was [1] this: When the victorious army was hotly engaged in plundering and capturing, these musketeers, who were a thousand in number, bound their wives and children as if they were prisoners and set off with them. The truth remained concealed from the searchers, and they thought that they were royal troops carrying off their prisoners. The stratagem was effectual at such a time and they escaped. Though on that day there was no house or lane, or passage where there were not heaps of dead, yet there were three places where the numbers of the slain was very great. A large number of Rājpūts had collected in the house of the Rānā in the fort. They came out by twos and threes, and threw away their lives. A large number collected in the temple of Mahādeo, who was much reverenced by them, and gave their bodies to the winds in the Rām-
324 pūra gateway. A glorious victory, such as might be an embroidery of increasing dominion, displayed itself from the ambuscades of fortune, and the fumes of pride at once departed from the heads of the contumacious ones of India, and they adopted submission after a special fashion. Except Ẓarb Ālī Tuwācī no one of the armies of fortune drank the cup of martyrdom on that day. H.M. the Shāhinshāh offered thanksgiving and after midday proceeded towards the camp. He remained there for three days arranging affairs, and made over the whole of the *Sarkār* to Khwāja 'Abdu-l-majīd Āṣaf Khān. As, at the commencement of this great enterprise, he had vowed that after the achievement of victory he would go on foot to the shrine of Khwāja Muīnu-d-dīn Cistī in Ajmīr, he, when he returned from the fort, in accordance with his vow, walked back to the camp. On the day of Farwardīn 19 Isfandārmāz, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 29 Sh'abān, 28 February 1568, the drum of return beat high, and he set off on foot as before and went on stage by stage over the burning desert-sands and while the wind was extremely hot. Although the order was that the troops should come on, mounted, yet the courtiers did not fail to do as he did, and many of the ladies

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that the musketeers were natives of Kālpī, and that the way they escaped was that their leaders bound them and brought them out of the city, and put to death everybody that they met. They also said that Akbar had ordered them to take the men outside and kill them, and then make a pyramid of their heads.

of the harem travelled on foot under the shadow of H M 's protection. When he reached the town of Mândal, Shaguna Qurâwal, who had gone in advance to Ajmîr and had conveyed the good news of H M 's approach, came quickly and brought representations from the ascetic hermits of the shrine to the effect that his holiness the Khwâja had appeared in a vision and had announced that the spiritual and temporal king had, from feelings of religion and righteous endeavour, formed the intention of visiting the shrine of his humble self on foot, and had directed them to restrain the caravan-conductor of Truth's way from his design by every means in their power "If he knew the amount of his own spirituality he would not bestow a glance on me the sitter in the dust of the path of studentship" When this representation reached the royal hearing, he allowed himself to be conveyed from that stage, and on the day of Âsmân 27 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 7 Ramẓân, 6 March 1568, made the district of Ajmîr fortunate by his advent. The last stage he, in accordance with his vow, performed on foot, and, without going to his quarters, at once proceeded to circumambulate the holy shrine He encompassed all the attendants on the shrine with liberal favours. He stayed there for ten days, intent on the worship of the Author of all good

Among the fortunate things which occurred during the siege of Citur there was this, that Sulaimân, the governor of Bengal, again recited the Khutba in the name of H M the Shâhinshâh He also had an interview with Mun'im Khân the Khân Khanan, and made an insincere peace with him (gurg âshti) The account of this is, that at the time when Mubâriz Khân, who was known as 'Adili, became an ingrate and a claimant of rule, Tâj Khân Kararani fled with his brothers and came to Bihâr, and continuously practised hypocrisy and feline stratagems, both while Muhammad Khan the ruler of Bengal was lifting up the head of dissension, and also after him during the time of Bahâdur At last after 'Adili had been killed in battle with Bahâdur, the latter died of a natural death, and his younger brother Jalalu-d-dîn laid claim to the sway of Bengal and Bihâr Tâj Khân and his brother were sometimes at strife with Jalâlu d-din, and sometimes were on friendly terms with him They also laid the foundation of a friendship with the Khân Zaman and behaved in a hypocritical manner After many adventures Jalalu-d-din also died, and the rule 325

of Bengal and Bihar fell to Taj Khān. After a short time, during which Taj Khān had, by fraud and deception, obtained possession of Bengal and Bihar, he too died, and his younger brother Sulaimān obtained the power. He formed a friendship with the Khān Zamān and strove to make his own position secure. He acquired strange power and the brainless Afghans all gathered round him. He collected treasure and a large number of elephants. When the Khān Zamān got his deserts by being punished, and H. M. the Shāhinshāh had returned after granting Jaunpur, etc., to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, as has already been narrated, Asad Ullāh Khān was holding Zamaniya, which had been founded by the Khān Zamān, on the latter's account. When the Khān Zamān was killed, Asad 'Ullāh, from weakness of intellect, sent a person to Sulaimān and asked for an appointment. He proposed to make over Zamānya to him and to become unfaithful to his salt. When the Khān Khānan became aware of this, he sent men to him and conciliated him. As he had some goodness in him he hearkened to the advice, and made over Zamānya to Qāsim Mashki, the Khān Khānan's agent, and personally appeared before the Khān Khānan. The Afghan army which had come for Zamānya returned unsuccessful. Lodi, who was distinguished among the Afghans for wisdom and goodness, and was Sulaimān's prime minister, was on the bank of the Son. As he knew the Khān Khānan to be a sedate man and a lover of peace, he made friends with him and planned by this means to save his country from the impact of the Shāhinshāh's troops. Presents and messages passed between him and Mun'im Khān, and close relations were thus established. When the world conquering standards marched against Citur, Sulaimān was engaged in extirpating the Rajah of Orissa, and Ibrāhim. As he was not at ease about Mun'im Khān Khān Khānan he, at the opportune time
326 when H. M. was engaged in taking Citur, endeavoured through Lodi to come to terms with him, and laid the foundations of friendship. After a friendly correspondence it was arranged that the Khān-Khānan should come to visit him so that by coming face to face alliance might be confirmed, and that the Khutba and the coinage might be adorned by the lofty titles of the Shāhinshāh. The Khān Khānan decided upon visiting Sulaimān and so completing the outward arrangements. Though far seeing well wishers endeavoured to dissuade him from this unsound idea he did not listen to them and

set off for Patna with 300 chosen men of his own and with Muhibb 'Alī Khān, Ibrahīm Khān Uzbeg, L'al Khān Badakhshī, Kucak 'Alī Khān son of Mīr Sultan Wais Qibcāq, Mīr Hāshim, brother of Abū Ismāīl, Hāshim Khān, and their dependants who might altogether amount to 1,000 men Lodi came and paid his respects, and after him came Bāyazīd the eldest son of Sulaimān When they were five or six *kos* from Patna, Sulaimān came to welcome him and respectfully embraced him First, the Khān Khānan had a feast and invited Sulaimān to his quarters, and had a brilliant assembly Next day Sulaimān exercised hospitality and exalted the pulpit by the holy name (of Akbar) He also glorified the coinage by the sacred stamp and offered suitable presents A number of his strife mongering nobles urged the seizure of Mun'im Khān They represented that the sublime standards were engaged in conquering Citūr, and many of the great officers were there If they disposed of the Khān Khānan there was no one between them and the throne who could oppose them When Lodi heard of this perfidy he spoke wise words and said that it was far from wisdom to make an enemy of such a lord of fortune, the lights of whose power shone more powerfully year by year over countries Moreover the Khān Khānan was only one of the slaves whom H.M had reared. Whatever humble individual fell under the glance of the God assisted one could be a Khān Khānan? What benefit would result from killing those few men? Then they had an opponent such as Ibrāhīm lying in wait for them How could such a plan (as that of seizing Mun'im Khān) be successful? Though Sulaimān accepted these views, the other Afghans, who were drunk with the wine of ignorance, did not listen and plotted mischief When Mun'im Khān heard this news he, by a clever stratagem, left his camp and, by Lodi's advice, came away quickly with a few men. The black hearted Afghans only heard of it after he had gone a long way As the business was at an end, they could only behave in a soothing manner Bāyazīd and Lodi came rapidly to the Khān Khānan, and after doing him honour they returned Mun'im Khān had crossed the Ganges and made two or three marches when the bulletin of the victory of Citūr arrived This increased the confidence of the imperial servants a thousand times Sulaimān went with a tranquil mind towards Bengal, and engaged in the disposal of his own business He by fraud got possession of Orissa, where the

227 temple of Jagannath is, and perfidiously put the Rajah to death He also, by oaths and deception, got Ibrāhīm into his hands, who had taken refuge with the Rajah and indulged in ideas of sovereignty. Him also Sulaimān sent to the abode of annihilation. Mun'im Khān engaged on his duties with a mind at rest

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CHAPTER LXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 13TH DIVINE YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDÎN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

Verse.

O thou opener of the eyes of the far-seeing
Supplier of those sitting in want,
Stretch out thy hand, for the self-reliant spirit
Has fallen into the abyss of a boundless flood.

By the help of daily increasing fortune my utterance has come thus[1] far and the burden on my heart has become somewhat lighter. I hope that by the increasing brightness of the morn of auspiciousness my heart may have new enlightenment and my tongue new strength, and that every moment the difficult task may become easy and suitable

Verse.

When my heart's guardian angel beheld me
He exclaimed from the portico of resolve,
Bring up the new Spring from life's fountain
Clothe speech with a newly-woven garment[1]

The auspicious cortege of the New Year arrived during the pleasant time when the Shāhinshāh was staying in Ajmīr after the conquest of Citōr The world adorning standards of the sun entered Aries—the house of exaltation—and the fortresses of the buds were opened by the alert hands of the vernal gales. The armies of vegetation adorned the parterres of the garden of equability

[1] A F indulges in these reflections because he has come to the end of the first duodenary cycle of Akbar's reign.

Verse

They spread a carpet of China brocade
On it were forms from all the seven climes
These adorned the floor of that banquet hall of joy
They invited the grandees and called for wine
Love showed itself and desire increased
They chose their loves and grasped their cups

After the passing of three hours and nine minutes of the night of Thursday the 11th Ramẓān 975, 10 March 1568 the auspicious transit (of the sun) took place, and the thirteenth year, to wit the year Farwardīn, which was the first year of the second revolution, took place It is to be hoped that thousands of revolutions and cycles (*qarn*) will possess the qualities of spring for the spiritual and temporal Khedive H M, after completing the circumambulations and celebrating the New Year's feast, left Ajmir for the capital on the day of Isfandārmaz 5 Farwardīn Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 15 Ramẓān, 14 March 1568 He travelled by Mewāt and indulged in hunting by the way While doing so the huntsmen pointed out a tiger jungle and H M the Shahinshāh went there to hunt the beast When he came near the reed bed suddenly a formidable tiger came out The courtiers lost control of themselves and pinned the animal *to the earth with life taking arrows* H M the Shāhinshāh did not approve of such haste and commanded that no one should, without orders, surround any wild beast that came out of the jungle While H.M was saying this, another tiger, as formidable as the first one, came out and moved towards him When the attendants saw this, their hair stood up on their bodies but on account of the sacred command no one ventured to advance *to kill* the tiger H.M mounted as he was, watched the tiger's eye and shot an arrow at him The tiger, wounded as he was, daringly advanced, and came out on the high ground and sate there (?) in his wrath H.M got off his horse and stood there while the brave tiger throwers drew a circle round him H M took aim with a gun and fired at the tiger, so that the ball entered at the corner of his mouth and grazed the skin below the ear H M was endeavouring to discharge another bullet, and was seeking for an opportunity, but

to whatever side he turned, the tiger was on the watch there, and a fitting opportunity for shooting did not present itself

I have heard from the holy lips of the Shāhinshāh that H M Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī used to relate that God had so ordained it that when a number of persons went tiger shooting the tiger always kept his eyes on the person who was destined to shoot him H M told me that he had noticed this on many occasions when he went out shooting, and found it come true [1] In fine when he could not get an opportunity he bade Dastam Khān advance, so that on the tiger's attention being drawn to him, H M might get a shot Ādil, the son of Shāh Muhammad Qandahārī, who had been chidden (for shooting the first tiger) thought that the order to advance was given to all the attendants, and he too went on from behind H M with a 329
bow and arrow in his hand The tiger turned towards 'Ādil and when he came near, Ādil shot and by force of destiny he made a miss The tiger came on and struck him with his two paws That strong man attacked the tiger and put his left hand into his mouth while with the other he drew his dagger As fate destined some thing different, the dagger was fastened to the hilt and while he was unfastening it the tiger chewed his hand Then he drew his dagger and inflicted two wounds on the tiger's mouth Then the tiger seized his right hand with his mouth Meanwhile the brave men in attendance rushed in from all sides and disposed of the tiger with their swords, and at the same time Ādil received a sword wound That tiger hearted brave man lay in agony for four months and at last the poison of the wounds caused his limbs to mortify and he died in Agra It would seem that this was a retribution for his disrespect to his father The circumstances were that the shameless one lusted after the wife of his father's *dīwān* and that the chaste lady gave her life to death and did not yield her body to him His father used to restrain him from this improper behaviour, and one day, he being annoyed by his father's remonstrances struck him with his sword In fact, if 'Ādil escaped in the judgment hall of God by such a punishment, from the abyss of his crime he was fortunate How could so great a transgression receive its retribution by such an event!

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1 Apparently it did not come true on this occasion Akbar did not kill the tiger

In fine, after enjoying the hunting, H M sent off his camp which had been pitched near Alwār, while he himself went by way of Nārnol and there joined the camp From there he went on hunting, and on the day of Isfandarmaz 5 Ardi bihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Shawwāl, 13 April 1568, he arrived at Agra In this fortunate year Hāji Begam returned to the imperial dominions after visiting the two holy places (Mecca and Medina) and distributing large benefactions and charities to the inhabitants thereof, and was rejoiced by seeing the altar of her heart and soul, and the spiritual and temporal king

One of the events was the march of the victorious troops to take the fort of Rantanbhōr which, for strength and solidity, was the equal of Citur But in the middle of the way the army turned back in accordance with the orders and went off to Mālwa to put down the Mirzās. The account of this is, that when the world conquering forces returned to the capital after the victory over Citur, it occurred to H M the Shāhinshāh that some of those leaders who had not had the happiness to serve at Citūr, or who had arrived late, should
330 be appointed to take Rantanbhōr, which was a stumbling block in the way of peace In accordance with this good idea Sādiq Khān, Baba Khān Qāqshāl, Samanjī Khān, Safdar Khān, Bahādur Khān, Dost Khān Sahārī, and other great officers were dispatched on this service under the leadership of Ashraf Khān The army had marched some way and then returned Messengers brought the news that Ibrāhim Husain M. and Muhammad Husain M had collected a number of vagabonds and had come from Gujrāt to Mālwa They were besieging Ujjain, which is a great fortress in that province, and thereby had introduced disorder into the territory

The circumstances of this disturbance are as follows When Shihābu-d-din Ahmad Khān, together with many of the great officers such as Murād Khān and Shāh Budāgh Khān, were sent against the *Mirzās from the vicinity of Gagrun, when H M was proceeding* against Citūr, the Mirzās felt that they could not cope with the victorious forces and hastened towards Gujrāt. They joined Cingiz Khān, the slave of Sultān Mahmūd Gujrātī, and who had, after the Sultān's martyrdom, taken possession of Cāmpānir, Surat and Broach He was then aiming at getting possession of Ahmadābād and was wish

ing to lead an army against I'timād Khān He regarded the coming of the Mirzās as a valuable prize, and marched with a large force against I'timād A hot engagement took place near the city and I'timad Khān was defeated and Ahmadabād taken As the Mirzās distinguished themselves in this battle, Cingiz Khān gave them suitable fiefs in the neighbourhood of Broach As the clay and water of their bodies were composed of turbulence there too they extended the arm of oppression In their presumption they laid hold of several estates and villages and traversed the country with unruly steps Cingiz Khān sent a large army against them, but it was defeated As however, they could not withstand Cingiz Khān, they stirred up the dust of calamity and went off to Khāndes There too they were not safe and set off for Mālwa, and spread the table of strife on the borders of Ujjain Murād Khān, the jāgirdār of Ujjain, and Mir 'Azizu ullah, the diwān of Sarkār Mālwa, had heard of their designs two days before, and repaired and strengthened the fort of Ujjain and stood firm

When the news of this disturbance arrived, an order was issued that the troops which had gone off to take Ranthanbhor should proceed to Mālwa Thereupon the officers turned towards that province, and proceeded there in spite of the intensity of the rains 331
H M the Shāhinshāh separated from his court and added to the troops several of the great officers such as Qulij Khān and Khwāja Ghiasu-d-din 'Ali of Qazwin, the latter of whom had been appointed Bakhshi

When the troops reached Saronj Shihābu-d din Ahmad Khān who was jāgirdār there joined them with a proper equipment In Sārangpur Shāh Budāgh Khān who was governor there, joined them When the Mirzās heard of their approach they lost confidence and fled in confusion to Māndu Murād Khān and Mir 'Azizu ullah Diwān and other great officers pursued them and the Mirzas fled from Mandu and went off in confusion to the Narbada A large number of their followers gave their lives to the waves of annihilation While there they heard of Cingiz Khān's having been killed by the treachery of Jajhār Khān Habshi and of the divisions in Gujrat They considered that Gujrāt would be a grand asylum for them and went off there The officers continually pursued them and came up to the Narbada. But as the conquest of Gujrāt was reserved for

another knot of time, they did not, in the absence of orders, proceed further and so turned back The jāgīrdārs of Mālwa remained at their fiefs, and the other officers such as Ashraf Khān, Qulij Khān, Sādiq and Khwāja Ghiāsu d-dīn 'Alī, returned to court As H M had heard that they had shown tardiness in setting off and in pursuing the Mīrzās, they were for some days under his displeasure But when it appeared that the tale bearers and stirrers up of strife had reported what was untrue, they were encompassed with princely favours *The Mīrzās managed to drag themselves to Gujrāt,* and as they found the country without a ruler, they got possession, without a contest, of the forts of Cāmpānīr and Surat. Ibrāhīm Husain M went to Broach Rustam Khān a Turkish slave, in whose house lived Cingiz Khān's sister, made the fort strong and shut himself up in it The strife-mongers besieged it for two years, and Rustam Khān continually sallied out of the fort, and did Rustam like feats But as he was without a head, and despaired of help, he came to terms and surrendered the fort By perfidy and deceit the lords of dissension caused his life also to come out of the fortress of his body The affair of the Mīrzās, and the end of those troublers will be related in this noble volume in its proper place

332 One of [1] the occurrences was that the officers of the Atka clan were removed from the Panjab and that the government of that country was entrusted to Husain Qulī Khān, who on account of his good services received the title of Khān Jahān. It is not hidden from the hearts of the far seeing and clear sighted that the spiritual garland twiners of sovereignty (i e kings) resemble gardeners As gardeners adorn gardens with trees and move them from one place to another, and reject many, and irrigate others, and labour to rear them to a proper size, and extirpate bad trees, and lop off evil branches, and remove trees that are too large, and graft some upon others, and gather their various fruits and flowers, and enjoy their

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1 The removal of the Atka Khail from the Panjab is referred to by Bāyazīd, and he describes a conversation on the subject between Akbar and Mun'im Khān Akbar took great credit to himself for this step, and said that he had scattered the Atka Khail so that they had become like the stars of the constellation of 'The daughters of the Bier' i.e., not clustered together like the Pleiades

shade when necessary, and do other things which are established in the science of horticulture, so do just and far seeing kings light the lamp of wisdom by regulating and instructing their servants, and so uprear the standard of guidance Whenever a large body is gathered together of one mind and speech, and show much push and energy, it is proper to disperse them, firstly for their own good, and secondly for the welfare of the community Even if no improper act in consequence of the aggregation be seen or suspected, such dispersion is the material of union, for peace cannot be established when there is damage from the man throwing wine of the world, and the weak-headed drinkers of the cup of its intoxication! Especially when strife mongers and tale bearers abound! Negligence is implanted in the human constitution Accordingly the wisdom and statesmanship of the Shāhinshāh demanded that the loyal members of the Atka Khail, who had for a long time been gathered together in the Panjāb and been administering that province, should leave it, and after appearing at Court should have charge of another territory. Although previously to this, viz, when the Khān Kilān had gone to Kabul, or when M Hakim had with a few troops besieged Lahore, wonderful stories had been told about those loyal men, they had not been credited by H M, who is a world revealing cup of terrestrial and celestial mysteries. But in conformity with the above mentioned canon, which is consonant with the religion of sovereignty, he resolved that all the officers of the Panjāb and the jāgirdārs of that province should be summoned, and that the control of that territory should be entrusted to some other persons from among the intimate courtiers At the time when the sublime army had conquered the fortress of Citur and returned to the capital, an order was issued calling for the officers of the Panjāb, and those auspicious ones made respectful haste, and in Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Rabi' al awwal 976, August 1568, did homage in Agra, the capital After a short period, the Sārkar of Sambal was made the fief of Mir Muhammad 333 Khān, Sarkār Mālwa given to Qutbu d din Muhammad Khān, and Sarkār Qanauj to Sharif Khān All the descendants and scions of this glorious clan were distinguished by the grant of suitable fiefs As M Koka was continually in attendance on H M, his Panjāb jāgir was left as it was, while the province was made over to the government of Husain Quli Khān who was summoned from Nāgor Ho-

arrived and made the dust of the sublime threshold the collyrium of the eyes of his fortune at the time when the army was proceeding to conquer Ranthanbhor He accompanied this expedition, and when the fort was taken and the country conquered he came to the capital and was sent off with his brother Ism'ail Quli Khan to administer the Panjāb

In this fortunate year Shihābu-d din Ahmad Khan came, in accordance with orders from Sarkar Mālwa and did homage The world adorning mind directed that as the management both of political and financial matters was beyond Muzaffar Khān's powers, and he could not give proper attention to exchequer affairs, one of the able, peasantry-cherishing, honest and laborious officers should be specially appointed to this high office In accordance with this idea H M nominated Shihābu d dīn Ahmad Khān—who possessed a large share of those qualities—to the office of the Exchequer He took proper pains to administer this department and as the exchequer business was large, and honest men, or rather officers[1] who did not much embezzle, were few, he abolished the yearly settlement (*zabt i hirsala*) which was a cause of great expense and led to embezzlements, and established a rate (*nasq*), and by his acuteness[2] suppressed the fraudulent

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[1] Text *'inān-giriftahāī* those who held the reins Add 27 247 has inayat giriftahaī those who had received benefits

[2] The text has بعرو ولر سدة *bajisū wā rasida*, which I do not understand unless it means by arriving at details The Maāsir in its notice of Shihabu d dīn II 569 has *az ji rasī u kardani* by his penetration and skill

CHAPTER LXVII

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh for the Conquest of Rantanbhōr

The chastisement of the stiff-necked ones who cocked the cap of pride, and whose heads held the brain of turbulence, as well as the cherishing of the obedient who bow themselves beneath the burden of submission and move swiftly under it, are for great princes the most exquisite form of religious worship Thanks be to God! H.M. the Shāhinshāh has always kept this praiseworthy object in view Accordingly he has by daily increasing fortunes from time to time cleansed the heart-expanding territories of India 33
from the weeds and rubbish of strife-mongers When the lofty fortress of Citūr had been conquered, and the rebellious ones trodden by the elephants of the troops of fortune, he turned his attention to the fort of Rantanbhor which was Citur's equal As officers who were organisers of victory had repeatedly been appointed to take it, and something had always occurred to prevent this—and indeed it would appear that the arbiters of destiny had reserved this great feat for the expedition in person of the Shāhinshāh—he by Divine inspiration decided to accomplish the undertaking at this auspicious time. Accordingly, on the day of Āzar 9 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday the 1st Rajab, 21st December 1568, the expedition for the conquest of this great fortress took place In order to strengthen his heart by the influences of holy recluses he marched by way of Delhi, and in the sacred places there sought for amplitude of light. Especially did he visit the perfumed shrine of that sitter on the spiritual and temporal throne, H M Jahanbāni Jinnat Āshiānī, and did he confer princely largesse on the attendants thereupon Similarly he bestowed liberal alms on all the custodians of other shrines, and weighted the skirts of the hopes of the empty-handed ones of the city by generous gifts. In the neighbourhood of the town of Pālam, which is near the city, he had a *qamargha* hunt and engaged in the pursuit of joy In that pleasant locality he had various delights, and engaged in spiritual and physical hunting

From thence he went, hunting by the way, through Mewāt, and after spreading the shadow of his justice over the city of Alwar he moved further forward.

One of the instructive occurrences was that in the neighbourhood of the town of Lālsot[1] the elephant Mansukha[2] (mind's delight), which was one of the special elephants, became *mast* and rushed at the elephant of Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī With his two tusks he so lifted up that elephant as to amaze the spectators That famous elephant received an injury to its chest, and died after two days Its female companion for three days after this occurrence did not touch water, or rice or fodder The more they tried to induce her to eat, the less inclination did she show to do so At last she died on the third day, from grief at the separation from her companion When such marks of affection appear in beasts, what deeds are there which may not be displayed among human beings? But no one must reason from this to persons who are human in shape but not in reality, for such persons are lower than fossils In brief, by seeing this catastrophe spiritualists had the lamp of their understandings illuminated, while the simple ones of the school of loyalty received a tablet of instruction in devotion. After travers-
335 ing various stages H M the Shāhinshāh reached Rantanbhōr on the day of Anirān 3 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 21 Shābān, 10 February 1569 This fort is in the middle of the hill-country Hence they say that all other forts are naked, while this is mail clad The real name of this fort is Rantahpūr,[3] and Ran is the name of a high hill which overtops it On this account the fort has got this name The fort is very lofty and strong, so that the lasso of the imagination cannot reach its battlements, nor the catapult of the fancy be effectual against its high walls.

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1 A town in Jaipūr, Rajputana, 40 m S Jaipūr, I G

2 The Iqbālnāma has Mānī Singh, and it takes that elephant to be the one that died Perhaps this is because the epithet *nāmī* famous is applied to the elephant which died, and possibly his interpretation is right

3 The editors say in a note that they had previously spelt the name Ranthanbhor in accordance with Mr Blochmann but that it now appears that the name is Rantahpūr i e, the city in the hollow of the Ran, and that they will in future so spell it But A.F s derivation is doubtful

Verse

They saw a hill with its head on Arcturus,
Not made of hands, or by water and clay
On it was a fort which since Time
The bird of thought had not passed by
The Pleiades were its first pillar
No such fort was to be seen in the world

At that time Surjan Hārā was ruler of the fort He had strengthened it in various ways, and had provisioned it, and having prepared for war, he had in his folly grounded his presumptuous hopes on this piece of stone On the day after his arrival H.M the Shāhinshāh had come out of the defile where his camp was pitched and examined the hill in company with a few of his special courtiers He went up to the top of the hill and studied with far-seeing eyes the height of the fort He brought the figure of its conquest into the mirror of his imagination and tightened the straps of resolution for its capture

Verse

Thus spoke the illustrious *Khaqan*
O famed one, the memorial of the world,
By the favour of God the Creator
I shall cast this fort to the ground

In accordance with the world-conquering commands the able Bakhshīs arranged the batteries round the hill on the summit of which the fort war situated. The ocean like army surrounded it with its billows, and took the form of a devastating flood Egress and ingress were so blocked for the garrison that the wind could not enter They were active in firing cannon, and the thunderbolt of wrath burnt up the life harvest of the ill fated enemy

One of the occurrences during the siege was the arrival of Mahdi Qāsim Khān from the journey to the Hijāz He from a 336
confused brain had gone off on this journey from Garha, which was his government, without leave from H M Having been struck with shame he had come to Qandahar by way of 'Irāq, and from there he came to Ranthanbor and did homage He presented 'Irāqī horses

and other things, and as the nature of H.M. the Shāhinshāh is such that he feels ashamed[1] for transgressors, he showed kindness and humanity and gave him a robe of honour, etc. He also gave him the Sarkār of Lucknow and its territory as his fief, and afterwards conferred upon him the dignity of an Amīr.

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[1] This seems an allusion to a verse in the preface to the Gulistan.

CHAPTER LXVIII

BEGINNING OF THE 14TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ARDI-BIHIST OF THE SECOND CYCLE

While the Shāhinshāh was engaged in besieging Ranthanbhor the standard of the army of Spring was upreared, and the "'atr" of the New Year took possession of the world The mouth of the bud opened, and the fire of the rose shed sparks.

Verse.

The new spring was like young men's minds
And fresher than the brains of the wise
The garden fortress shot fire from the rose
The armies of the jasmine and cypress careered,
The hyacinth bed shed everywhere perfume
And excited more joy than the mountain shade
The tulip in the field seemed to hold up a flag,
The thunder in the clouds was like a mountain echo
The breeze brimful of the bounty of the world's morn
Suffused the earth's brain with fragrance

By the felicity of the Shāhinshāh the outer world took the freshness and pleasantness of the spiritual world The Great Luminary—the gift bestower on the world—entered its house of exaltation after 7 hours, 0 minutes of the night of Friday the 22nd Ramzān 976 11 March 1569, and the 14th year or the Divine Year Ardi bihisht of the 2nd cycle began The vernal breeze gave the news of the blowing of the rose and proclaimed victory to mortals and the birds of the garden sang in chorus As after consideration it appeared certain that the enterprise was impossible without the application of *sabats* which are the demolishers of the stiffnecked, an order was given to Qasim Khān Mir Barr u Bahr to prepare one. For greater security Rajah Todār Mal, who had the control of the viziership was also employed on this service Able superintendents 337

raised a lofty *sabāṭ* near the valley of the Ran Strong stone-cutters as well as smiths and carpenters addressed themselves to this duty. In a short space of time the work was far advanced, and the work became on a level with the fort. Great culverins, each of which was with difficulty dragged over level ground by two hundred pairs of oxen, and which threw a stone of sixty *mans* and a bullet[1] of thirty *mans* were drawn up such a mountain full of heights and hollows by winding paths by iron-armed kahārs and strong-shouldered porters, by the genius of the Shāhinshāh who is the opener of physical and spiritual knots, over the hillock of the Ran where the royal battery was In accordance with orders firing began At every discharge there was a reverberation in the mountain, the ears of the solid rocks were opened, and there was a breach in the walls of the fort and the houses went to dust

On seeing this state of things the smoke of amazement rose in Surjan's brain, and dust was evolved from his breath His pride was shattered, and the fire of his disposition quenched At the end of the month of Ramẓan, 19th March 1569, which was the first day of victory, the Shāhinshāh remarked "If the garrison do not to-day come to do homage, next day, which is the 'Id, the fort will be our target (*qabaq*)" Sūrjan's heart gave way. He employed the intercession of the courtiers and sent his sons Dūda and Bhoj to court They succeeded, by the instrumentality of some high officers, in obtaining an interview and placed the foreheads of supplication on the threshold of sincerity They begged the pardon of their father's offences and requested that they might perform the prostration (*sijda*) Inasmuch as the ocean of the Shāhinshāh's forgiveness is always in motion, the ear of their hope was made heavy by the jewels of favour They were attired with robes of pardon and sent to their father One of the strange things that occurred on that day was that when the sons of Sūrjan were brought out from the royal pavilion to receive their robes of honour, one of the doomed Rajputs, who was with them, conceived the notion that possibly an order had been issued for the seizure of the lads. In his loyalty he got excited and proceeded to draw his sword Bipākdas (?) Sakrwāl, a servant

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1 The bullet is called a *haftjōsh*, a seven metalled bullet or a compound of iron antimony, lead, gold tin, copper and silver

of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, was near at hand, and began to rebuke the Rajput and to give him advice The fated one attacked him with his sword, but that excellent man did not budge and continued his admonitions, saying that his duty was clear, that he was the friend 388
of both parties, and that the Rajput should desist as he was under a mistake The furious man did not attend to him, but ran towards the royal *daulatkhana* He wounded Puran Mal, son of Kānth Sajāwat, and also one or two others He also clove to the middle Bahāu d din Majzub of Budāūn, who was in the circle of admirers of the holy beauty (of Akbar) Meanwhile one of Mozaffar Khān's servants came up and disposed of him H M the Shāhinshāh was astonished at the occurrence Though the sons of Surjan were not to blame and were not censured, yet they were somewhat ashamed They were encompassed with favours and joyfully rejoined their father, and communicated to him the happy intelligence Surjan, in order that his honour might be preserved, begged that one of the intimate courtiers might come and introduce him to the court, and H M the Shāhinshāh granted his request, and nominated Husain Qulī Khān When the latter drew near the fort, Surjan hastened to meet him, and to convey him with honour to his house On the day of Māh the 12th Farwardin, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 3 Shawwāl, 22nd March, he came out of the fort and prostrated himself at the threshold He tendered suitable gifts, and the keys of the fort, which were made of gold and silver He was treated with great favour and attained to security and tranquillity Through some courtiers he represented that after three days spent in the fort he would bring out his family, etc., and that thereafter he would make over the fort to the imperial servants and proceed himself to the capital Meanwhile his sons would wait on the royal stirrup H.M accepted his proposition, and gave him leave to depart An order was issued for the dispersal of the troops Surjan entered the fort, and was occupied for three days in bringing out his dependants and his goods, and then made over the fort, with its granaries, and stores to Mihtar Khān, who was one of the great officers. The conquest of such a lofty fort, which great rulers had not been able to accomplish after long sieges, and which Sultan Al au d din had 339
taken with great difficulty after a year, was effected by H M the Shāhinshāh in the space of one month Next day H M entered the

fort The cries of "God is great" (Allah Akbar) resounded in that heaven like mountain, and songs of exultation rose high from holy celestials!

Verse.

Wherever the eye looked, there was sign of victory
Wherever the ear applied itself, there was news of conquest

When by the help of fortune the standard of victory had been raised high as Capella, and the management of Ranthanbhor had been arranged for, Khwāja Jahan and Moẓaffar Khan were, in accordance with orders, sent off to the right with the large camp towards the capital, while H M the Shahinshāh went off with his intimates towards Ajmir and the illustrious shrine Every day he enjoyed the pleasures of hunting till at length he reached that delightful city (Ajmir) H M paid his respects to the shrine and scattered coin into the skirts of the attendants During the week that he spent there he visited the shrine every day, and in going and coming showed great reverence. Afterwards he proceeded towards the capital

When he alighted at Amber, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, whose native town it was, came forward with sincerity and arranged a feast He also tendered noble gifts The royal cortège moved from thence, stage by stage On the way news was brought to H.M of the death of Darbār Khān At the time of proceeding to Ajmir he had, on account of severe illness, obtained permission to repair to the capital In accordance with heaven's decree he died in that city As H M is a mine of gentleness and an appreciator of merit, he was rendered very melancholy by this catastrophe As in the world of asceticism and isolation patience and endurance in such matters is proper, so in the world of association are restlessness and disturbance approved of But in the case of an all sincere king such events are but the polishers of the jewel of devotion! In accordance with his directions (*wasiyat*) that faithful servant was buried at the foot of the royal
340 dog,[1] where formerly a dome had been erected by him His

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1 The text has *sang* a stone, but the true reading is *sag* a dog See Blochmann 401 Possibly the dog was the one that refused to eat till Akbar recovered of his wound The Iqbālnāma says the directions were given in his last moments and that Darbar Khan asked to be buried under the feet of the dog Unlike the author of the Maasir he seems

children were encompassed by royal favours. May almighty God 340
preserve this loyalty-rewarding Shâhinshâh for epochs and cycles on the throne of dominion, and not suffer the dust of sorrow to touch the hem of his ever vernal heart!

Verse

O God, as long as there is a centre to the sky
Make not the world vacant of this King
May the heavens be his signet ring
May the key of the world be in his sleeve

In fine, after traversing various stages he arrived at Agra on the 31st Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 24 Zi l q'ada, 11 May 1569, and alighted in the centre of the citadel in the Bangâli Mahal which had been newly constructed The gates of justice and graciousness were thrown open for mankind.

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to approve of Darbâr Khan's wish The tomb was in Agra, and it was there that Darbâr died. His son Deo Sultân as we learn from p 349, seems to have gone mad

CHAPTER LXIX.

Capture of Fort Kālinjar[1] by the aid of the Servants[2] of Dominion.

The breezes of fortune which blew from the vent-hole of fortune caused the flowers of the gardens of success to smile, and the boughs of victory to become heavy with fruit. The aspirations of joy were fulfilled Proclamations issued from the[3] four pillars of dominion, and joyful tidings from the six sides of fortune. As an instance of this, on the 32nd day of Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 29 Safar 977, 11 August 1569, messengers brought the news of the capture of Fort Kālinjar. That fort is built upon a hill, and is equal to the cærulean fortress of the spheres.

Verse[4]

If one vows to ascend the hill
He afterwards searches for a means of fulfilment
When one sees a higher hill than it
His to-day will be the day after the resurrection.

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[1] See General Maisey's report on antiquities of Kālinjar, J A S B, 1848, and Cunningham's Arch Survey, XXI, Part I, p 20 Kālinjar lies 90 m W S.W Allahabad, and the fort stands on a flat-topped hill of the Vindhya range, which here rises to a height of 800 ft. above the plain *See also I G and Pogson's History of the Boondeelas, Calcutta, 1828, p. 148.*

[2] That is, Akbar's officers. He himself was not there

[3] *Cahārrukn, an expression sometimes used for the four elements*

[4] I have found these lines very obscure, and though the Lucknow editor's note helps, it does not remove all the difficulties He says that *fardz* in the second line refers to the granting of the prayer so that perhaps the meaning is that if one vow to ascend the hill on the fulfilment *of his desires, he is in a difficulty* when his prayer has been answered for he does not see how he can climb the hill I suppose the last line means that he will never see a higher hill, *unless in the other world*

This fort was in the possession of Rajah Rām Cand, the ruler of anna During the evil time of the Afghans he got possession of t by giving a large sum of money to Bijlī Khān, the adopted son of ihār Khān[1] At the time when the army of victory proceeded gainst Ranthanbhōr, an order was issued to Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, hāham Khān Jalāir and other officers, who had jāgīrs in the eastern 341 rovinces for the taking of Fort Kālinjar They obeyed the comnand and laid siege to the fort. The garrison was brought into ifficulty so that no one could put his head out of the fort. When he report of the captures of Citur and Ranthanbhor resounded in he ears of the haughty ones, everyone whose eyes had been in a easure touched by the collyrium of understanding saw that there as no remedy except to lay down the head of presumption on the round of submission Rajah Rām Cand who possessed some rays f intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy cortège at the capital, nd asked for quarter He made over the fort to the imperial ervants and sent the keys along with splendid presents along with onfidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his conratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight ere approved of, and his agents were received with favour The overnment of the fort was made over to Majnun Khān Qāqshāl By he felicity of the Shāhinshāh's fortune such a fortress upon whose attlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never ighted, came into the possession of the imperial servants without he trouble of a battle or a contest

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of the ajah of Kajlī[2] which is a province of India near Malabār. The mbassador made many demonstrations of loyalty to the Shāhinshāh. he Rajah was distinguished among the landholders of that part f the country for his territory and wealth, and on one occasion aving received benefit from the sect of *jogis* he had since a year dopted their costume and treated them with honour This Rajah ad beheld in a dream the spiritual and physical glory of H M the

[1] Bihār Khān 'Aẓam Humāyūn, Elliot V 223 n 2.

[2] I have been unable to identify his place but it seems not improbable that Cochin is meant The native name is Kochchī (I.G.) and Kajlī and Kochchī would be written nearly alike in Persian

Shāhinshāh and had become one of his disciples and continually made inquiries of travellers concerning him He was always meditating the sending of the rarities of the country to court, and the expressing of his devotion But on account of the distance and the intervention of islands (peninsulas ?) and mountains, and of oppositions from enemies, he could not effect his purpose. None of his servants accepted this mission which was distant, and the path of which led through enemies The son of his Vizier in his wisdom and disinterestedness undertook the journey He said that though the journey might not be accomplished by preparation and expenditure, et cetera, yet he would as a single individual give his energy to it, and by every exertion in his power reach the court He would both discharge his duty to his master and show his devotion to him, and also attain eternal felicity for himself by beholding the Shāhinshāh. As the Vizier's son was dear to his father and mother they did not give him leave to go, but at last that auspicious one, after a
342 thousand efforts, obtained a willing or unwilling permission and set off The Rajah said, "Though you are conveying to the court the best thing in the world, *viz*, genuine sincerity, yet it is indispensable that the dues of dependence be paid But if all my jewels and my wealth were taken there, what show would they make, and what value would be placed on them? Especially, how can you carry rarities in this condition, and how can you protect them from the dangers of the road? But I have a knife which was made by former physicians of this country, and who constructed it according to talismans and charms Though in appearance it possesses no value, yet its virtue is that whenever it is applied to a swelling it removes it I make over this rarity to you that you may put it into the hollow of a staff and carry it with you, so that it may be a memorial of me" The ambassador set off, he was for a long time in attendance on the court but could not get an introduction. At last he was introduced through Rajah Birbar That protector of the poor and favourer of the humble (Akbar) sent for him and granted him his desire After doing homage he produced that rarity and was rewarded with favours. Afterwards he took leave and returned to his country. To this day the knife is in the general treasury I have frequently heard from the holy lips of the Shāhinshāh that more than two hundred persons, who were near

to death, obtained health by touching that knife Such refulgent power has been shown by the world-adorning Creator! When one is of a lofty nature and exalted genius, the world-bestowing Deity casts without entreaty into the bosom of his fortune the fulfilment of a wish which has not yet entered into his heart. What wonder then if He grant wishes that such an one has formed! The wise man knows how the desires of that spiritually and externally great one are granted daily. An instance is the happiness-increasing existence of a son which the sovereign was always imploring from the Divine Court. In this year that great blessing was bestowed, and the lord of the world and of men obtained the fulness of joy.

CHAPTER LXX

Auspicious Birth of the World illuminating Pearl of the Mansion of Dominion and Fortune, the Night-gleaming Jewel of the Casket of Greatness and Glory, viz, of Prince Sultān Selim

The Lord of the world, Depicter of the External, Revealer of
343 the Internal, after his outward and inward condition had attained perfection, was searching for some individual among the sons of men that he might hold fitting converse with, as is indispensable in the world of associations. Though he made much search, he did not find anyone The evangelists of the inner world, and the informants of the external, all announced that a person who could hold converse with the cream of existences must be born from himself, and that he should be urgent in begging a son from God the Creator and the Giver of life, so that there might both be a confidant of the holy feast of the Shāhinshāh who was worthy of the title (of son?) and also that an ocean of Divine bounty, which had been for so many thousand cycles reared under the sacred eyes of God, might emerge into the world of existence The noble series would thus go on from fount to fount and from column to column (*jadul*), and the grades of mankind would, in proportion to their capacities, partake of the banquet of spiritual and physical blessings, and be zealous in respect and obedience The pious King, who used not to make any other requests to God, became a wisher for this great boon. The Great Giver has unasked granted him a spiritual and temporal kingdom, and has bestowed on his unique servant such things as do not come within the world's comprehension The far-seeing sage knows what sort of glorious pearl will be granted if such an unique one of the world ask a boon from his constant Patron In a short space of time there appeared signs of the attainment of this desire Inasmuch as it is the noble nature of this Shāhinshāh that in spite of the possession of boundless treasures he seeks the knowledge of God from dervishes, ascetics and theologians who withdraw their hands

from everything and regard as the most acceptable service of God
the contemning of their senses and so pass their time in worship
and austerities, he employed supplications and continually cultivated
the regard of the toilers in the fields of search (after God) who spend
their days in ecstatic devotion At this time the lights of God
knowingness, God worshipping, and of austerity were conspicuous in
Shaikh Selim of the town of Sikri, which has become a capital by
the glory of the Shāhinshāh's advent and is called Fathpur) By
means of Shaikh Muhammad Bokhāri and Hakim 'Ain al mulk and
a number of other courtiers who had the right of audience, this was
brought to the royal hearing, and it was determined that the matrix[1]
of the sun of fortune together with several of the officials attached
to the Zenana (lit the screens of chastity) should be conveyed to
Fathpur and should enjoy repose in the vicinity of the Shaikh
It was also ordered that a royal palace should be established there so
that the saintly Shaikh might address himself to the Author of
bounties for the attainment of the great boon The blessings of his
proximity were manifested in the appearance of the desired object
Previous to this also, the Bestower of gifts had presented the sove-
reign with several children, but they had been taken away for
thousands of wise designs, one of which might be the increasing of
joy in the acquisition of the priceless pearl The general suspicion 344
referred their loss to local circumstances, and expressed itself in
various stories. Hence the ruler of things spiritual and temporal
wished by changing the locality to place the seal of silence on
gossips He accordingly adopted this course and was always hoping
in God the Giver of many things, and was waiting for the advent of
the unique pearl of the Caliphate At length in an auspicious
moment the unique pearl of the Caliphate emerged from the shell of
the womb, and arrived at the shore of existence in the city of
Fathpur At the ascension point of the 24th degree of Libra after
seven hours had elapsed of the day[2] of Rashn 18 Shahriywar, Divine

[1] *Matla* the ascension point of a star Here it means the pregnant mother of Jahāngīr Selim was not conceived at Fathpūr and the mother did not go there till she was pregnant The idea was to have the birth in a lucky place as Akbar's other children had died in infancy.

[2] A F does not give the ... madan month and day of

month, corresponding to the beginning of Āb (August) 1880 Rūmī, 11 Bahman of the year 938 of the old Yezdijird era, or[1] the day of Dīn 24 Shahriywar of the Jalālī year 491, or 977 of the lunar era, the star of auspiciousness rose from the horizon of fortune

Verse

The flower of joy bloomed in the glorious garden
Fruit appeared on the plant of realm and religion.

Messengers conveyed the happy tidings to Agra, and there was general rejoicing Delight suffused the brain of the age.

Time arranged an assembly of enjoyments
The cup bearer sate and the glass rose up
There was a banquet more joyous than life's foundation
A cup bearer unequalled as a drawer of cups
They made an illumination for the world
There was a vernal assemblage
The flower shot up and the garden shone forth
A lamp came and lighted up the family
There was a fortune like the brain of the wise
The world arose with an awakened fortune
The zephyrs moved while scattering flowers
The earth rose up and joined the sky
The king came and the desire of friends was fulfilled (lit sate)
He sate at the feast by the cup and the relish
His diadem he raised to the sky
His forehead he fastened to the ground
He issued a proclamation for enjoyment
He invited the world as his guest
The cup-bearer opened the lid of the goblet
The treasurer opened the door of the treasury
The skirt and wallet of the sky were filled
In order that it might shower pearls on the earth

It was Wednesday 17 Rabī 1 awwal 977 30 August 1569 Elliot, V 334, wrongly has 18th

[1] The text has *musādaq* which means friendly and does not seem appropriate here Add 27, 217 has *musādif* = to meet with and this is probably the true reading

[2] This refers to the birth of a son The meaning is that the king's

Among the notes of thanksgiving for this everlasting favour 34
there was this, that all the prisoners in the imperial domains who were shut up in fortresses on account of great crimes, were released. There was a fresh market-day for joy, and the lamp and eye of fortune was rekindled. It is great wisdom to deal with the conditions of mankind in accordance with the notions and understandings of each of them so that all may be brought into order. The art of eloquence consists in having regard to the condition of one's audience. Every one who has studied ancient histories knows that the chief cause of the troubles of the world has been that rulers and the great ones of the age have ignored the measure of the capacity of their hearers, and have carried themselves towards the generality with reference merely to their own far sightedness. The general public have had no notion of the grand conclusions of the eminent. Few indeed comprehend such high matters, and hence they abide in exclusion and loss. God be praised! H M the Shahinshah merely by the help of God while he is in the crowd of the short thoughted and superficial does not proceed upon his God given wisdom, but converses with every group, nay with every individual suitably to the latter's comprehension. Accordingly the acute of every group conjecture or rather are certain that the prince of the world has no other understanding or knowledge except what he shows to them! Accordingly at this time when the Great God had bestowed such a gift, it was proper that he should go with all possible speed and illuminate the eyes of that blissful infant with the light which a secret power hath implanted in him (Akbar). But as the common people of this country have an old custom according to which whenever God, after long expectation, has bestowed an auspicious child, he be not produced before the honoured father till after a long delay, H.M. respected this feeling and put off his visit to Fathpur

exaltation made him raise or fling his diadem to the sky, while his feelings of thanksgiving made him bow his forehead to the earth. Perhaps the translation of the 13th line should be, "The king came and sate as a lover." The word for lover is *dostkām*, and the Lucknow ed says it means here "object" or the attainment of the object. It may simply be "The king came and his beloved sate by him." The Kashf al lughat explains the word as meaning a thing done for the pleasure of friends

That new fruit of the garden of fortune was kept in his birthplace, and the care of him was entrusted to eminent persons From spiritual and physical associations he received the name of Sulṭān Selim It is hoped that he may grow up in spiritual and physical well being under the guardianship of the Shāhinshāh, and be fortunate by pleasing H M, which is a sign of pleasing God May he, by the blessings of the holy breathings of the Shāhinshāh, attain to spiritual and physical old age and be green and full of *sap in the spring of* fortune! In accordance with directions, astronomers calculated the
346 powers of celestial sires and terrestrial mothers (the planets and the elements) and presented the horoscope And as there is a discrepancy[1] between Greek and Indian astrologers with regard to fundamental principles and their consequences in the matter of the stars, a horoscope was prepared according to each scheme[2] If time allows and my mind be vigorous I shall, under the orders of H M. the Shāhinshāh, and by the strength of my own understanding, draw out a new horoscope in accordance with the Greek and Indian canons and *record its judgments for each year, so that it may be a code for* horoscope makers of the age At present, my time is occupied night and day in the service of H M the Shāhinshāh, and I cannot do as my heart would desire even in that respect Where then is there time for other occupations? As the horoscope which Maulānā

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[1] در اصول و فروع نجوم *dar aṣūl u furo i nujum*, "Les principès fondamentaux et leurs consequences Kazimirski's dictionary See also *Lane, 2379b*

[2] Two horoscopes of Selim's birth are given, pp 346 347, but I have not thought it necessary to reproduce them The first is called the horoscope according to the *Greeks*, and the second that according to the Indians, but a note to the text says that in most MSS the second horoscope is called the horoscope according to another method And in fact I doubt if the second horoscope is according to Indian methods for it differs very little from the Greek horoscope If it had been an Indian horoscope there would probably have been a difference in the Sign under which Selim was born Both give Mīzān or Libra as the Sign

It will be seen that Abul Faẓl does not give the name of Selim's mother There is little doubt, however, that the statement of the Khalāṣat-at-tawārīkh that she was Rajah Bihārī Mal's daughter, is correct. Her title was, *it seems*, *Miriam Zamānī*, and there is a mosque in *Lahore* which was built by her, and has an inscription put up by her See *Latīf's History of Lahore* p 131

(and drew up according to the Greek canon appears most worthy of confidence, it is set down first

Poets composed gratulatory odes in honour of this eternal joy and received great gifts. One of the able ones found that "A royal pearl of the great ocean, *Dar-i-shawār-i-lakaja akbar*, 977" was the date of the auspicious birth. A learned person found "A pearl[1] of the Shāhinshāh's mansion," and another "A pearl of Akbar Shāhi's casket," Gohar-i daraj-i-Akbar Shāhī.

Khwāja Husain[2] of Merv presented an ode, the first line of 348
every couplet of which gave the date of the Shāhinshah's accession, and the second gave the date of the birth of the pearl of the casket of auspiciousness In spite of the inclusion of two such wondrous dates, the poetry was not devoid of excellence. Some verses of it are given below.

Verse

God be praised for the glory of the King
A splendid pearl came ashore from the ocean of justice
A bird alighted from the nest of grandeur
A star appeared from the zenith of glory and beauty
Such a rosebush cannot be shown in the parterre
Such a tulip has not opened in the tulip bed,
Hearts were gladdened because the world revived
From the heaven of justice as spring does from the sun
That new moon of the house of power, beauty and pomp came forth
That nursling of the soul's desire of the King fruited,
The King of faith's realms, the Sultan of purity's portico,
The lamp of the disheartened, the desire of the expectant,
The just and perfect Muhammad Akbar, Lord of Conjunction
The renowned King, seeking and attaining his desires,
Perfect in wisdom, the most just of Kings,
Just, noble, unparalleled for understanding,
Pleasing shadow of God, worthy the diadem and signet,

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[1] The editors point out that this chronogram does not yield 977 and suggest that the copyists have made a mistake They give another chronogram of their own invention

[2] Blochmann 574

That new fruit of the garden of fortune was kept in his birthplace, and the care of him was entrusted to eminent persons. From spiritual and physical associations he received the name of Sulṭān Selīm. It is hoped that he may grow up in spiritual and physical well-being under the guardianship of the Shāhinshāh, and be fortunate by pleasing H. M., which is a sign of pleasing God. May he by the blessings of the holy breathings of the Shāhinshāh attain to spiritual and physical old age and be green and full of sap in the spring of fortune! In accordance with directions astronomers calculated the
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[2] Blochmann 574

Defender of the faith, just centre of the world,
Know that the fourth heaven (the sun) is the censer for his assembly
That [1] Arcturus has come as spearman for his cortège
Light of the mansion of existence, pearl of liberality's sea
A falcon who hunts souls from his desire of capturing the summits of hearts
O King, I have brought a chain of exquisite pearls
A gift from a glorious mine [2] *seek it out, hang it in thine ear*
No one has brought a better gift, if any has
Tell him to bring it, let him produce what he has,
The first hemistich contains the King's accession
From the second, receive the birth of the Light of the eyes
That the count of years, months and days may last
And that it may endure for cycles
May our King be permanent and also the Prince
For countless days and unnumbered [3] years

One of the joy-increasing occurrences was H M. the Shāhinshāh's engaging in the hunting of *citahs* The lord of the world, though under various forms he appears to be enjoying himself, is in

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[1] *Simaku-r rāmih* This name for Arcturus means the bearer of the spear

[2] Text has *bāzjūīān goshdār* Badayūni has *bazjui u-goshdar* The Lucknow edition has *bazjūi goshdār* *Goshdār* has the double meaning of using as an earring and of listening A MS of the Iqbal nāma has *baz majui* or *goshdār*, 'Seek no more, but preserve it

[3] The complete ode is given in Badayuni Lowe 125 Khwāja Husain received two lacs of *tankahs* for it (Estimating the *tankah* at *vi* Jarret III 362 n 3 the present was about £3 300) He also composed *one on the* birth of Prince Murād Lowe 136, Blochmann 574 The ode is also given in Beale's Miftāh i Tawārīkh p 309 310 of Agra ed of 1849 He prints the dates line *by line* and *for the last line* he has a slightly different reading which seems to obviate the remark of the Bib Ind editors who say the line yields 978 and not 977 Beale has *hasib* for *hisab* and *salhā i* for *salhāī* The ode is also given in the Iqbalnāma The Iqbālnāma points out as a wonderful coincidence that Akbar was in his 14th year at *his* accession and that Selim's birth took place in the 14th year of the reign Perhaps this is why Khwāja gave one line to the accession and one to the birth

reality carrying on the worship of God. He both tests men and discovers the secrets of the kingdom With this view he makes hunting a means of gaining knowledge, and employs himself in real 349 devotion Among these things he especially inclined to the hunting of *citahs*, and he has traps made for catching them The custom was that when news was brought of a *cita* having fallen into a trap,[1] he immediately mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot By proper methods the *cita* was brought out from the hole and made over to the skilful in the business. On this occasion news was brought that a powerful *cita* had fallen into a hole in the neighbourhood of Gwālyār On the day of Ormazd the 1st Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 4 Jamāda-al-ākhir, he mounted his horse and proceeded towards Gwālyār When he came to the hole he himself bound the *cita* and took it out Just then the news came that in the holy harem a daughter had been born on the day of Dibāzar 8 Āzar, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 11 Jamāda-al ākhir, 21 November 1569 He gave to that auspicious arrival the name of Khānam,[2] and ordered rejoicings It is hoped that the notes of auspiciousness in her will increase day by day and that she will be a cause of increased life and fortune to the lord of the world After some days when high and low had been delighted with the hunting, he returned to the capital When the holy cortege reached Agra it was reported that Deo Sultān, the son of Darbār Khān, who was like a *div* (deo) or a wild animal for bloodshed and strife, and was always a receptacle of turbulence and dissension, and would not listen to advice was lying in wait in his father's tomb, where H M. would pass, and was armed and indulging in evil designs. In accordance with orders he was arrested there and made over to Jagmal [3] Panwār In prison he went to annihilation and mankind was freed from his wickedness H M arrived at Agra in a fortunate hour and established the spiritual and physical throne by justice and equity, and spent his time in administration.

[1] ōdī Blochmann 286 There is a representation of *cita* hunting in the Clarke MS in the Victoria and Albert Museum S Kensington, in which Akbar is seen holding the *cita* by the ears

[2] This is Shahzāda Khānam, daughter of Bibī Selīma Begam, Price s Jahangir, p 46. She was married in August 1594 to Mozaffar Husain M. A. N III 644

[3] Blochmann 476.

CHAPTER LXXI.

H M the Shāhinshāh's Journey from the Capital to Ajmīr, and his becoming successful in the Field of Fortune, both Spiritually and Physically.

As the holy understanding of the King desires inspiration from saints, he, at the time when he was seeking for a son, had made a vow to his God that if this blessing should be attained, he would perform an act of thanksgiving which should be personal to himself, viz,
350 that he would walk from Agra to the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu-d dīn Cistī, and there pay his devotions to God. It was settled in Rajab[1] (the 7th month), which was the month of the saint's anniversary, (*'urs*) that this intention should be carried into practice When such a night-gleaming jewel of the casket of the Caliphate arrived at the shore of hope, he recognised his obligation and set out on foot from Agra on the day of Ābān 10 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 12 Shābān (the 8th month), 20 January, 1570, and traversed stages and deserts Each day he journeyed ten or twelve *kos*, less or more

The following is the list of the stages[2] of the journey from Agra —

1 Mandhākar.
2 Fathhpur
3 Passed Khānwa and halted near Juna
4 Karoha.
5 Basāwar
6 Toda.

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[1] The festival is held from 1 to 6 *Rajab as the exact day of death is* not known Rajputana Gazetteer II 63

[2] Ajmīr is 228 m W of Agra Akbar's journey seems to have averaged 14 m a day *Mandhakar is* marked on a Survey map of N W P It is S W Agra and S Sikandara *and on the road to Fathpūr* The proper spelling seems to be Midhākur, see Gazetteer, N W P., VII 756 where it is described as 10½ m W Agra and on the metalled road from *Agra to Fathpūr*

7. Kalāwalī.
8 Khārandī
9. Dīsa.
10. Passed Hansmahal and encamped near Phūlmahal
11. Sānganīr.
12. Near Neota.
13 Jhāk near M'uizzābād (Jarrett II. 273).
14. Sākhūn.[1]
15. Kajbīl.
16. The holy dwelling of the Khwāja in Ajmīr.

Then he straightway went to the shrine and placed the forehead of sincerity on that spot and implored help He spent several days there in devotion and good works He distributed gifts among the attendants of the shrine As on the occasion of the division of the gifts, which came to a large amount, those who claimed to be descendants of the Khwāja, and who had the superintendence of the shrine—their cheif was Shaikh [2] Husain—took possession of the whole of the money, and there were disputes and quarrels between him (Shaikh Husain) and the attendants on the shrine, and there was the allegation that the Shaikhs who had charge of the shrine had told falsehoods with regard to their descent, and as this dispute had gone on a long time, H.M. appointed trustworthy persons to inquire into the 351
matter and to report thereon. After much investigation it was found that the claim of sonship was not genuine Accordingly the charge of the shrine was made over to Shaikh Muhammad Bukhārī, who was distinguished among the Saiyids of Hindustan for knowledge and fidelity. H.M. also arranged for the management of the shrine, and for the treatment of pilgrims and for the erection of mosques and khānqās in the territory. In fine, after having made over the presents he set out on his return, and proceeded to visit the shrines of the saints of Delhi. He went there, and in Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Ramzān, February-March, 1570, he arrived at Delhi. He spent some days in that pleasant spot, in visiting the shrines and in the administration of justice, and gladdened the hearts of friends and strangers.

[1] Sakoon in the maps

[2] Blochmann, 540 Badāyūnī III 87.

CHAPTER LXXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 15TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR KHURDĀD, THE SECOND CYCLE

During this gracious time that the Shāhinshāh's cortège was gathering hidden light in Delhi, the vivifying spring arrived, and the bounteous New Year removed the veil from her face. A temperate breeze breathed a fresh soul into the body of the earth. The power of vegetation developed the new comers of the vegetable kingdom The morning gales, like the breaths of the enlightened of heart, opened the knots of souls. The spring-clouds, like the bosoms of the noble and liberal, exuded abundance and laid the dust of lives

Verse

What flowers expanded, and what birds sang!
So that the soul ran to the eye, and a vision came to the ear
I'm like the bird captivated by the presence of the rose
Sometimes I faint, and sometimes sense returns
What need is there of a message to the companions of the garden
When Time is calling out with a thousand tongues.

With auspicious lights the world adorning Sulṭān of the east (the sun) cast the shadow of his entry into the mansion of Aries after the passing of two hours and twenty three minutes of Saturday, 3 Shawwāl 977, 11 March, 1570, and the 15th Divine year from the Accession, *viz*, the year Khurdād of the second cycle began For time's market again became brisk In this spring time H M, in gratitude and thanksgiving, visited the stations and buildings which right-thinking princes had erected in former times, and
352 received *instructive warning thereby* *He scattered gold* among the humble dwellers in those ruins. He then visited the tomb[1] of H M

[1] *Badayūnī, Lowe 125 tells us that* the mausoleum was completed in *this year by* Mīrak Mīrzā Ghiyās. See Darbārī Akbarī 121 None of the

Jahānbānī, Jinnat-Ashiyānī, which is the altar of pure spirits and bodies, and implored political and spiritual light. From here he proceeded towards Agra and crossed the Jamna. He passed through villages and several times took the pleasure of deer-hunting by moonlight. He went from stage to stage in enjoyment, and at length on the day of Bād, 22 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 26 Zilq'ada, 2 May 1570, he arrived at Agra. The people of the city rejoiced. In the beginning of this year Shujā'at Khān, who was one of the great officers, and a favourite, invited the Shāhinshāh to a feast. As H.M.'s disposition was to favour his servants and grant their desires, he accepted, and in an auspicious hour made his dwelling brilliant. He proffered the prostrations of loyalty and made special exertions for H.M.'s entertainment. A magnificent feast was arranged, and H.M. spent one night and one day in that assemblage, and enjoyed spiritual and physical pleasures, and behaved with kindness and benevolence.

Delhi guide-books seems to mention the name of the architect. They only refer to Hājī Begam who furnished the funds.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

The Auspicious Birth of Prince Shāh Murād

Inasmuch as the celestial fathers and the terrestrial mothers engage in making the Shāhinshāh successful, every spring a fresh flower blooms in the garden of fortune, and in every cycle an auspicious star emerges from the horizon of the Caliphate When the Shāhinshāh, who is the progenitor of dominion and fortune, wished for noble children, the incomparable Deity displayed special liberality in granting this boon, and this daily increasing favour, which is the great gift of heaven, came, one after another, as an adornment
353 of H M New and powerful aids, which could succour sovereignty and buttress the Caliphate, arose, and showed to the four pillars of the world, and the six sides of the universe that God had granted to the Shāhinshāh the kingdoms of fortune together with all blessings and boons because he had no equal or similar among the sovereigns for dispositions and qualities and for devotion to what is right and for Divine worship Among these blessings was this, that in this fortunate year, after the passing of fifty-two seconds (*pul*) of the night of Asmān, the 27th Khirdād, Divine month, Thursday, 3 Muharram 978, 7 June 1570, 29 Khirdād, of 1881, 492 Jalālī Malikī, corresponding[1] to 17 Ābān 939 of Yezdijird, 8 Hazirān 1881 Rūmī, under Capricorn according to the Greek philosophers, and Sagittarius, according to the Indian sages, a noble son, in whose forehead the lights of high fortune were visible, appeared in the fortunate quarters of Shaikh Selim in Fathpūr A new rose of the *Calip etc bloomed In a fortunate hour the name of that fortunate* prince was inscribed in fortune's page as Shāh Murād In rejoicing for the rising of this star of fortune, great feasts were *held, and* largesses bestowed The skirt of time was made heavy with the coin of success (*murad*)

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[1] *Muṭābiq* Add 27 247 has *muwāfiq* here, which throws doubt on the

Verse

From the joy which came to the age
There was a new market-day for delight
Spring came beating her foot in joy
Sweeping the ground with the breeze of morn
Joy upon joy was added to heaven
The world struck coins[1] of light upon light
The morning broke out into congratulations
For the box tree[2] sprang from the jasmine-bosom
The spring of rejoicing had honour (*abrū*)
For it received water (*ab*) from the fountain of wish
Hope drank water from the seven seas
For the lock of the jewel treasury was being turned[3]
The shedding of 'atar o'erwhelmed the senses
Joy leapt forth and pleasure became intoxicated

Encomiasts composed verses and chronograms for this birth, and received rewards A horoscope[4] was made according to Greek methods and another according to Indian rules For the sake of 35
offering congratulations and for disposing of the affairs of the eastern provinces Mun im Khān Khān Khānān came post from Jaunpur and had the bliss of doing homage

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[1] Apparently referring to the flowers of spring

[2] The prince is the box tree and the jasmine his mother s womb The word translated bosom is *jīb*, literally pocket

[3] *Tab mikhürd* The Lucknow ed. has a note here There is an allusion to the seven treasures of Khusrū Perhaps *tal mikhurd* means "is brightened." But more probably the meaning is that hope had access to seven rivers i.e., treasures, because the locks of the treasur es had been opened

[4] Both horoscopes are given in text, but no explanations I have not thought it necessary to translate them One puts the birth in Capricorn, and the other in Sagittarius

CHAPTER LXXIV.

Expedition of the Shâhinshâh to Ajmîr and other Fortunate Occurrences

As in the end of the days of spring, while yet the fragrant breezes were playing round the collar of Time, and the garden-zephyrs hung from the skirt of the sphere, a new rosebush bloomed *in the home-garden of the Sultanate, and a fresh cypress sprang* forth from the spring time of the Caliphate, the Shâhinshâh determined that in gratitude for this great boon he would visit the holy *shrine of Khwaja Muinu-d-din, may his grave be holy! On the* day of Âbân 10 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 22 Rabi' as sâni, 23 Sept., 1570, he set out with the intention of *obtaining this blessing, and halted at the village of Mandhâkar* There Mun'im Khân Khân Khânân obtained leave for the sake of disposing of the affairs of the eastern provinces. The noble Khedive *proceeded from that stage to Ajmir in enjoyment of various* pleasures, and especially of that of the chase When Ajmir had received light from the shadow of the Shâhinshâh's umbrella of *fortune, he spent some days in devotion at the shrine* and distributed gifts among the attendants thereon So liberal were the bounties that no single individual was excluded from the feast of good things

At this same auspicious time an order was issued for repairing and enlarging the fort of Ajmir Accordingly able architects laid deep foundations and in an auspicious hour began to construct that noble building with stone and lime All the mansions and all the abodes of high and low were included within the area, and in a short space of time much work was done, and praise was given by the Shâhinshâh Towards the east of the city, halls of state were erected In the course of three years all the buildings of the fort, and the Shâhinshâh's mansions were completed, and in the following year they were made places of light by his advent Similarly, all the nobles and officers made, in accordance with orders suitable dwell

ings and gardens By the blessing of the noble advent such a grand city arose in a short space of time as could not be seen in the 357
imaginative mirrors of magical geometricians After the Shâhin shâh had laid the foundation of those buildings, he for political reasons, and for subduing oppressors, etc, etc, and under the veil of indulging in hunting, proceeded on the day of Râm, 21 Âbân, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 4 Jamâda al-âkhiri, 3 November, 1570, towards Nagor[1] On the day of Ardibihisht, 3 Âzar, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 16 Jamâda ala âkhiri, he halted at that city. Khân Kilân, the governor of that province, recognised the advent of the Shâhinshâh as a great happiness and arranged a feast. H M honoured his house with a visit, and poured into the lap of his wishes eternal glory.

At the same time the glance of H M fell upon a tank Several of the nobles of the city, who had come out to welcome him, represented that the prosperity of the city was bound up with three[2] tanks. One was called Kaidâni, another was the Shams Talao, and this one which was known as the Kukur Talao As by lapse of time much of it had been filled up with earth, many of the inhabitants had on account of want of water left their houses and gone elsewhere For the public benefit, an order was given for digging out the Kukur Talao which was very extensive, and able Bakhshis made measurements and divided the work among officers By a little attention on the part of his ocean-like mind that mirage became a sea such as could water a vast camp To this fountain of sweet waters the name Shukr Talao was given The origin of the first name was that Kûkur means in the Hindi tongue a dog, and the name of the tank had reference thereto The story told was that a merchant owing to embarrassed circumstances, deposited his dog, which was an embodiment of sense, with a rich man and went off to a far country in order that he might seek fortune He spent a long time in doing

[1] Or Nâgaur See Rajputana Gazetteer II, 260 Much of the city is now in ruins A F probably gives details about it and its tanks on account of his father's connection with the place

[2] In the Iqbâlnâma only two of the tanks are spoken of and this seems to be the correct number In the same work the name of the first tank is Kilânî or Gilânî, and not Kaidânî

80 One day the dog from its gentleness set off on the road, and by a beautiful coincidence the merchant had gained his object, and came there. The dog learnt this and came fawning to his master's feet, and from excess of joy gave up his life He became famed for his fidelity, and the merchant, in gratitude, made a tank there and named it after the circumstance

58 When the sublime cortège of the Shāhinshāh came to this part of the country to put things in order and administer justice, the great men and the landholders hastened to do homage Among them was Cander Sen, the son of Māldeo, who is one of the great zamindārs of India He was received with royal favours Also Rai Kalyān Mal Rai of Bikānir came with his son, Rai Rai Singh, and had the bliss of a reception In his good fortune he represented through those who had access to H.M that his wish was that his brother Kahān's daughter might be included among the inmates of H M's harem. The Khedive accepted his proposal, and that occupant of the howdah of chastity was brought within the screens of purity

One of the joyful occurrences was that Bāz Bahādur hastened to the summit of fortune and paid his homage By the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh he came out of the dust of loss and obtained a ray of auspiciousness, or rather he had a new birth His honour had declined since he left Malwa, turning his face from fortune, and for a while he went from door to door First, he went to Baharji, zamindar of Baglāna From there he went to Cingiz Khān, and after that he joined Sher Khān Fulādi From him he went to Niẓāmu-l mulk of the Deccan, but everywhere he met with loss, and then he took refuge with the Rānā When the Shāhinshāh heard of the misfortunes and wretchedness of this man, who had been debauched by the world's wine, his innate kindness moved him to send one of his servants to summon him to court Accordingly Ḥasan Khān Khazānci was appointed to this service He made him hopeful of the royal favour and brought him to court, and there he was encompassed with princely favours

One of the occurrences was that one of the empowered of the holy assembly represented to H M that Rāwal Har Rai, the ruler of Jaisalmir, had secretly bound the saddle straps of desire on the waist of his soul and was desirous that his daughter, who was a chaste, secluded one, might be exalted by being included among his female

servants. But as, on account of impediments, he could not personally come to court, he begged that one of the courtiers might be deputed to come to his country and to give him the news of a favourable acceptance, and might convey that secluded one to court. As H.M.'s habit was to grant the requests of the needy and to loose those who were bound by distress, he accepted the petition, and Rajah Bhagwant Dās, who was favoured as one of the firm-footed of loyalty's banquet, was despatched on this service. He completed 359
it at the time of H.M.'s return (from Nāgor), and that holy and happy-starred lady obtained eternal glory by entering the female apartments. When H. M. had disposed of that country's affairs, his devotion induced him to visit the shrine of *Shaikh Farīd Shakarganj*, which is in Pattan in the Panjab. He gave permission to Ṣādiq Khān, Beg Nūrīn Khān[1] and many other servants to remain in the country, and went off to Pattan.

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[1] B. 175.

CHAPTER LXXV.[1]

Brief Account of Shaikh Farīd Shakarganj—May his Grave be Hallowed! Accounts of Akbar's Hunting Wild Asses, etc

The Shaikh was one of the ascetics of the age, and one of the chosen combatants of sensuality They say that he was descended from Farrukh Shāh Kabuli who was commonly called King of Kabul (Shāh i Kābul). In the time of the Great Khān and sublime Qā'ān Cingiz Khān, one of his (Shaikh Farīd's) grandfathers, Qāẓi Sh'aib by name, came to Lahore and settled in the town of Qaṣur. Sulṭān Balban regarded his advent as a great honour and treated him with reverence The Shaikh (Farid) went to Multan and applied himself to the study of the sciences which were current in India Khwāja Quṭbu d din Ūshi,[2] the successor of Khwāja M'uinu-d-din, and who had turned his attention from penmanship[3] to the sacred writings, and from the picture to the Painter, took notice of him, and gave him valuable counsels about contemning routine-sciences, and devoting himself to real knowledge, and so led him into the Way. The torch of search was kindled, and the flames of zeal were lighted. He

[1] The heading of this chapter, as given in the text, very inadequately represents its contents As the editors have remarked, two of three MSS do not give the heading and I find that it is also wanting in Add. 27, 247

[2] Jarret III 363 and Ferishta," etc He died in 1235 A D. The Qutb of Delhi is said to be named after him

[3] *Ke az kitābat bamaktūb-u az naqsh banaqqāsh rūī āwarda būd.* The meaning of this sentence is not very clear Perhaps *kitābat* here means the study of profane literature The mention of the *maktūb* or sacred writings may refer to the circumstance, stated by Ferishta, that Quthu d dīn used to repeat the Koran twice a day A. F s mention of Quṭbu d-dīn s good counsels refers to an alleged interview between Quṭbu d-dīn and Farīd in Multan, when the latter was a youth and studying scholastic theology But according to Ferishta Quṭbu-d-dīn afterwards exhorted Farīd to travel and to study, and remarked to him that an unlearned ascetic was Satan s jester

withdrew from all other things and gave his heart to the service of the Khwāja. By his devotion and long service he became an exhibitor of wondrous miracles, and a station of marvels [1]

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[1] The account of the saint given in the text is very brief, and somewhat misleading A fuller and perhaps more correct account is given in the Aīn, Jarrett III, 363 The differences between the two accounts are so great that one can hardly suppose they are by the same author Perhaps, however, A. F had got more information when he wrote the notice in the Āīn. There is a long biography of Farīd Shakarganj in Ferishta at the end of his history, and there are also accounts in the Khazīna-al-aṣfeyā I 278, and in the Sair-al iqṭāb, N Kishor ed., p 161 The Qāẓī Sh'aīb referred to by A. F was, it seems, Farīd s paternal grandfather, but authorities seem to differ as to whether he came to Qaṣūr, or to Khotwāl near Multan Nor are they agreed as to whether it was Farīd s grandfather or father who came from Kabul Ferishta says the father came from Kabul to Multan in the time of Shahābu-d-dīn Ghorī But of course this may mean that he came with his grandfather The K A says the father was the sister s son of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī At all events the family eventually settled at Khotwāl, and Farīd was born there. His father's name was Jamālu d-dīn Sulaimān Qaṣūr is described in Saiyid M Latīf's history of Lahore as being the sister-town of Lahore and as having been founded by a son of Rāma. It is also noted in the Aīn Jarrett II 110 and 319 Farīd was born, it seems, in or about 584 A.H, 1188 A.D, and he died 5 Sept, 1269, A D (668 A H) He was, it is said, eighth in descent from Farrukh Shāh, who was King of Kabul before the Ghaznavide dynasty, and 17th in descent from the famous saint Ibrāhīm b Adham who was originally king of Balkh In the text it is stated that Qāzī Sh'aīb was received by Sultan Malīn, but there is the variant Malban. There does not seem to have been any king of that name. There was a Belīm or Behalīm or Behlīm who was viceroy of Lahore during the reign of Bahrām Shāh (1118 1152 A.D), but I do not think he can be the person meant, for he does not appear to have been ever called Sultan, and moreover he was killed before Cingīz Khān was born He rebelled against his master Bahram Shāh and was twice defeated by him On the last occasion he and his ten sons were all swallowed up in a quagmire This must have been before 1152 and Cingīz was not born till 1154 On the other hand Sultan Balban, i.e., Ghiāṣu d-dīn Balban was twenty years younger than Farīd Shakarganj having been born about 605 A H, 1209 A D and so could not have been in power in the time of his grandfather Perhaps A F has confounded Balīm the viceroy, and Balban the Sultān, it is even possible that in his enigmatical style of writing he means that Sultān Balban welcomed Farīd, and not the

The prince of theosophists proceeded towards his goal In appearance his mind was taken up with the pleasure of hunting, inwardly, there was in his heart the longing to know God On the way a strange [1] thing occurred on the borders of Rai 'Alā'u d din's Talondi [2] near the Sutlej, which is there called the Harhāri. The brief account of this is that the scouts reported that there was a herd of wild asses (*gorkhar*) The sovereign proceeded to hunt them, attended by three or four special huntsmen When he came near *the plain he dismounted and proceeded on foot.* At the first shot he hit an ass, and the rest of the herd fled far away at the report of the gun That Divine world hero took his piece in his hand and proceeded rapidly on foot over the burning sand, *attended by the same* three or four huntsmen He soon traversed the plain and came up with the herd and killed one after the other with his gun He continued to follow them up, and on that day he shot thirteen wild
360 asses Whenever he killed one the others went further off than at first At this time he became consumed by thirst There was no sign of water As he had decided to follow the prey on foot, those attached to the hunt thought that H M was near at hand, and so *kept in view the place where the game was and did not leave their* place [3] When the lord of the world had traversed some *kos*, his attendants though they searched, could get no news of the water carriers nor any trace of water A strange condition supervened, and the weakness from thirst increased to such a degree that he lost the power of speech At this time, when the courage of the loyal was turning to water, mystic guides led the special water-bearers through the boundless desert Thanksgiving was offered to *God, and the hearts of the loyal were rejoiced* It appears that a

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grandfather This would apparently be true *for Ferishta speaks of Al ph Khan* who afterwards became Ghiyasu d-din Balban honouring Farīd at the time when he (Balban) was the Vizier of Nasiru d dīn the son of Shamsu d din Altamsh

1 This means on his march from Nagaur to Pak Pattan or Ajūdhan A F has inserted his notice of the saint Shaikh Farīd before Akbar *visited the shrine this time.*

2 There is a Talondi entered in the Aīn *text I 544 under Sirkār Dūāb* Recnau

3 The meaning is that the servants thought that as Akbar was on foot he would not go far off and so they stayed behind to watch the dead game

Divine message impressed itself by a mystic tongue on the heart of H.M. that he should consider his own holy person and be more careful in guarding it, for in reality that was the watching over mankind at large, or rather it was the returning of thanks for Divine favours, and the preserving of the Divine gifts.

Verse[1]

In the beginning of your thoughts, think of the end
Do not sport with your life

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl, the zamindar of Bhimbar, (in Kashmir) destroyed by wickedness Qabul Khān[2] The latter had put down by the sword the disaffected persons in that country The zamindar craftily represented himself as a well wisher, and the simple minded Turk, without proper examination of the matter, and without studying the lines of his forehead, was led away merely by his plausible, gold incrusted speeches In accordance with the recommendations of this zamindar he sent away his soldiers to distant places, and his son, Yādgār Husain, went off to the borders of Naushahra Though far seeing and right-seeing men said that he should not separate all his men from himself, yet as the thing was predestined, their remonstrances were of no avail (The zamindar) led his son away from Naushahra into the defiles, and the heads of the passes having been occupied by the enemy, many of his men were killed. Yādgār Husain was wounded and was reckoned among the dead A zamindar behaved kindly and sheltered him At the same time that these men were caught in this evil, Jalāl fell upon Qabul Khān He from the courage which he had, and the skill which he had not, did not regard the plurality of the enemy and the paucity of his own men, and on the day of Rām, 21 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 5 Ramzān (31 January, 1571) came out of his place and fell valiantly When H M heard of this he issued orders to Khān Jahān to apply himself to the extirpation of those evildoers, and to gather an army of brave and experienced men

[1] This verse is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning What I have given is the explanation of the Lucknow edition Apparently the first line is=Respice finem

[2] Blochmann 437 and 516.

In accordance with orders a select body of men hastened to that
381 country and exerted themselves to destroy those presumptuous evil-
doers. They cleansed that land of roses from the weeds and rubbish
of the seditious.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 16TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR TIR OF THE SECOND CYCLE

The cavalcade of spring arrived at this auspicious time, and the news of growth was communicated to all, and bodies and souls received fresh bounty The disposition of the age expanded, the world became equable The bounteous clouds, like the eyes of those that long, dissolved into rain The beautiful fountains got into commotion, like the hearts of saints Verdure spread an odoriferous *carpet* The *parterre* waved with *fragrant* streamers The emerald buds put forth flowers of red coral

Verse

The clouds came with world-kindling lightning
Water came up to the waist of vegetation
The cypress showed the standard of Kāūs
The tulip brought the diadem of Darius
The rose kindled a sulphur-flame [1] in the garden
The water glided like quicksilver.

After eight hours and twelve minutes had elapsed of Sunday 14 *Shawwāl 978, 13 March 1571, the Illuminator* of time and the terrene cast his ray on the mansion of Aries, and made the earth fresh as the mind of the Shāhinshāh The atmosphere became aromatic like the delicious nature of the world's lord, and the 16th Divine year from the Accession, viz, the year Tir of the second cycle, began In the commencement of this auspicious year H M was encamped at *Pattan* [2] *The God-worshipping* Khedive visited

[1] The Orientals speak of red sulphur Probably cinnabar, which is a sulphuret of mercury, is what is meant.

[2] This is Pāk Pattan in the Punjab.

the shrine of Shaikh Farīd and implored strength Those associated with that warrior against sensuality, and the inhabitants of those environs of the sciences of beauty and excellence, received advancement. He halted for some days in this town for the sake of spiritual and physical benefits. A thing which pleased him here was the spectacle of fishing The fishermen here dive and catch the fish with their mouths [1] and hands and also strike them with iron prongs and draw them out of the water

One of the occurrences was Muhibb 'Alī Khān (the son of) the Mīr Khalīfa's obtaining permission at the instance of Nāhid Begam to go and conquer Tatta. The brief account of this is that previous to
383 this, the chaste Nāhid Begam who was married to Muhibb 'Alī Khān, had obtained leave to go and visit her mother Ḥājī Begam Before she arrived, Mirzā 'Isā had died, and Muhammad Bāqī had become ruler in his stead He,[2] from his want of sense, did not regard the arrival of the Begam as an advantage On the contrary, he behaved badly to Ḥājī Begam. She was displeased at this, and wicked men of the country, among whom were Khān Bābā and Miskīn Tarkhān, joined with the Begam in trying to lay hold of Muhammad Bāqī. He got wind of this and endeavoured to extirpate the faction Khān Bābā and Ḥājī Begam fell into his hands, and he put Khān Bābā to death, and confined Ḥājī Begam till she died Nāhid Begam by courage and skill escaped and came to Bakar Sulṭān Maḥmud

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[1] The text has *badast-u-daman grifta*. But the variant *dahan* the mouth is clearly right It is supported by at least two B.M MSS., and was the word read by Erskine. See his MS translation. Add 26 620

[2] Muḥamad Bāqī was a man of violent temper and eventually committed suicide He married Baca Begam, a daughter of Nāhīd Begam and consequently a grand-daughter of Māh Begam. But Baca Begam was killed in a night-attack made on M Bāqī's boat by his own brother Jān Bābā. This is the Khān Bābā of the text and it appears from the T M Isā mī Malet 135 that the variant Jān Bābā is right and that the M skīn Tarkhān of that text is properly Yād gār Miskīn They were both put to death by M Bāqī Both M Bāqī and Sultan Muḥammad sent their daughters to Akbar but the daughter of M Bāqī was rejected See Ell ot I 282 and Malet 143 It is fair both to the lady and to Akbar to point out that the latter did not say that Sindhī Begam was of a bad disposition Ell ot I 283 but that her father was a murderer (*khūnī*)

of Bakar proposed to act in harmony with her, and said that if Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and his son Mujāhid Khān came with a small force, he would join them, and that Tatta would be conquered by the imperial servants. The Begam believed his dissembling words and came to court, and begged that the above-named persons might be allowed to go (to Tatta.) As she used much importunity, she got leave and came to Tatta.

Nāhīd Begam was the daughter of Qāsim Khān Koka who in his loyalty devoted himself for H.M. Getī Sitānī Firdūs Makānī. It appears that in the battle with Ubaidullāh Khān there was an apparent[1] want of success, on account of a great work in the future. H.M. Firdus Makāni fell into the hands of the enemy. The brave and loyal servant came forward and said, "I am the king, why have you seized this servant of mine?" By this act of fidelity the king was saved, and as the enemy put the other to death, H.M. took his family under his protection. Ḥājī Begam, who was the daughter of Muqīm Mīrzā, son of Mīr Zū l nūn, married (secondly) Mīrzā Ḥasan,[2] and afterwards Mīrzā Īsā, and her daughter was brought up with princely kindness She was given in marriage to Muhibb 'Ali Khān (the son of) Khalīfa, who had behaved as a faithful servant

In fine, when they came near to Bakar, Sulṭān Muḥmūd sent a message to the effect that he had spoken[3] hastily and that he could not join them in this enterprise. If they were determined to go to Tatta they should do so by Jaisalmir. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān was in a difficulty He could neither turn back, nor had he confidence in going forward As he had auspiciousness in his disposition, and was comforted by the help of so great a support (as Akbar) he resolved upon attacking Bakar and on fighting with Sulṭān Mahmūd The two armies met near the fort of Matila.[4] What kinds of two armies were there? Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujahid Khān had not more 363

[1] *Lit.*, "In which battle the time of the appearance of designs was in the arena of the future, and Time apparently did not render assistance for the sake of a great work in the future"

[2] The Shāh Ḥusain of I. 637, and the son of Shāh Beg, king of Sind

[3] The Iqbālnāma says that he sent a message to the effect that he had only said what he had said in order to please the Begam

[4] In Sarkār Multan, Jarrett. II. 329, and T Māṣūmī, Malet 142.

than 200 men with them, and Sulṭān Maḥmūd had sent 2 000! By the help of God, who looks after the affairs of those connected with the eternal dominion, this small force was victorious after a hot engagement. The other side fled and took refuge in the fort The gallant *victors set themselves to besiege it*, and the garrison applied for quarter and came out. When the fort was taken and they had acquired confidence they girt up their loins for the conquest of Bakar The fortune of the Shāhinshāh brought division among the enemy, and Mubārak Khān,[1] Sulṭan Mahmud's *khaṣa khel*, and who was his factotum, came and joined Muhibb 'Ali Khān with 1,500 men The ostensible reason for this was that the wicked ones of that country had caused his son Beg Ōghlī to be suspected of intimacy with one of Sulṭān Mahmud's women Hence the simpleton (S Mahmūd) was, without making inquiry, endeavouring to extirpate his family He (Mubarak) was not candid He was suspicious about his treatment and was searching for an opportunity of separating himself (from Muḥibb) Muhibb 'Ali Khān longed for his possessions and put him to death He conciliated his men (by bribes)—who were like dogs and flies—and engaged in the siege of Bakar Merely through his connection with daily increasing fortune this fort was captured, *as will be told in its proper place*.[2]

As the health of Prince Shāh Murad was a little off the path of equability, H M stayed some days in that city (Pakpattan) When the prince recovered, the drum of return was beat high on the day of Khirdād 6 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 20 Zūlq'ada, 16 April 1571 Every day there was hunting Worship was performed under the veil of pleasure One day the huntsmen reported that there were several *citahs* and the Shahinshah went in quest of them Six [3] *citahs* were caught that lay in a *khe la* and among them was Madan Kali who became the head of the Shahinshāh's *citahs* When the standards of fortune reached Dibalpur, Khān 'Azim Mirza Koka, who held this district in fief begged that

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[1] The T Māṣūmī, Malet 142, calls him S Maḥmūd s slave

[2] Cf Elliot V p 339 and the T Māṣūmī Malet 144 146 and A N III 91

[3] Perhaps this is the occasion referred to in Blochmann 2?6 when six leopards fell into the same pit in following a leopardess

H M would visit him. H.M conceded his request and visited his quarters He exerted himself in preparing a feast and in tendering presents. As a right disposition adorned his loyalty, and as he knew that for an intelligent servant to give a feast is to return a little of what has been bestowed on him, he made this an acceptable entertainment Mozaffar Ḥusain, who was in the Mirzā's service, made this hemistich as a chronogram of the event "The Shāh and 364
Shahzada were guests of 'Aziz (978)" H M went on from there, and hunting and administering justice, he arrived at Lahore on the day of Khirdād 6 Khirdad, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 22 Zīl hajja, 17 May 1571 Husain Quli Khan performed the rites of service and loyalty, and at his petition H M. visited his quarters which had been newly prepared, and so he received everlasting honour When the affairs of this country had been disposed of under the guise of progresses and hunting, H M. desired to go by way of Hiṣār in order that he might make that province an alighting-place of illuminations He also wished to visit [1] the shrine of M'uinu d din (Cistī) Accordingly he in the end of Khirdad, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muharram 979, proceeded to that district, and on the day of Māh 12 Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 1 Ṣafr, encamped at Hiṣar Fīruza

One of the occurrences was that the justice of the Shāhinshāh inflicted punishment on Lashkar Khān Though he held the offices of Mīr Bakhshi and Mir 'Arẓi, etc, the just prince did not refrain from this The brief account of this instructive affair is as follows The world's intoxication made Lashkar Khān leave the path of moderation, and made him become the author of improper acts In his folly he came in open day drunk to that sublime court which is the asylum of the wise of the seven climes, and made a disturbance.[2] When the truth of the case came to the hearing of H M. he, for the sake of instruction to him and warning to others, caused him to be led round, tied to a horse's tail He then sent him to prison He

[1] Elliot V 327 12 i.e., eventually at Ajmir

[2] The text has *'arbada nāgī* but the word appears to be *nākī* and to be an affix to *arbada* viz., full of disturbance It is *nakī* in B M MSS. Add 27 247 and 7651 See Blochmann 407 for account of Lashkar Khān.

cast a glance of patronage on Shahbāz Khan, and made over Lashkar Khān's offices to him. As there are degrees of the Shāhinshāh's patronage, that one, who was imprisoned on account of his own acts in Fathpur, obtained his release at the intercession of favourites The Khedive of the world, although it was the rainy season marched every day in the discharge of his kingly duties, and, hunting on the way, arrived at Ajmīr On the day of Rash 11 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 1 Rabi al awwāl, 21 July 1571, he alighted at the delightful place, and visited the shrine of Muinu-d-din, and implored strength He worshipped his God, and united supplication with exaltation When the stewards of fate and destiny desire to make a happy starred one's outward and inward dominion increase daily, they restrain him from the heights of saint
365 ship His thirst for pleasing God increases, and from excessive capacity and abundance of spiritual thirst the ocean round him appears as a mirage and he searches for the fountain head of purpose With this view a new stage of holiness is continually brought before him Such is the condition of our Lord of the Age After paying the dues of justice and after satisfying the desires of those attached to the shrine he proceeded towards the capital On the day of Āsmān 27 Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 17 Rabī' al awwal he alighted at Fathpūr He took up his quarters in the lodging of Shaikh Selim The grades of men who had been oppressed and were waiting to do homage obtained happiness

Among the dominion increasing events was the making of Sīkri which was a dependency of Biāna, into a great city As the Khedive of the world is an architect of the spiritual and physical world, and is continually engaged in elevating the grades of mankind, and making strong the foundations of justice, and causes the longing ones of the age to be successful, so also does he strive for increasing the glory of the earth, and cherishes every place in accordance with its condition Inasmuch as his exalted sons had taken their birth in Sīkri and the God knowing spirit of Shaikh Selim had taken possession thereof, his holy heart desired to give outward splendour to this spot which possessed spiritual grandeur Now that his standards had arrived at this place his former design was pressed forward, and an order was issued that the superintendents of affairs should erect lofty buildings for the special use of the Shāhin

hāh All the grades of officers, and the public generally made lwellings for themselves, and a high wall of stone and lime (*kiṭar* vas placed round the place In a short time there was a great city, nd there were charming palaces Benevolent institutions, such as hanqas schools and baths, were also constructed, and a large stone azaar was built Beautiful gardens were made in the vicinity A reat place of concourse was brought together such as might move he envy of the world H M gave it the name of Fathābad, and this y common use was made into Fathpur

One of the occurrences was that Moẓaffar Khān conceived the ofty wish of entertaining H M the Shahinshah in his quarters which ad been recently constructed and were the admiration of the critical. Vhen this request was made known to H M he accepted the pro 368
oosal, and on the day of Dibadin 23 Dai, Divine month, proceeded rom Fathpur to Agra the capital His quarters were spiritually and physically illuminated by the advent of H.M Gifts were presented, and there was great rejoicing From there he returned to Fathpur The wishers of the seven climes attended and obtained their desires without the intervention of anyone God be praised for that the farseeingness and profundity of the sublime Khedive sup presses the market of the evil and covetous! This evil tribe descends into the abyss of discredit, and the crew who make a way for themselves by a wheedling tongue, do not get an opportunity of speaking Nay even these good men, who solely for the public advantage recommend men of merit, are rendered unnecessary by the abundant personal attention of the Shahinshah From the ample illumination of his soul he shuts up the petty stalls of the hypocrites and the dissemblers How shall I describe how that tribe learns its evil doings by the light of the torch of instruction and comes into the ranks of the good, and how the grades of humanity, high and low, come to their level and pray for the permanence of daily increasing dominion? The wise prince from his wide capacity and extensive knowledge treats every one according to his position and makes outward sovereignty consonant with spiritual sanctity

Verse

Indispensable as life, desire granting as intellect
Successful as fate, powerful as destiny

CHAPTER LXXVII

Beginning of the 17th Divine Year from the Accession, to wit, the Year Amardād of the Second Cycle

In this auspicious time when the age had increase of spirituality, physical growth also took place The pageant of spring's cavalcade rubbed the rust off the mirror of time and the terrene. The world illuminating New Year gave equability to night and day The bounty of spring circulated in the veins and fibres of life The morning breezes associated with the spirits of vegetation The canopy of the rainy clouds was drawn together from the four quarters by the ropes of the swift winds The army of odoriferous plants speedily arrived, and received splendour on the banks of the streams of abundance The gales of the rose garden produced intoxication in the mind The twittering of the birds of the parterres struck the ears with silken bows and so unclosed them!

Verse

367 The ravishing breeze of the dawn began to blow,
The lips[1] of the buds sucked the morning
The quaffers of morning draughts formed a circle
The longers for sweets drained their glasses
The fragrance of the rose made the rose garden uneasy
The nightingale was aroused by the perfume
The hyacinth shook in every curl
The narcissus glorified bed on bed
The fragrance of the rose stirred up a hundred parterres
The wine cellar was poured into the mouth of the cup
Love's drunkards were in every tavern
Love's hands were in circle upon circle

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1 Text has the lips of morning but the Lucknow edition has lips of buds and this seems more poetical.

The polisher of the sky and earth, and the illuminator of heights and hollows, after the passing of two hours and three minutes from the night of Saturday the 25th Shawwal 979, 11 March 1572, cast the shadow of light upon the mansion of Aries and the 17th year from the holy accession began, to wit, the year Amirdād of the second cycle It is to be hoped that by the blessing of the Shahinshah's justice this cycle may be joined to ages and epochs.

Of the occurrences which marked the beginning of this fortunate year was the bringing to court by Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān of Sikandar Khān, and the latter's being pardoned for his offences at his request (Mun'im's)) It has already been related that Sikandar Khān Uzbeg had from inborn inauspiciousness turned away from the God given dominion, and that he had leagued himself with the evildoer 'Ali Quli Khān and had lifted up the head of sedition. When what was predestined had happened to 'Ali Quli, and his rebellion had come to an end, Iskandar Khān, from wickedness of disposition and evil fate, joined Sulaimān Afghan He spent some time in that country. The narrow-minded Afghans did not think his being among them was proper and laid plots against him He learned their apprehensions and petitioned Mun'im Khan Khān-Khānān. He represented that what had happened to him had been the result of ignorance, and that he was ashamed thereof The treacherous Afghans had killed Sulaimān Uzbeg, and now they were thinking of killing him. If Mun'im Khan interceded for this wicked and ill-fated man (himself) to the sublime court, it would be granting him life for this world and also eternal life Mun'im Khān sent his letter along with his own representation to court and requested orders. H M in his abundant graciousness sent a favourable order and made him hopeful The Khān Khānān, who on account of the greatness of the offences did not expect a forgiveness, made a prostration of thanks for the kindness, and sent for Iskandar Khān On receiving this good news Sikandar Khān took with him Yūsuf the son of Sulaimān Uzbeg, and came away hastily from the Afghans without informing them The Khān Khānān behaved kindly to him and taking these protégés along with him, came to court In the beginning of Tir, Divine month, they were received At Mun'im's 360
intercession the penitents were forgiven, and treated with royal

favours In a short space of time the Khān-Khanan was encompassed with favours, and dismissed to the eastern provinces Sikandar Khan[1] was granted the Sarkar of Lucknow and sent off with him

One of the occurrences of this time, which was the spring of fortune and dominion, was that 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, was induced by the fame and majesty of this sovereignty (Akbar's) to send Hajī Altamgh as an ambassador He brought with him letters of respect and affection, and curiosities of his country The purport of the letters was to recall ancient relations and to renew friendship, in order that by the help of such Divine glory he might act vigorously against the other princes of Turan Another object was that he might repose in peace and be without apprehension of the strokes of the world conquering armies For greater security and success he sent presents to Mun'im Khan Khan-Khānān and the Khan A'zim Mirza Kokā in order that they might exert themselves to lay the foundations of friendship The prudent sovereign received the ambassador graciously, and gave him his dismissal after he had discharged his duty Presents consisting of the rarities of India were sent along with him

One of the occurrences was the falling out of favour of Mozaffar Khan At all times, in spite of the rise of the sun of direction of the Shāhinshah, an unique veil hung over his world adorning beauty At this time he made the game of *caupar*[2] the veil of his esoteric beauty and carried on the amusement with keenness Special rules were framed for the game, in which hundreds of designs were involved, and all the servants of the court were continually present for this business There were great feasts and entertainments Though in appearance the market of the play was brisk, yet in reality men were being tested The lord of wisdom under the guise of sport did serious work and was testing men's qualities One day Mozaffar Khan, on account of the intoxication of the world and his small capacity, behaved in a savage and rustic manner in consequence of having lost many games and of having been long

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[1] Sikandar died shortly afterwards Elliot V, p 339

[2] Blochmann 303

in the Presence.[1] H.M. cast him off from the pinnacle of confidence and sent him on pilgrimage in order that by playing the game of unimportance and exile, his unsound condition might be amended.

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[1] This expression seems explained by Blochmann 304, where we are told that sometimes there were 200 players, and that none of them was allowed to go home till he had finished sixteen games, which in some cases lasted three months! If Mozaffar were kept so long at the palace, no doubt he would lose his temper.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Expedition of the World-conquering Army of the Shāhinshāh for the Conquest of the Country of Gujrat

The pious lord of the world always regards external administration as the decoration of the world of reality, and without any con
369 tamination of human desires recognises that his own satisfaction lies in the soothment of mankind. He always perceives what things are most important, and applies himself to the gathering together of the distressed and dispersed ones of the age. In conquering countries and cities his first thought is to inquire into and sympathise with the condition of the oppressed. Hence wherever the rulers act wisely and exert themselves to protect their subjects, he does not set himself to conquer that country though the means for doing so be at hand. And although it is clear to the front of his holy mind—which is truth's arena—that every extension of territory brings the plurality of the world into the majestic uniqueness of one of the sublime administrators of justice, and thus brings the highest form of worship to the bridal-chamber of manifestation, yet as the motive of his genius is the preservation of the general public—who are a wondrous trust from God—he does not address himself to such worship. But as the incomparable Deity is engaged in increasing the dominion and in exalting the foundations on H. M.'s sovereignty, it happens from time to time that He makes a country empty of just rulers, in order that the truthful sovereign may direct his royal attention thereto, and may eradicate it by his justice. So that those burnt up in the desert of misfortune may be cooled by graciousness, and also that compulsory unity, which is the twin of voluntary unity, may take proper shape, and that the torch of loyalty may be kindled even among the superficial, of whom the world is full. For the power of God has established a great gap between the merits of the various sections of mankind. Glory to His Name![1] One section has,

1 *Jalí Jalála*. This is the pass word of the followers of the Divine faith cf. Blochmann and belongs to this sentence, and not to the preceding one as is done in some texts.

by beholding the brilliant wisdom, the walk and conversation, the giving and forgiving, the winking at men's faults, and the wakeful-heartedness of the Khedive of the age, become his followers and regards him as the Unique one of God's Court They regard his service as Divine worship and go on augmenting their loyalty and devotion Another section, whose glance has not fallen on those acts, have come to believe his esoteric greatness from seeing his external grandeur, and the increase in his territories, and have bound the noose of discipleship on the neck of their souls and become of the number of his devoted followers

Accordingly, at this time, when the kingdom of Delhi was cleared from the dust of fly like sedition mongers, and the blind-hearted ones had descended into the abyss of defeat and annihilation, the Shahinshah's genius determined upon the conquest of Gujrat, and the amendment of the distractions of that country, for the oppression of the subjects thereof had reached its climax

From the time when Sultan Mahmud had from carelessness taken the smooth-tonguedness of enemies to be friendship, and had died from the evil nature of servants who regarded the loss of their master and benefactor as their gain—as has been briefly noticed[1] in the account of the province of Gujrat—the officers of Gujrat 370
especially Saiyid Mubārak, 'Itmād Khan, and 'Imad al Mulk had looked after their own interests In order that their power might be real, they had produced one of the sons of Sultan Ahmad and given him a noble name But when he came to years of discretion they got rid of him, and brought forward a worthless boy named Nannu who was of low origin, and gave him out as a son of Sultan Mahmūd They gave him the title of Moẓaffar Shāh and pursued their own private advantage Ahmadābād, which is the capital of Gujrat, Cambay and much of the country fell into the possession of 'Itmād Khān Sarkar Patan fell to Musa Khān and Sher Khān Fūlādī, Surat, Broach, Baroda, and Cāmpānīr to Cingiz Khān, the son of 'Imād al Mulk, Dandūqa and Dulqa etc, came to Saiyid Ḥāmid the grandson of Saiyid Mubārak, Jūnagarh and the district of Sorath to Amīn Khān Ghorī 'Itmād Khān craftily kept that low born child in his own presence, and so passed his days, while the country was,

[1] A F must ... to h s A n See Jarret II ...

owing to the prevalence of embezzlers, the scene of various oppressions, and heedless heads strove with one another Meanwhile, when Cingiz Khān died, Nannu, at the instigation of Shēr Khan Fulādi, fled from Ahmadābād and came to Patan Sher Khān Fulādi and a number of vagabonds got together an army for the taking of Ahmadabād 'Itmād Khān shut himself up in Ahmadābad and asked the help of the Mīrzās, Strife rose high, and the market of contention became brisk. The holy heart of the Shāhinshah recognised that the taking of Gujrat was the most important matter, and applied himself to making preparations for this Mirza Yusuf Khan, Fattu, Rajah Birbar and a large force were sent to the Panjab to help Husain Qulī Khān lest Hakim Mirzā should at the instigation of short-sighted men, and from thinking that the imperial army was at a distance, allow seditious thoughts to occupy his brain. An order was issued to Husain Quli Khān that he should annex Nagarkot and make it over to Rajah Birbar, as Rajah Badh Cand, the zamindar thereof, had been convicted of bad service and evil intentions If his people should regard the strength of the fort as materials for presumption, he was to besiege it with a large force and capture it Similarly prudent men were despatched to every quarter, and on the day of Bahram 20 Tir, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 20 Safar, 4 July 1572, H.M. marched out from Fathpur to conquer Gujrat and halted at Dabar.

One of the acts of justice which were performed at this time was the punishment of Bābā Khān Qāqshāl. The brief account of this act of justice is as follows Shahbāz Khān was the Amir-Tūzak,
371 and was engaged in arranging the procession. That ignorant Turk behaved presumptuously and was rude to Shahbāz Khān. When it was reported to the adorner of the rose garden of the Caliphate, he *ordered* him *to be* severely[1] punished as a lesson to himself and as a means of amending other transgressors. Thus, by a single advertence of the Shāhinshah was a matter appertaining to a large

[1] *Siāsat i azīm*, "A great punishment" *Siāsat* is often used for a capital punishment and as it is here one might have expected that Bābā Khān Qāqshāl was put to death But it appears from Blochmann 369n. that Bābā Khān Qāqshāl was not executed, and lived to die a rebel in Bengal in 988

army, and for which many experienced[1] administrators would have found it difficult to make proper regulation, disposed of with ease

One of the joyful occurrences was that at the time when the army was encamped at Sangānir, H M, according to custom, engaged in hunting He was at this time much devoted to hunting with *citas* and after assigning *citas* to numerous parties he went off himself with some special attendants It chanced that they loosed a special *cita* (cīta-i khāṣ) called Citr Najan at a deer[2] Suddenly there appeared in front of them a ravine which was twenty-five yards broad The deer leapt into the air to the height of a spear and a half and conveyed itself across The *cita* in its eagerness took the same course, cleared the ravine and seized the deer On beholding this astonishing occurrence the spectators raised a cry of amazement and there was great rejoicing and astonishment. The Khedive raised the rank of that *cita* and made him chief of the *citas* He also ordered that as a special honour, and as a pleasure to men, a drum should be beaten in front of that *cita* On the day of *Gosh*[3] 14 Amirdad, Divine month, corresponding to Saturday, 15 Rabi'-al awwal, 26 July 1572, he according to custom went one stage to Ajmir on foot and proceeded to circumambulate the shrine of M'uinu-d-din On the way the scouts reported that there was a powerful tiger there that always lay in wait for travellers and killed them Inasmuch as the extirpation of causers of evil is one of the duties of sovereignty, the prince went forward to destroy him He did so, and then went on to that delightful spot The advent of the Shāhinshāh produced fresh joy, and the rites of supplication and circumambulation were performed The river of bounty overflowed, and the grades of mankind shared in great gifts. Next day he proceeded to inspect the fort[4] of Ajmir, which is on the summit of a hill In that lofty place he visited the

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[1] The text has *kargusar i paurao* The MSS generally seem to have *berū*, and Add 27 247 has *be-ao*

[2] Possibly the name was Citrānga i.e., spotted or variegated body

[3] The text has *Kosh* but that is the 4th day of the month.

[4] This is Tāragarh. See Rajputana Gazetteer II, 15 and 16 It is there stated that Saiyid Ḥusain was a servant of Quṭbu-d-dīn and that he was killed in trying to defend the Fort. See id., p 60 for further account of Taragarh. See also Khazīna-Auliyā, II 254, for an account of the martyr He is said to have been killed in 610 A.H

shrine of Saiyid Husain Khang-suwār, who is commonly said to be a descendant of Zainu-l abadin. But by investigation it appears that the Saiyid was a servant of Shihābu-d-din Ghori, and that at the time when he returned from the conquest of India he made him Shiqdār of Ajmir. There he died. From lapse of time and general assent he became famous as a saint, and his tomb became the circumambulation-place of mankind. As H. M. the Shāhinshāh was
372 always a painful seeker, he took into consideration the popular report and implored his aid. On the day of Ruz[1] 7 Amirdād, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday, 2 Rabi' as sāni, 12 August 1572, the Khān Kilān was sent off to Gujrat as an advance-guard along with many officers such as Ashraf Khān, Shāh Quli Khān Mahram, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Saiyid Mahmud Khān, Qulij Khān, Sādiq Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d din, Haidar Muhammad Khān Akhta Begi, Saiyid Ahmad Khān, Qutlaq Qadam Khān, Muhammad Quli Khān Tuqbāi, Kharram Khān, Beg Nurin Khān, Beg Muhammad Khān Muhammad Quli Khān, son in law of the Khān Kilān, Mihr 'Ali Khān Silduz, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān, Mirzāda 'Ali Khān, and Bahādur Khān. On the day of Farwardin 19 Shahriyur, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 22 Rabi' as sāni 1 September 1572, H. M. marched from Ajmir in order that he might indulge in hunting, and also that the officers sent in advance might the better show their merits, and also that Gujrat might as soon as possible come into the possession of the imperial servants and that the sufferings of the oppressed ones of that country might be redressed in the best manner. In two stages the army had arrived within two stages of Nagor when news came of the birth of a noble son, and also that of a victory.

[1] This was one of the intercalary days and the second or first of the two added to the end of the month.

CHAPTER LXXIX.

The Auspicious Birth of the Nosegay of Fortune's Spring, to wit, of Prince Sulṭān Daniel.

It is not concealed from the hearts which closely scrutinise the established law of the elements and the celestial bodies, or from the acute descriers of the associations of loins and wombs, that as the stewards of things terrestrial and celestial have distinguished the Khedive of the world by daily increasing fortune, and eternal dominion, and have made him successful in his desires, spiritual and physical, and auspicious as regards the objects of realm and religion, so also have they every morning caused a fresh spring flower to bloom for him in the gardens of hope, and every evening have made a felicitous star arise from the horizon of his wishes. Inasmuch as the amount of Divine aid in respect of the Shāhinshāh of the universe is beyond human calculation—for Almighty God, after having gathered together all the blessings and glories which are in the hidden stores of the eternal decrees and having placed them in his fortune's bosom, hath attached to his personality many great gifts—how could there be room for things which he had wished for, to remain secluded behind the screen of delay? Accordingly as his holy mind was desirous of obedient truth-seeking children Almighty God bestowed on him this favour without limitation and this blessing without cessation, which is styled "the creation of copies,' [1] and from time to time makes a priceless pearl of the secret ocean glorious on the shore of manifestation

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[1] اجاد مثل مبارک او است که ke Ījād-i-mis̤l ʿibārat asanast. The passage is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning Most MSS seem to have ījād i-m sl which I suppose must mean the creat on or increase of copies i e increase of cop es of Akbar or of God in the sense that man was made in God's image Add. 27 247 seems to have Ījād-i nasl, "increase of the lineage." The Lucknow edition has quite a different reading which looks like a gloss inserted to explain an obscure expression. Instead of Ījād-i-mis̤l it has Ījād-i-banī nu i-insān, "the creation of the sons of men"

At the time that the sublime cortège was proceeding from Ajmīr, one of the secluded ones of the screen of chastity had come near the
373 time of child birth and was unable to endure movement or a journey. In searching for an auspicious place the house of Daniel[1]—a follower of the illustrious shrine (or M'uinu-d-din)—was found It was made empty and the lady was placed there. The cortège of fortune had halted in *Phaludi*,[2] which lies in a desert (*ran*) belonging to the Sarkār of Nāgaur, when couriers came from Ajmīr and brought the joyful intelligence that after 41 *puls* of the night of Āsman, 27 Shahriyur, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 2 Jamāda-al-awal, 9 September 1572, according to visibility[3] and to the night of the third according to supreme decree, under the sign of Aries according to the Greek philosophers, and of Pisces according to the Indian sages, the Giver of life and Adorner of the world had, in the blissful land of Ajmīr,[4] the longitude of which is 111° 5′, and latitude 26′, bestowed on the Shāhinshāh a lofty starred son By the emergence of this brilliant star favour had been conferred on souls and on horizons. When the lord of the world heard this news he placed his forehead on the dust of prostration, and returned thanks to God. He recognised in this news the foretidings of incalculable victories, and inaugurated splendid feasts The people received fresh joy by general gifts, and the coin of liberality was poured into the lap of the world

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1 The Khazīna Auliya p 443, mentions a Shaikh Daniel Cisti who died in 994 A H aged 111

2 Rajputana Gazetteer II 26? "Phalodi is a large town to the N W of Marwār near the borders of Bikanir and Jaisalmir " It thus belongs to Jodhpūr The fort is still in good order

3 Here again is the expression used at p 3 and which I do not fully understand but which I think refers to the Muhammadan practice of not reckoning the month to have begun until the New Moon has become visible 'Amr aūsat I now take to mean supreme decree ausat أوسط having been written for اوسط which is Turkish

4 The longitude and latitude of the city of Ajmīr are 74°39′ 31″ E and 26°26′ 30″ N It is 677 m from Bombay and 232 by rail from Agra—Rajputana Gazetteer, II 66 The lat and long here given by A F agree with those given in the Ain—Jarrett III 59 The longitude is calculated from the Canaries

Verse.

A soul-sustaining rose bloomed in the garden
The fragrance reached a thousand gardens
When the cypress sprang from the noble[1] root
Gratulations were uttered by the seven planets
The Khedive gave fresh wings to joy
He proclaimed a wine-distribution to the seven climes
Rapture was hung on the chords of melody
Song penetrated the brain of the Age
Liberality, when it gave a glance of genius
Removed the curtain from in front of desire.

H.M. had regard to the birthplace which was the house of Shaikh Daniel, and having implored aid from His Highness Daniel the Great (the prophet) gave to that nursling of fortune's rosarium the name of Sultān Daniel. Acute poets wrote congratulatory odes, and rare chronograms came from the tongues of the skilful, and were rewarded with gifts. (An order was issued that when this celestial star should be a month old, his cradle should be conveyed to the town of Ambēr and the care of him committed to the Rānī, the wife of Rajah Bāra Mal.[2]) It is hoped that this cypress of the Caliphate will for long epochs be watered by the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and will grow up under his shade and protection. Now that the eternal aid has guided me astray in life's assembly to the exposition of the instruc- 374
tive account of H.M. the Shāhinshāh, and makes me more impatient and mobile than my pen, I here insert the horoscope of the happy birth according to Greek and Indian calculations, but leave the extraction of the judgments to the subtle eyes of astronomers.[3]

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[1] *Shimshād ban*, lit. the box tree. But shimshād is also a name for any tall and straight tree, and an epithet of a beautiful man or woman. Here it may refer to Akbar, or to Daniel's mother.

[2] So in text. Should be Bahārī Mal. The making over Daniel to this Rānī would seem to imply that the mother of Daniel was related to her, it might also strengthen the tradition that the Rānī's daughter was Jahangīr's mother.

[3] Here follow two horoscopes, but by some mistake they are those of Prince Murād. That is, they are for the signs of Capricorn and Sagittarius, and not for Pisces and Aries which, we have just been told, were those of Daniel's horoscope. The

376 In fine, after the completion of thanksgivings for this great boon the Shāhinshāh's cortège continued its march, and on the day of Isfandarmaz, 5 Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 9 Jamāda-al-awwal, 17 September 1572, encamped in the town of Nāgaur

CONCLUSION.[1]

God be praised! On 7 Ardibihisht of the 41st year of the Divine Era, corresponding to Friday, 27 Sh'abān 1004, 16 April 1596, the noble task of the record of a cycle (*qarn*) of everlasting dominion and of many marvellous incidents in the fortune of the Lord of the World during thirty years received a happy completion by the strength of a word-weighing intellect and the swiftness of a heavens-like moving pen.

Verse.[2]

Lamp of six arches, King of nine pavilions
Akbar Shāh, the King of the Age
May fortune's day gain brightness from his face
May the age become a rose-garden from his Spring

Many great princes have been commemorated as complements to that unique one of creation, and so the garden of history has been watered, and the countenance of life eternal has glorified those who were resting in the sleep of non-existence

Verse.

Hundreds of thanks for that this Gallery
Has assumed everlasting decoration
He who is a chief for acuteness
Knows what has been the spiritual outpouring.

apparently originated with the Lucknow editor whom the Bib Ind. editors have here blindly followed.

The correct horoscopes for Prince Daniel are given in B M MSS Add 5610, pp 540b and 541a and 5553 pp 282 83, also in R.A S MSS Nos 114, 116 and 118

[1] This conclusion also appears in the third part of A F letters and miscellaneous writings—the Muktābat 'Allāmī See Newal Kishore ed of 1280 A H (1867) pp 277 97, and the earlier Mīr Hasan pressed, pp 275-95 Both have marginal notes They are nearly the same in both, and I have found them very useful

[2] The lines are Faiẓi's and are to be found in the preface to B M Add 7794 p 5a

Had my confused glance fallen upon myself, I should have seen that I was unfit for this great emprise, and have accepted the words of the sage and turned away from the execution of the great task

Verse

If thou hast not a nature clear as running water
Lay not hands on the record of princes
If the mouth[1] is to remain free of food
'Tis best to leave the table unsupplied.

But the Shāhinshāh's command and the potent magic of loyalty opened my mind's eye to the exhibitions of fortune and victoriously withdrew me from myself

The beginning of my education came from Arabic In Persian I was less versed The pacings in the alleys of a spiritual Spring, and the contemplation of the house garden of theoretical and practical wisdom abstracted my attention from all other matters Especially did I live in alienation from old stories about *dīws*[2] Methought it great loss to give up current coin for antiquated bills of credit. An extensive survey showed me that the palace of history was in ruins, and that the ample plain of chronicles could be no arena for Truth's cavaliers, seeing that it did not merit even a glance from exoteric persons who were capable of making a right choice It is essential that the sons of men should not gratuitously cast away the precious jewels of the spirit, and should keep life's brief tenement in repair by obedience to the wise, and not spend their days in folly, or sell life's precious pearl for worthless potsherds (Cupidinous persons and confused babblers introduced 377
untrue statements for their own ends They designedly mixed truth with falsehood, and thus incurred the reproach of the enlightened) Unexperienced physicians and quacks who had no proper understanding of goodness or purity fabricated tales of hopes and fears They supposed the bitter medicaments of falsehood, and a mixture from the poisonous herb of untruth to be a remedy for

1 Probably the meaning is—If the mouth is incapable of eating or is to remain empty The lines are Firdūsī's and are applied to his predecessor Daqīqī See Shāhnāma, Turner-Macan's ed III p 1104. A F seems to have altered the second line

2 Probably a hit at Firdūsī

the chameleon-like spirit, and for the melancholy engendered by opposing humours, and so entered the wide field of error. Many drugged-dreamers [1] and worshippers of fancies took their evil imaginations to be called celestial visitants, and became blatant babblers From mental confusion and long-continued turmoil of spirit they mixed up presumptuous imaginings with the delightful utterances of Truth Very many truthful, well constituted, well meaning simpletons and writers have given way to dejection (literally, loosed the tress ends of dejection), and, from shortness of view and want of understanding, indulged in foolish discourse, and at the instance of silly persons, who did not know what truth was, brought false tales into vogue Owing to the lapse of epochs, to the mustiness of records to wisdom's returing to a corner, and to the predominance of natural temperament, typhoons of strife were let loose, and floods of evil seethed over Class upon class of mankind and all sorts of natures heaped up great punishments (for themselves) from the reading of old and erroneous books, and fell into eternal loss. From the dulness of their fortune and the dreaminess of their understandings, they chose, instead of the unique pearl of science, which quiets perturbations, physical and spiritual, and gives light to darknesses external and internal, an injurious intermixture (of truth and falsehood). They covered up the illuminating light with dust and rubbish, and devastated the city of bliss More extraordinary still! they, while in that burning desert of indiscrimination, where no restful shelter is to be found, are eager to fashion the life-destroying simoom thereof into the material of a refreshing sleep! They go down into the gloomy abode of error, and build joy and sorrow upon miserable dreams.

Verse.[2]

Alas! How shall one enter a road
Which is a sword edge, and a track of thorns?
At once wounding the heel and swelling the sole
How can I set foot on a diamond paved desert

[1] *Kanabgirifturān*, "takers of hemp or bhang" The reading of the lithographs and also of B M MS 27,247 is *kutubgirifturān* i e pedants or book worshippers but I O MS 236 has kanab and this is probably right *Kanab* is the origin of the Latin cannabis

[2] The lines are Faizi's and are quoted in A N III 684

In the darkness of my heart and perturbation of my mind the star of truth shone out, and my reason's ear was opened by the felicity of my temperament. Celestial reproof struck a blow on my distorted spirit, and admonished me with a tongueless tongue. "Son of Mubārik, to whom has been alloted a select lodging in the honourable mansion of right thinking, what has come into thy head? Why has the eye of fault-finding been unclosed, and how long wilt thou cavil and utter improprieties? How long will the pearl of goodness be covered with the dust of misunderstanding?" As a general rule whoever has not a constructive hand, abuses what he does not understand and stains his heart and tongue with abuse, and takes the road of ignorance, and does not exercise deep discernment. If the 378
brilliancy of story, and the radiance of annals did not exist, where would so many lamps of knowledge be lighted? Or how would the holy seekers after retired wisdom of old times have come down to us. Speech—a painting upon air, and a knotted (articulated) wind—was young in years, and ancient eloquence had not received its acompaniments. In their gratitude for the mighty boon, far-seeing appreciators of work do not give so much as a glance at faults, much less do they speak of such or listen to remarks about them.

Verse.

Look at perfect love and honesty, not at defects
For whoe'r lacks wit, casts his eye on faults.

Why does the combination of excogitated (m'aqūl) and acquired (manqūl) knowledge remain hidden[1] in thy heart's antechamber—which is a fountain of Divine bounties—and why does thy prudent[2] soul become dejected and the tongue of chiding be unloosed? Know that high resolves and lofty genius are rare, or rather, non-existent. If all obscure verities had been recorded in the primæval writings, mediæval

[1] *Sar āmekhtagī.* The Inshā, or Muktabāt, has surāmekhtagī, "the mixture of the veil". I suppose the meaning is, "Why do not your reason and learning act?"

[2] *Hushyār dil.* The Mīr Hasan lithograph has khushdil, eloquence, and B M. Add 5610 has shāhsuwār dil. A note to Newal Kishor's edition says that hushyār here means reproachful.

wayfarers in the fields of inquiry, and laggards in the wilderness of search—of which last the world is full—would not have tasted joy, and writings of the past age would have been consigned to the closet of neglect. Clearly, the wondrous Showman of creation (God) hath introduced such singular combinations, and His magic power hath drawn such charming uncoloured sketches on the wondrous tablet in order that there may be both spots[1] averting the evil eye from the daughters of the *hours* of the spirit, and chargers for the conveyance of those veiled and mystic beauties.[2] Chronicles unfold the feasts and the fights (*bazm-razm*), the strivings and sports, the glooms, and the glories and other things relating to the knowledge of mankind and civilisation, the perspicacities of the wise, the mistakes of the learned, the various ups and downs of the world, the simplicities of the great of the earth, the vain knockings[3] at the door of inaccessible Fortune, the empty[4] satisfactions of many members of the households of Reason and Testimony, and other singularities of the wonderful world. They also record many experiments and lessons in a pleasing and impressive manner. If enlightenment be brought to the task (of chronicle-writing) and regard be had to what is proper, a second life is bestowed on the inquiring and the laborious, such as they died wishing for, and the materials of eternal existence are gathered. Moreover, if the wooers of knowledge (*shāhid-i-'urfān*) have, from lacking the light of wisdom, not been able to seat[5] themselves on the genial bride-bed, and if the veiled one of the spiritual bed-chamber has not wholly unveiled her cheek, owing to there being no ray from the night-gleaming jewel

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[1] *Khāl.* A mole or freckle.

[2] The meaning is that the imperfections of early writings were designed in order to prevent Truth from being too much exposed and to avert the evil eye from her beauty.

[3] *Halqa iqbāl nāmamkin jambānīdan.* Literally the moving of the knocker of impossible fortune. The phrase is used by Hāfiz and is quoted in the Bihār Ajam, p. 341a.

[4] *Bakee khorsand.* From the manner in which this phrase is used lower down, text 380, l. 3, it seems that it contains a sneer. It refers to those who are satisfied when they should not be so, i.e., satisfied with knowledge which is no knowledge.

[5] Cf. Tholuck's Ssufismus, Berlin 1821, p. 94: "Hinc factum est ut Dschalaleddinus doctrinam suam عرس et سور (nuptias) appellat, inque alio loco dicit Ssufios primi gradûs sponsam sine velo adspicere eosque secundi gradûs quasi toris genialibus discumbere.

(wisdom), yet the controller of Truth (God) has given the means of light by the avenue of the senses. Especially has a profusion of light been admitted by the wicket-gate of the eye, and the lattice of the ear! and this is brightened by the seeing and hearing the vestiges of past generations, whereby an embroidery is furnished to daily-increasing beauty. Moreover, in the spicery of varied traditions there are remedies for melancholy, and medicines for sorrow. Such agreeable electuaries are indispensably necessary in the social state (*nigāh-i t'aalluq*).[1]

Apparently, my refractoriness was due to my strange soul's being perpetually excited by the thought of liberation. It sought an empty hand and a vacant heart. How could it be satisfied with 379
the mass of story-telling (logography) which is the best thing which worldlings (*t'aalluqiyān*) have to show. How can perfect Beauty be seen under concrete forms? At the present day when men have been relieved from internal struggles and are proceeding towards the pleasant abode of peace with all, and when they are invited to come out of the stony hollow of formalism to the spacious mansion of Liberty, how will it be surprising if the glad news of Cognition reach my blissful ear, or how will it be strange if my heart cease from its aversion (to the world)?

The truth of the matter is that everything which the heart passes on to the tongue, and the pen transfers to paper, is the offspring of the patriarch (*ābū-l ābāi*) Reason, and is the magical work of this wondrous draughtsman. But, by heaven's decree, that refulgent gem of existence became, from companionship with Wrath and Desire, and the embraceries of Heedlessness—which last is the true descendant of those two ogres (*ghoul*) in the path of bliss—incrusted with ever-during rust, layer upon layer, and the encrustations still remain. As a result of this mischief, a deadly mixture caused under various designations the bewilderment of tranquil hearts, and still does so. The blackness (of the rust) sometimes prevents Truth from being seen, but sometimes it cannot weave a screen against the luminary of intellect, though it make the workman to stumble. Any birth of Reason which has been so far cleansed and scraped that the veiled ones of the sacred chamber can be recognised, and that, owing

[1] I presume that the celestial admonition ends here

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ide h[illegible]

to the brightness of the jewel and the illumination of the heart, mysteries can be perceived, is termed "Revelation" (*makshūf*). If the incrustation has come to have the appearance of being the magic offspring of celestial sires, and terrestrial mothers, it is called "in elegant language" a compendium (*majmal.*) The "Why and the Wherefore" which are part of its properties are regarded as right and are termed in the language of the world "Rational" (*maqul*) The rosy fruits of wisdom receive the name of "Acquired" (*manqul*) and are cast away with contempt Alas! where has an atom of contingent (*imkin*) dust the strength to grasp such matters, or Reason which seeks to serve, the audacity to describe her sovereign's privy-chamber? Such matters are the glorious work of the incomparable Deity, and are the unveiling of the many-coloured countenance of destiny! The wise man perceives that Good and Evil are alike[2] (*barabar*), and that "Victorious Evil, i e, Pure Evil" is impossible (lit is in the secret chamber of impossibility). The luminary[3] of existence which is pure Good, and unmixed light, can only be kept burning by victorious Good[4]

My troubled and devious heart left off those thoughts, and by a strong bond held back my foolish tongue To conclude after long discourse and little result my mind was relieved somewhat from various troubles, and relief came to my straitened capacity. I *abandoned my aversion and applied myself to the amendment of*

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[1] That is, celestial influences such as the *stars* and the *terrestrial elements*, the former being regarded as fathers, and the latter as mothers Cf Spenser's Fairy Queen Canto I, stanza 6

[2] This is the Sufistic doctrine Good and Evil are alike for both are manifestations of God Cf Ethé, Morgenland Stunden 99 In folgerichtiger Consequenz sind auch das Gute and Bose vollig gleich also beide in Wirklichkeit gar nicht existieren sondern an Gott zuruck gefuhrt werden mussen *Barabar* however may also mean set over against one another" cf the description of the perfect man in the Aīn text II, 351, and Jarrett III, 409 A F says that there are three conditions of humanity, and that the third is that of the perfect man (*mardam tamām*) He takes no account of men and consequently has no thought as to whether they are good or bad

[3] The B M MSS and the lithographs have *naiyir*, light, before *hasti* and the word seems required for further on we have the metaphor of kindling

[4] Possibly the speech of the celestial interlocutor only ends here

mankind I set my foot resolutely to the task of their spiritual and physical improvement It seemed to me indispensable that incorrect delineations should be erased My design was to lay down certain principles which might at the time of question and answer assist both the imparters (lit sellers) of knowledge, and the seekers 380
thereof Now when ascetics seek for a chain for the unruly spirit, they begin by collecting the things pertaining to the forge After that, many shackles are put together which may be fit to control the swift, quicksilver-like spirit, and which may preserve seekers after God who belong to the house of search from daily decrease (in numbers?) and may assist them to strengthen them for the adornments of the deceptive spirit God-finders[1] (*Khudayaban*) who are satisfied anyhow, abandon their wrong notions and perceive, after failure, that the sublime threshold of Divinity is too high for the soaring birds of the zenith of contingent existence, and that they cannot flap their wings there. The dealers in the market-places of religions[2] base their transactions (lit their profit and loss) upon this fact, and withdrawing from boundless and bottomless bewilderment they cease to stretch their feet beyond the carpet of their capacities, and neither act nor speak foolishly But from cautiousness and opportunism, which are indispensable for the seekers after happiness, and the active minded, I say to myself, "Seven thousand years have elapsed during which the turmoil of indiscrimination had gone on increasing, and mischievous ignorance has confused all, high and low On this day, which is the beginning of a new cycle, is the marvellous Host (God) weaving as of yore various veils, or is He about to remove the screen barring admission, and to guide mankind to Truth's glorious mansion I long to get a hint of the designs of heaven and earth, and I seek an enlightening explanation from the aspect of the Age" Suddenly I descry a line of despair on its forehead, and it becomes apparent in perception's foreground that many more revolutions of the juggling heavens are

[1] *Khudāyaban* Probably alluding to the pantheistic Sūfīs who identified themselves with God

[2] Text has *dunya* the world but I O MS 564 B M Add 27 247 and 27,248 have *dīn* belonging to faith and this makes better sense, the meaning being that the founders and exponents of religions have seen that certain matters are beyond human ken

required. After experiencing the waywardness and tardiness *of* Hope I sate in expectation of that time. Suddenly the light of bliss cast a ray and my heart turned back from foolish ideas. It became clear that the pen of destiny had not decreed that *every one should* become possessed of the truth, and that I had been made the physician of myself, not of the world. The physician[1] said, "Since silence is hollow, and understanding *is, like a madman gnawing* at *the* knocker on the door, intellect, which is termed the key of action, has become the lock on the treasury of truth-seeking and the happiness *of every section of mankind is impledged to just thinking*[2] and honest intentions."

My heart was relieved from the notion of instructing mankind, and I *came to think that if genius helped me and time granted me* leisure, I would compose a history suitable to the temperament of mortals, and would treat of the mysteries of truth with a cryptic[3] *tongue. May it be a pendant in the ear of a sage (ṣāḥibdil)* and a collyrium for his eyes!

Verse.

It was long in my thoughts
That by a knowing and thoughtful heart
I might set hidden wisdom in the open field

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[1] The text has *nagahān ṭabiyāt guft*, "suddenly idiosyncrasy said" But the lithographs of the *Inshā* and the B M and I'O MSS which I have seen read *nā gihān*, i e., "not the world," and *tabīb guft*, and I have adopted this reading The sentence, however, is obscure, and possibly the text is corrupt B M MS 27, 247, *has the word shud inserted by some*one after *ḥaq p ishūhī* Possibly *qafl* is used in the sense of something guarding the Treasury, and not of something preventing access to it. The expression "gnawing at the knocker of the door" is curious Perhaps it has been formed on the expression used *supra* about shaking the knockers of impossible fortune. It would perhaps make the sentence clearer if we took *cūn*, "since," to mean here "How," and to suppose the physician to remark on the perversion of A. F's faculties The physician probably means A. F him self

[2] The text has an "ao" after *khairandīshī, i e., "his, viz., intellect's"* right thinking, but the pronoun seems to be omitted by all MSS.

[3] *Zabān i gomago*, a tongue that speaks and does not speak, i.e., the words are only to be understood by the initiated See Behar Ajam s v zabān p 48s

Might bring precious goods for sale
Might give enlightenment to the heedless
Might revive the position of good will

At this time, the Great Ruler, the Shāhinshāh of the world, mmanded the writing the account of his rule. Wings came to my d, and strength to my tongue, and in an admirable manner I ought the hidden things of the heart from the soul's ocean to the ore of paper The duty of obedience was performed, and the anks due for favours received were in part paid.

Verse

Though my desire was always seeking utterance
Yet fulfilment was in pawn to the proper season
May the life soothing inspiration come soon
So that it may be the adorner of my soul

Most old authors and many writers of the present day, who all old the same language, and string their words after one fashion, and display a worn-out embroidery, give all their attention to the ornamentation of words, and regard matter as subservient to them, and so exert themselves in a reverse direction They consider cadences[1] and decorative style as the constituents of eloquence, and think that prose should be tricked out like the works[2] of poets They make the collocation[3] of words, the art of derivations,[4] the rules of paronomasia,[5]

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[1] سجع کبوتر literally, "the cooing of doves."

[2] یادگار شعرا The lithographs have simply یادگی و سعرا "memorials of poets."

[3] تناسب الفاظ "Tanāsub is where the author unites things that have affin ty, such as the sun and moon, the rose and the n ghtingale bow and arrow" Gladwin, 62 63

[4] صنعت اشتقاق Ṣanā-at i-shtiqāq "Literally signifies to spl t and in the language of rhetoricians is where words are brought together whose letters approximate in sound, and it is desirable that they should be from the same primitive." Gladwin, 10

[5] ترصیع Tarsī. "Literally signifies the setting of jewels in anything and in composit on is where the author in prose or verse divides his sentences into d stinct parts and assigns to each word another correspon d ng with it in measure and rhyme" G 6

and homonyms[1] their central point They expend their talents on quotations (iqtibâs), the use of synonyms (istihlâl), allusions,[2] the invention of enigmas and the reciting of panegyrics[3] and genealogies They think that fantastic embellishments are language's capital and do not look to the weighty matters of eloquence, and the glories of the spirit A few abandon the old methods when they career in the spiritual arena These regard minutiae and fantastic notions as the game to be pursued in that region, and consider an involved style, and far fetched metaphors, which bear upon themselves the marks of the disapproval of good judges, as the ornaments of discourse, and do not discriminate between novel obscurities, out of which they fashion the philosopher's stone of wisdom, and the initial[4] difficulties of cognition The general crowd of writers set down nothing but *what is true and commonplace, and open the lips of reproach against* both the above kinds of obscure diction By the commands of my *heart, the help of my resolution, and the robustness of my good fortune,* a new palace has been constructed for composition in this auspicious *record (humayun nama), and description has assumed a new* gait The weaving hand of idiosyncrasy has been clasped by the teaching of wisdom and the guidance of choice and brilliant spirits My jewel has been taken to acute connoisseurs[5] and water drops have moistened the burning hearts of those in the desert of search

Verse

I broke to pieces my talisman
But from each letter I made a new one,

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[1] تجنیس Tajnîs 'Literally signifies similarity and in rhetoric is where the author uses two or more *letters resembling each other in reading* or in speech but having different significations and of those there are seven kinds G 6

[2] تلمیح *Talmîh* 'Literally signifies using something savoury, and is when the author alludes to some popular story or verse G 55

[3] اطراد *Itrad* 'Is praising any one along with his ancestors in genealogical order G 53

[4] نمستنس There is the variant نحسین to beautify" which perhaps is preferable The meaning then would be that such writers do not distinguish between novel or affected obscurities and ornamentation and embellishments of real knowledge '

[5] صیرفیان *Sairafiân* Money-changers and jewellers and a class of officers in the mint Blochmann 18

Know that whoever desires to see me
May behold my life's marrow in this roll
If I'm a veiled spirit, this is my body,
If I were Joseph this were his coat

Meetings were held to praise and to blame (A F.'s book), and there was a new market-day for approbation and disapprobation. Those who took the path of reflection and did not fall a prey to custom (*taqlīd*), who opened the seeing eye and exerted themselves (lit. practised sweeping) in searching for heart touching language and for a heart appreciative of language, and who did not from the pressure of circumstances and the length of time required give way to weariness, received the reward of their labour and exulted in joy. Their congratulations drowned me with the perspiration of modesty. Those who remained in the thornbrake of their nature and who from failure in ability, and from companionship with the faction which had staked their money in the old petty shops, uplifted their heads for disapproval. Incompetent critics underwent the torments of envy, and sate wasting their hearts and their souls They loosed 382
the tongue of reproof and begrimed with dust the simple hearted.

Verse.[1]

I am dust on the path of those jewellers
Who, when they, differing from the malevolent,
Open this day this treasury of jewels
Will open eyes which choose justice

A certain enlightened man was well-disposed towards me, and used to regard me with friendly eyes Our conversation turned upon the book, and out of kindness he said to me, "Why do you take such pains (*zahmat*), and why do you write in such a style? Will one out of thousands come into existence who will read this glorious volume aright, and be instructed by the new magic of its method? From whom do you expect the effectual recognition of the Truth? When shall an exalted sage draw the veil from over your work? 'Twere far better to fold away these new fangled coverlets

[1] The lines are Faizi's See A N III 695 6 lines from foot

(table carpets), and to speak in the language of the age, and to spread a plenteous table for the generality!"

My soul was soothed by his appreciation, and I was delighted with his affection The nobleness of his personality induced me to answer him, and I opened out the casket of truth "There's ample provision for ordinary guests I am preparing a dainty morsel for the Unique One of Time What have I to do with a crowd? Celestial things are glorified by being presented nobly to the king of enlightenment. What connection have they with the common herd?

Verse

What business has the kite with the pigeon?
Such game is only for the royal falcon

The passed[1] master of acute seekers after wisdom was also convinced, and rendered powerful help to my enterprise

Mankind may be divided into four classes First—There are the darkened and contumacious who do not listen to reproof (lit. do not make reproof a constituent of their hearing) and do not convey it from the wicket of the ear to the chamber of the heart Or if it does find its way, it is not accepted Or if accepted, it is not acted upon Second—Those ill conditioned, evil natured ones who reckon their own ignorance as knowledge, and who are proud of their health when they are suffering from incurable disease Third—Those seekers after light, and those well constituted natures who have escaped from the demons-castle of envy and the dark pit (siyāh cal) of ignorance, and engage in the pains of Search, but who from perverse fate and their evil star cannot attain to lofty spiritual knowledge and to whom the veiled beauties of Wisdom's seraglio but rarely show themselves Fourth—That illustrious man of a happy star who, along with treasures of knowledge, possesses loftiness of soul and great genius, and who from profundity of per-

[1] I presume that Akbar is intended here but possibly the reply to the enlightened friend ends here and the meaning is that he became convinced The repetition of the word *didawar* perhaps points to this Otherwise A F's reply may be taken to extend down to the end of the description of the four classes The lithographs have *ra* after *didawar* and some MSS have *bawar* for *yawar*

ition over fares forward. He who knows the world chooses ight but silence with respect to the first three, and opens not the ket of speech save to this truth seeking jeweller (i e, expert), so it the lamp of knowledge may be kindled, and its radiance may brace every one!"

"Son[1] of Wisdom, why do you tattle and utter vain things? nce you have introduced speech of a new texture, and have not apted it to the appraisement of contemporaries, what is the end of l this word-selling (i.e, speech) And wherefore is the head assertion exalted? Though you may be speaking truth and not praising your own idea, yet it is far better to erase from the page 38
existence a feature which looks like arrogance, and not stain the irment of your pure mind with this unbecoming language

Verse.

"Be not drowned in the water of thy own merits
Look to a standing place for thy foot
Thousands of boats have sunk in this whirlpool
And not a plank has come ashore"

The truthful and appreciative assayers of speech, and judges f its lofty rank know that in this noble hall[2] of audience five things f great price should be gathered. First—Spiritual brilliance must ast her ray from high heaven on a pure heart and make it her uspicious landingplace Second—A choice combination of opposite ualities must clothe the secluded ones of the heart's *bright chamber* rith the painted silks (*parniyan*) of words, and so associate those laughters of the spirit with elemental *forms* that *they may make* a wondrous compound like that of soul and body *Third*—A new, heart delighting and grief dispelling plan must clarify the ears, and exalt *the soul* Fourth—Arrangement[3] and taste must give spirituality its proper setting Ambiguous[4] expressions must be rejected

[1] Possibly this is meant to be the reply of the enlightened *friend* but most likely it is A F's *being* admonished by his own soul

[2] This means the Akbarnāma.

[3] *Naḳḳbandī* Literally the art of weaving garlands

[4] *lafẓ pahlūjūyī* lit, words seeking a side Explained by the commentators by the words *mushtamal al-ma'ānī* "bearing a spiritual meaning" i.e. double-entendres but in a good or esoteric sense

The theme must be brought into its proper mansion, and speech—the lover—must be adorned both spiritually and physically. Fifth—The rhetorician must keep his style free from obscurity and disagreeable tautology. Nor must frigid[1] glances or heavy features be admitted into the assembly, and also there must not be anything trite or hackneyed. There must be animation and rosy friendliness. To all this collection of goodness there must be added suitable time, and opportunity must help speech so that a right intention, singleness of aim, strenuous search, and the vigorous help of wisdom may all meet in one place. Constant supplication and the favour of the Incomparable Creator must be accompaniments (*dosh-badosh*, lit. shoulder to shoulder). And every one of these requisites carries along with it many conditions and ancillary points. This noble volume cannot reckon them nor my limited leisure admit of describing them. But a trusty helper is indispensable who should by the light of his intelligence search for faults with the eye of an enemy and should address himself as a friend to their amendment. Evidently the companionship of such a distinguished man, elixir of wisdom, and arranger might constitute a sixth jewel of great price. On this day when my heart is distracted, and my soul pawned in a thousand places, and when I am unfamiliar with Persian diction, and the true guide unavailable, how can my heart's desire be accomplished? And what hope is there of a happy issue? Above all, at this time, when the glory of spirituality, adorner of speech, balance of wisdom, scale of truth, my eldest brother Shaikh Abu-l-faiz Faizi, who was as a father to me, has departed from the troubled house of the elements to the holy resting place, and eloquence's bride sits mourning! My condition became still more bewildered and my heart snapped the links of understanding. I was aroused by a Divine message,[2] and fell into a long repentance.

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[1] The text has *Khunk* the lithographs have *Khushk* dry. This also occurs in MSS. and is probably right. *khushkrai* or "dry looks" being opposed to *sahnirai*, friendly glance.

[2] Either the message mentioned lower down as having come to him in Azar, or the communication made by Akbar to him after Faizi's death. One would have expected this sentence to come after the verse, rather than before it.

Verse.

Alas for this confused medley of knowledge
The breast full of learning, and nothing known,
I am nought, and my thoughts less than nought,
Nothing comes from me but yet wilder words

The fault recognising eye[1] was found, and my head sank into 384
the fold (lit pocket) of shame In the beginning of the roll of fortune (the Akbarnāma), my design was that when the story of stories (dāstān dāstān) should have been written, it would receive beauty's rouge from being decorated by that chief[2] of the eloquent Suddenly, a deadly sorrow appeared, and it came into my mind that there was no happiness for any one Accordingly I in my distress and feebleness of capacity hissed out idiotic[3] cries, and revealed my rawness

Verse

O lord of speech, look not on the crudity of speech
For I'm consumed by the death of the pattern of sages[4]
And am more brokenhearted than that crystal vase
Which lies far off within the rock

Up to the tenth year (of the history of Akbar) the assemblage of wisdom (Faiẓi) had revised the composition of this know-nothing, not, however, to the extent that his heavenly mind was satisfied therewith, or that this bewildered pupil in wisdom's school was pleased Time showed such jugg'ery, and pointed to a soul-exhausting day! Life became difficult to me, and my heart grew yet more disturbed at the mutability of things The charm of the graciousness of the Khedive of enlightenment, and the wisdom-amulet of the spiritual and temporal caravan leader (Akbar) re called me from the aversion (to society) and bound me anew to

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[1] I suppose he means that his own eye detected the faults in his work

[2] His brother Faizī

[3] Safīrī behushāna 'A senseless whistling or hissing Perhaps this is what the physician alluded to above when he said that intellect was gnawing the knocker like a madman Safīr is used to express the lamenting of the nightingale

[4] The imprisoned gem is represented as lamenting its fate

sociability (t'aalluq). With a disturbed heart and a confused mind I summoned up resolution to write the glorious (*gauharīn*) history. But difficulties and bitterness caused from time to time fresh distress to my confused heart and distracted it more than ever. And ever-new bewilderment ruined my thoughts' metropolis. Why should not the dust of rebellion arise, and why should not the foot of resolution tremble? For, together with various tumbles and contrarieties, a lofty sage, who helped me on every side, had departed, and a companion, who in respect of intellect possessed a nine-tenths share, had taken the veil. Would that in the famine-year[1] of humanity there had been a helper who could have written the pages when my heart was distracted so that they should not disgrace those which had gone before! Or if this stock of knowledge were not, an expert was indispensable who could amend[2] the writing of a distracted soul, and could erase clauses and introduce words and elicit meanings. *Or if Time grudged even this, some persons were* indispensable who might from the brilliancy of their enlightenment, and the strength of their courage perceive faults. Inasmuch as in the ambushes of my heart there was a daily-increasing agitation for freedom, and as there were various competing, outward engagements pressing upon me, and the confidential and loving friend was under the veil, what could be the value of the matter supplied by the heart to the hand, and by the latter to the pen. As my thoughts were clear, and gratitude to God increasing, and my loyalty sincere, and the genius of the Shāhinshāh was assisting, the light of fortune cast a ray in that darkness of struggles, and bestowed energetic strength.

Verse.

What is within my heart
Is spiritual coin beyond count
I did not earn this enduring wealth myself
I received it from my patron's glance

On the first Āzar of the 40th Divine year (about 11 November

[1] Presumably the year in which Faizī died. cf. for expression Āīn text II 254, l. 10.

[2] *Nākhunī band kunad* "fix his nails." A phrase meaning "to interfere, to have one's say."

1595) I shut[1] the door of my house[2] of anguish Outwardly I was occupied, to the exclusion of everything else, in writing the noble 385
history, inwardly I was supplicating the Incomparable Giver, and was imploring a lamp for my darkened heart I was laying the head of entreaty at the threshold of the Divine greatness, and begging for the accomplishment of my wishes Suddenly fortune's morning unveiled her countenance, and a ray of light brightened the windowless closet. When I had time to meditate, and surprise had departed (literally had packed up), the morning-glory caught the slit of my pen A great joy seized me, and a wondrous delight showed itself My sore[3] and adust body donned the robe of spring, and a guide for my enterprise appeared My heart renewed its vigour, and my useless (literally, headless and footless) pen drew a wondrous sketch The stewards of glory roused up the wedding minstrel[4] of discourse to a mystic[5] dance In a short space of time I was made a rich treasury of eloquence, and a lofty diploma was granted to me The titles of *Nadir al-kalami*[6] (marvel-of oratory) and Shams i-peshtāq i-goyāi[6] (sun of the portico of speech) were conferred Some delightful expressions were put into writing (by Akbar) Thanks were returned for favours and a jewel volume was completed as a gift to truth seekers and connoisseurs. A great good fortune and brightener of the countenance arrived

Verse.

Fortune ran and opened the door of success
She gave a gift greater than my wishes
The nightingale of speech flew up from my mind's rose
The veil of concealment was rent by my pen's point

[1] *Faraz* It means both to shut and to open and it is not clear which is intended here

[2] *Kadurat kada.* Possibly this means his heart

[3] *Tan mihrgan* Mihrgān is the 7th month of the Persian year and corresponds to September A. F means that his body was decaying

[4] *Sur nāī i bayāt* The N K commentator takes this to mean the singer at a wedding The other commentator says it means the marriage house.

[5] *Sama* The mystic dance of dervishes

[6] It does not appear elsewhere that these titles were conferred by Akbar Blochmann says A. F never accepted a title but these epithets are just as much titles as was Faizi's title of Poet Laureate

Host upon host of spirits joined me
Called and uncalled, they passed through the door
The idols of the heart ran forward
My pen invited them with a melodious murmur[1]

It is now fitting that there should be the melody of joy and the whispering of delight. But how can he whose resolution is attached to the recording of cycles upon cycles break his fast by writing the account of one of them? With what provision can he satisfy his heart and indulge in pleasure? Especially on this day when by heaven's decree there is a fresh agitation in my head, and another consideration has come to my perturbed mind? The body is urban (i.e., inclined to sociability) but the soul is campestral, there is the thought of the last journey which will dissolve associations There is the futility of my contemporaries whose tongues speak, but whose hearts are silent There is daily-increasing anxiety about the composition of the book of fortune (Iqbālnāma, i e, the Akbarnama).

Verse

Alas! A mountain (*koh*) of grief has fallen on a straw (*kah*)
The moon has become the beloved of a tiny ant
This strange thing has happened
The beggar has fallen in love with the king.

The sole desire of my thoughts is that when the marvels of several cycles shall have been described, and my obligations of gratitude shall have been paid suitably to my wish, I may by the
6 Divine aid withdraw my foot from among the world's servants and earnestly apply myself to the service of God May I emerge from the defile of association and relationship, and obtain repose at the sublime stage of enlightenment! May I emerge from the strivings of this soul-destroying abode of demons, and enjoy happiness in the holy chamber of eternity!

Verse

Remove your goods from this caravanserai
For the roof has holes, and the clouds are big with tempest,

[1] *Lahn sarir* It means the sound made by his pen in moving over the paper

'Tis a cell where you cannot remain
Be your years 10, 100, or 1000
Lift up the screen so that they may bring in
The Divine Couch to the dais (of the heart).

But in the atmosphere of this lofty eyry the wings of the courage of the highflyers of the fields of cognition grow faint, what then must be the condition of the sensual and selfish? Shall I speak of the thorny and dangerous road? Or shall I allude to the grief of those who, from the wickedness of the robbers of the desert, which is full of evil, have fallen short of their goal? Or shall I speak of pain from the cowardice of selfish fellow-travellers? In the garish inn of natural existence, Wisdom sits in the corner of contempt, and Self-will on the height of ostentation. The varied phantasmagoria of the outer world hunt after the soul, and the spiritual physician has assumed the veil. The last evil is the soul-tormenting of the wicked. Some by smooth speech, and some by silence sell evil things (*nikūhīdigī*) as good things (*nekūkārī*) and in the garb of guides practise highway robbery (*dar libās rahnamāni rahzanī kanand*). Most, after having been deceived themselves, practise fraud upon others, and regard the injuring of men—what need then to speak of animals—as matter for boasting. How can the number of those who have yielded their hearts to the blandishments of this harlot (the world) who robs the wise, and destroys Rustum-like strength be reckoned up? How can the jugglery and sorceries of the workers of iniquity be enumerated? The eldest of them is baseness of disposition which is enchained by the pledge of love for this friend-slaying, foe-soothing One (the world). On the prosperity of this quicksilver-waved mirage it (the base disposition) has the triumph of sloth (*kharsandī*) and a joy composed of heedlessness. In the adversity of this wheat-shower, barley-seller, shall it not feel the being trampled under the foot of regret, and the exhaustion of grief? On this account the wise and eloquent, in their diagnosis of mysteries, call the first[1] the "Father of that quickly-perishing mountebank" (the world). The second is the fool who on the coming or going of the old dotard snaps the thread of discretion and judgment, and becomes bewildered with joy or

[1] Text *awrā* "him," but, probably, this should be *awwa*

sorrow. His hunger is not satisfied by her many seeming but unsubstantial dainties, nor his wishes quieted. Nor is his orphaned[1] stomach filled by the deficiencies of this something-seeming but in reality nothing, nor is the foot of his desire made lame. In the allegory of truth this (the fool) is called son of the capricious drunkard (the world). The third is the purblind and low man who on account of old errors does not come away by the highroad of truth from pursuing the desires of this world—which has come to the meeting-place of the furious blasts of destruction—but who trusts to the worthless remedies of the cheating Age, and lays his hand on the skirt of deceit and fraud, and thinks to convey himself to the shore of safety by his own devices (*dastān sarāī*). Great men have called him in their allusive style the slave of that thousand-wiled magician. The fourth is that slumbrous confused one who is led astray by the
37 crowding of desires and seeks to make a shield for himself out of fraudulent traditions. Moralists point him out in enigmatical language as the handmaid of this faithless juggler.

It is clear to the leaders in the assembly of judgment what must be the state of the man who looks for repose in such a place of turmoil, when such is the state of those who have chosen it. If in expounding this thesis I should write of the sects[2] of ancient times and of the present day, my work would be like filling an abyss, and the foot of my travelling pen would be worn out at the first stage. Hear now a little of my own story! And let me stretch out the foot of effort for curing myself.

Verse.

If I tell my story from the beginning
I'll travel so far that I can't come back.

My honoured father practised contentment in seclusion and lived apart from the world's house of turmoil. He regarded me with more affection than he did my brothers, and from the beginning of my

[1] The meaning is that when deprived of the world's pleasures he feels like an orphan, or a man of a sorrowful stomach, though in reality the same pleasures would not have satisfied him

[2] *kār barakhna farāham āīd* The Inshā and B M 27,247 have *kār b'an rakhna* "The work would stop at this fissure."

growth he, by the strength of precept and example, did not permit the approach of the wayward and the defiled He always watched over me with an inward and outward purity, and instructed me with an eloquent tongue in the lessons of truth

Verse

From my first infancy I did not play "Hide[1] and Seek"
For my guardian was both my father and my mother

As the acquired sciences (*'ulum muktasabi*) hold the veil over spiritual Beauty, my father, in his love to my bewildered self, wished to conduct me also to the study of them But from my fifth year I was in a confused state, and my heart in nowise inclined to hear or speak about such things It seems as if my temp rament robbed me of[2] that guide (*rahbar*) to the abode of perfected pupils, and of that light of the portico The stupendous dangers of an endless desert—which make men of men to stumble—had taken possession of my soul's chamber When my years increased and my knowledge developed, my heartfelt disgust increased also, and the truceless agitation became more intense I withdrew from everyone, and delighted myself with the companionship of madness I came[3] to long

[1] *Sir Māmak or Bābak Sir Māmak* is the game of "Hide and Seek. See Vullers II, 285b Perhaps the meaning is that he was guarded both by his father and his mother Or it may mean that his father was both father and mother to him or to the author of the verse.

[2] I have adopted the variants *rahsanī* which is supported by MS 236. A F s account of his studies in Jarrett III 443 may be consulted, and also his account in the third book of the A. N text p 83-85 of his early confusions, which has been translated by Blochmann.

[3] This is a paraphrase. What A. F says is, ' And I was deprived of the breath of tranquillity by the thought of death *Bargiriftan* seems to mean to carry away to deprive of Cf text 344, 1 2. According to the commentators the expression *dam-i-āsāīsh* is—*habsdam* i e retention of breath, but I do not suppose that A. F means here that he tried to hold his breath in imitation of the *yogis* who he says in the Ain were able to breathe only once in 12 years. Perhaps the passage means The thought of death destroyed (*bar girift*) my tranquillity Cf Jarrett III 409 where A. F says "In the beginning of knowledge I was overwhelmed with sorrow at the thought of existence and at sacred places and ausp cious times I prayed for release from the flesh" It is this passage which has made me translate the text as I have done.

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for death The secret attraction of the leader of Truth's caravan (his father) bound me, the heedless and heartless one, to the customary abode of knowledge, and in my fifteenth year, when the heavy sleep of thoughtlessness holds all men, I traversed the wide field of wisdom, and the ample space of the doctrines of many schools. The advancement of knowledge[1] increased my arrogance, and the intoxication of enlightenment augmented my confusion In spite of my having such a powerful guide and perpetual overseer, the turbulence of self willed intellect increased, and egotism showed itself under various forms By the favour of the fount of lofty ideas (his father) the secrets of the Platonists,[1] the hidden treasures of the Ṣufis, and the wondrous observations of the Peripatetics[2] were acquired by me It was natural that so much learning and the arrogance produced by it should reduce the importance of the deceptive world The same principle which increased self glorification and self-worship, broke the connection with other men I was dissatisfied with
38 the unprofitableness of the world's booths and my heart was captivated by the anchorites The thought of a hermitage displayed fresh vigour There was not such madness of bewilderment that I turned away from the command of wisdom and took a pathless direction Nor had my disorder such ungentleness that I would grieve my visible gods (*khudayan i majazi*) (i e, his parents). I spent my days in the hollow of joy and grief with a dejected mind The thought of freedom contributed somewhat to my repose From the base disposition which was in me, and the timidity which was part of my constitution, together with my complete aversion to society and my love for the desert, I

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[1] *Ishraq yan* i e the Illuminati but a name given to the Neo-Platonists of Persia See Dabistān Troyer and Shea II 3 4 Perhaps they are the same as the Sabāḥīs mentioned by Badāunī Lowe 201 where he says that A F lit the lamp of the Sabāḥian

[2] *Mashshayan* An Arabic translation of the Greek word See Freytag who refers to its use by the early Arabic translator of Cebes's Picture ed 1640 p 26 and also Dabistan id II 173 See also Jarrett III 126 where A F says 'It is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them (Hindu systems) and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics the Sufīs and dogmatic theologians (*mutakallam*) and removing the destructions of prejudice, seek alone for demonstration and putting aside the estrangements of ignorance exercise scrutiny and caution

entered the lofty hall of bewilderment, and fell into a strange state from the enchantment of inward perturbations The displeasing (*narazamandi*) of my illustrious teacher (*pir*) by those erratic wishes was very present to me (literally, very near) and yet the giving up of a contrary notion was very far off At every breath submission to that unique one of enlightenment's kingdom was on the increase, but from time to time various impulses acquired fresh strength

Verse[1]

The luck to associate with my beloved was wanting,
I had not the endurance to refrain from love
No hand to contend with fate
No foot wherewith to flee away

At length heaven told my story in the glorious (*humayun*) assembly of the Shāhinshāh, and the star of a happy fortune shone from the horizon of prestige The pursuivants (*cawushan*) followed, and a summons shed glory upon me By the machinations of my extraordinary soul the picture of ambition had been erased from my mind's antechamber, and the longing for asceticism displayed its power I was on the point of treading the desert of frenzy with bared head and foot, and of breaking to pieces the enclosing wall of environment, and taking the path of liberation. My spiritual physician (his father) knew that the king of the Age was the caravan-conductor of God's worshippers, and had also some acquaintance with fate's decrees, and so he addressed himself to my cure He opened his casket of jewels and inculcated sociability upon me Through the magic and enchantments of this guide I hastened to the shrine of dominion and glorified my forehead by prostrating myself at the threshold of the glorious, enthroned one Without any stain on my spirit's skirt from corruptive canvassing, or any rubbing of the foot of search on the wide plain of avidity, and before there could come the shame of expectancy, or self respect be thrown[2] away, and without the mediation of this or that person, and without having to supplicate any one,

[1] These lines are quoted by Badāyunī Lowe 260 and applied to his own case

[2] *abrū bar darha rekhta* respect be scattered on the doors

the Shāhinshāh's graciousness laid hold of me, and raised me from the hollow of obscurity to the height of lofty rank The alchemic glance of the spiritual and temporal lord gave fresh implise to my energy and a new expansion to my heart. I was cured to some extent from the obstinate malady which my father with all his curative skill had been unable to remedy By the strength of perception I spread the cloth of concord and union with mankind, but there was something hypocritical in my down sitting, and I was, as it were, in ambush[1] Many mental faults displayed their lineaments, but I found strength to delete some of them The very resurrection of hate ended in love. Nor could the refractoriness of many groups
389 of men stop me from the noble pursuit,[2] or stir up the dust of failure in my heart's pleasant home Some of those in the glorious entourage of the world's lord eagerly seized the opportunity of attaining wisdom, and there was a new and daily market for the investigation of ideas, and the examination of evidence Owing to inacquaintance with scientific principles, and to their being void of real knowledge, the praters of the day—who, on account of their humbug and plausibility, were looked upon as men of much enlightenment—fell into difficulty. Sometimes they practised trickery by keeping silent, by elevating their eyebrows, and by turning up their eyes, and sometimes they replied by speaking in enigmas and by talking nonsense By heaven's favour they were so brought to a stand that their base-metal talismans broke in pieces They were obliged to give up that plan, and to have recourse to absurdity. They esteemed Reason and Faith to be opposites, and some simple minded descendants of Turks[3] were led[4] away Relying on the help of those ignorant and foolish persons, they now pressed forward as if to victory. The

[1] He means apparently that there was still something false in his attitude as he was not cured altogether of his aversion to society

[2] The noble pursuit apparently is his seeking to be at peace with all men.

[3] This explains the word Babirīān in the conclusion of the Āīn, Jarrett III, 412 and text II 254, l 8 It does not mean there friends of Bābar's household for such persons must have been long since dead, but men of Turkish origin The word is properly Bāīrīān.

[4] *Rāh zadand.* Originally means to sing and so came to mean the being entranced or carried away and also to be robbed

assistance of a happy star and an open brow brought them down from that high ground, and they proceeded to cavillings and to the discussion of minute points of acquired (*manqūl*) knowledge In accordance with the tactics of such a crew they set up false principles and introduced[1] worthless arguments There were long discussions about creeds and sects, and they represented the critical examination of doubtful points as laying pitfalls in the articles of faith and so inveighed against it. Some behaved badly on receiving these hypocritical warnings Old[2] intimates and friends of long standing gathered up the skirt of caution so that I was surrounded by a wall of exclusion in my own city Sometimes I uttered songs of joy at this solitude in the midst of society. I knew it was the result of right-thinking and so increased my supplications to God Sometimes from human weakness and feebleness of capacity I murmured to myself "What strange thing is this? I spread the carpet of right-thinking and well-wishing towards men, and I strive against myself, and spoil[3] my own play Why do men lie in ambush against me" By heaven's help, and a happy star, the world's[4] glories, and the mental sloth and the frowns of friends and strangers, and the futile talk of far and near, and the agitation of short sighted malevolent men wrought no breach in the continuity of my soul. The flatness of Truth's market gave me fresh joy

Verse

Like the pearl oyster I smile[5] when tormented
'Tis for the untrained to smile when successful

When several revolutions of the heavens had occurred, the doors of dominion opened, and a new glory was given to ambition The world's slaves exchanged the rage of envy for religious animosity and occupied themselves with evil designs From narrowness of view

[1] *Nākhan zadan girift* To knock in nails, and to interfere

[2] Cf Ain Text II 254 l 8

[3] *Naqsh-i shashdar* a phrase derived from the game of *nard*, meaning a square where the player is blocked

[4] The text reads *yā shigarf-i-rosgār*, but the variant *bā* seems preferable and is supported by MSS

[5] The opening of the valves of the oyster when force is applied to it is compared to smiling

and from spite they entered upon *war with Almighty God, and* heaped up for themselves everlasting destruction

Verse

Those two or three slanderers demolish their own bed
They attack their own profession as well as me
May I be like the revolving moon
I decrease not, or if I do I wax again

390 Inasmuch as my intentions were right, and my devotion firm, the sorry tricksters were defeated everywhere, spiritually and temporally They were informed of the true condition of enlightenment and had to sink into the street of humiliation At that time I, in my ignorance of the heights and hollows of the world, was seeking the companionship of that crew, *while they took the course of showing dislike to me* Now this slumbrous witted faction wishes to conciliate me, the once troubled and now quiescent one, and to enter into my service, whilst I reject them![1]

The sun of auspiciousness lighted up the darkness of the desert and by the encouragement of the world's lord I came to the pleasant abode of peace with all men My perturbed spirit rejoiced in the clear chamber of tranquillity and as I seized the skirt of rejoicing I sang thus "If men think ' you wicked, and so choose the path of enmity they are acting according to their lights and are treading the path of piety. Why are you irritated? If they know you to be good and yet follow this course it is evident that they are suffering from the disease of envy Why look for healthy acts from a sick man?" From human frailty and mortal weakness the murmur of a wish arose from the bottom of my heart, and this desire *came forth* "How good it would be if my inefficient foes could understand the tranquillity of my disposition and my antipathy to revenge so that they should not use fawning bodies and supplicating tongues for making[2] excuses, and might make their external acts correspond

[1] There is no verb in text but the lithographs have *pindāghta* after *nikohīde*

[2] The text has *bafirustāde*, but MSS and lithographs have *nafirustāde*, and this seems to be the proper reading

with their internal feelings, and be delivered from mental troubles! Would that the good feeling which I bear to my ill-wishers, and my observance [1] of right—which does not know the path of hypocrisy—were known to my ignorant and childish friends so that the coin [2] of friendship might not bring any pain along with it!

Verse [3]

I threw fire into my sheaves with both hands
When I did it myself why do I plain of an enemy?
No one is my foe, I'm my own enemy
Alas for myself, my arm and my skirt!

With regard [4] to my panegyrists and defamers I have passed from the second [5] stage and arrived at the third. I hope that there will be no retrogression and that the guidance of a happy fortune will bring me to the delightful fourth station! May I repose there, and keep apart from (the doctrine of) co partnership [6] with the Incomparable Deity. Most persons cultivate friendship with the first class (that of the panegyrists), and behave in an opposite fashion to the second. Dissemblers are apparently unaffected by either class; secretly they are delighted with their panegyrists, and cherish resentment against their censors. A few heaven-helped ones see the

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[1] *Hada parastī*. Perhaps this means his impartiality and that his friends pain him by asking for favours.

[2] *Banaqd az dostī*. Perhaps we should read *zang* "rust" instead of *rang* and translate "that there might no rust form on the coin of love.

[3] This quatrain is quoted by Badayūnī, B. 170 and Lowe 202. I venture to think that Blochmann has misunderstood Badāyūnī's remarks here and that the latter means that A F applied the words to himself and not to the 'Ulama, just as he does here.

[4] The Inshā lithographs have instead of *dar hāl dikam dar shān*

[5] The commentator explains that the second stage means the condition of being at peace with every one *salh kul*, the third that of loving everyone *mahabat kul*, and the fourth that of arrival, or union with God *manzil-i wasūl*. There will be no thought of the creature then and nothing but God, and he who has arrived there shall therefore be free of the sin of making anyone a co-sharer with God *ambasgiri*.

[6] Is this a prayer that he may not adopt Christianity? Or is it merely a prayer that he may not regard himself as impeccable?

strange deceptiveness of it all, they regard both classes with an equal eye and are not perturbed by either of them. There are many who are deceived by the protean spirit which says to them "Evil speech against one such as you who are on the right path, carries with it the Divine displeasure" They swallow the deception and rise up in abuse of their detractors, and thus turn aside from the highway of bliss When an accurate estimate[1] of their actions is made, it is found that they themselves have omitted to reckon many foolish and wicked acts The noble position is to regard the admirer who supplies food for arrogance as an enemy and the detractor who points out faults as a friend. Would that I might attain to this form of enlightenment and reach the height of my aspirations, and be delivered from the sting of a domestic foe to self-knowledge! By the help of my temperament and by firmness of soul I was soon freed from my aversion[2] (to society) I waged war with myself and renewed the incessant combat

Verse[3]

How shall I make war with myself
From whose collar shall I exsert my head?
I'll make a rent in the veil of my trappings
May it be that I strike a blow at my own skirt.

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[1] *Imara navisī* The text and Add 27 247 have *ammara* the lithographs (*nus̲h̲ā*) have imara and explain the word as ' reckoning The sentence is to me very obscure and I am afraid I have missed the meaning The text has *badkārtarrā* One lith has badkār (your evil deeds) and the other has only *badkār rā* Add. 27, 247 has apparently نورا I think that the pronoun is right and that the meaning must be that in consequence of men s being prompted by their vanity to think that people who criticise them are in the wrong they do not give heed to what they say, and so cherish many secret faults which come out at the final reckoning This final reckoning is a Hindū belief and is mentioned in the Āīn. It is also a Muḥammadan belief that there are two recording angels—*Kirāmu-l-kātibīn*—and that they keep a book of actions which is produced on the day of judgment.

[2] *Nafrat* Explained by commentators as meaning A.F s aversion to society, but the word may be *waqfrat*, and refer to the despotism of the spirit, or it may mean aversion to detractors. The lines are Faiẓī s, see A. N III 677, line 7

[3] The commentators explain the meaning of the verse to be "he wars with himself and if so whence will he get help." "I have torn away

I continually smite myself and rehearse my self-disgust with a reproachful tongue. "Seeing that the Unique Witness, whom the ancients designated by the phrase "strength of eye-testimony" has by the lamp of proof shown you to be one of the right-minded and enlightened, why are you depressed? Running away from what, do you seek the corner of despisedness? What has wearied you and made you stretch out the hand of wish? I admit that you have no inspiration, and that the light of brilliant knowledge has not been granted you But by a happy star and a robust heart there have been given to you the search for truth and a large capacity, so that in the court of business and in the decision of cases, friend and foe, stranger and acquaintance are regarded by you with impartiality and that[2] neither the satisfaction or the dissatisfaction of a world can cloud your mind An eager[3] lover cannot gain his ends with you What need then to speak of others? Why this hurrying to the realm of solitude? And what will you gain by being unknown?"

But[4] what does the poet say and write?

Verse[5]

My heart grasps the sleeve and skirt of sorrow
As when Wāmiq seized the tip of Azrā's tress,
I feel towards the world's turmoil and to men
Such disgust as was felt by the 'Anqa.

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my wrappings perhaps I shall get at my real self The Mir Ḥasan lithograph quotes a line of Ḥāfiẓ about tearing one's own vest *Dast u-garībān* a phrase meaning to be very near anyone, and also to make war or commotion, Bihar 'Ajam 445a.

[1] The text has ektā shāhid i wajūd but the correct reading seems to be ektāi as in the lithographs and Add 27, 247 The literal rendering then would be "The unique one of visible eye-witnesses

[2] The text has *nā* but MSS or have *ta*, and this seems correct

[3] The text has *dosthān* b āzarmjūī "the lover seeking for honour" The I.O. MS has dostān dar āzarmjūī The M H lith has *dostān dar bazār-e-razmjūī* and the explanation apparently is "friends in the market of war-seeking

[4] The MSS and lith have *u lekin* before *cah guid* and the Bib Ind gives this as a variant

[5] The meaning seems to be that his heart clasps grief as tightly as Wāmiq clasped Azrā, and that he feels the same disgust to society as the 'Anqa or Simurgh did when he flew away to the Caucasus and never was seen again Wāmiq and Azrā

The truth of the matter is that human effort is not successful. What can be done with regard to what has been written in destiny's antechamber? And upon what do the revolutions of the stars and the heavens depend. We cannot devise any remedy against the deceitful commixture of heavenly and earthly bodies. No shield can be framed against the archery of the skies.

Verse.

The bow of heaven is drawn from the side where the cuirass is
I'm my own enemy, what use is there of donning a cuirass?

Now a wrestling-match has begun with my thousand-wiled spirit. The friends of each stand firm and from time to time the jugglery is renewed. There is wondrous rising and falling and the countenance of instruction is illuminated. I[1] know not what the end will be and in what station I shall repose, or with which of the three forms[2] of Divine knowledge I shall be eternally conjoined. Or by

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are two lovers celebrated in Persian romance. See Hammer's History of Turkish Poetry, 1836 II. pp 45-63. There he gives an abstract of the Turkish poem by Lamia who died in 1531 and who apparently translated Anwari's poem. The poem ends with the bridal of Wāmiq, the prince of China with Azrā, the daughter of the king of Ghaznī. See also Wāmiq and Azrā by Hammer, Vienna 1833.

[1] Cf corresponding passage Barrett III 444 and text II 373, l 9 from foot.

[2] The passage about the three forms or substances (*sihlan*) is obscure, and is differently explained by the two commentators. The commentator of the M. Hasan lithograph says, p 273 margin that the three things are the three kinds of *nafs* or spirit viz the *nafs lavvāmma* or the irascible spirit, the *nafs mulhoma*, or inspired spirit and the *nafs mutmāim* or the contented spirit. The N.K. commentator derides this view, and says the three things or conditions are Fear, Hope, and Resignation, see p 296 n 3. Probably this view is correct. Cf Blochmann 181 where Badayūnī quotes a remark of Shaikh Tāju-d-dīn, and Blochmann's note 3 where he says, "The Islām says Alī mān bainu-l-khauh warrijā, 'Faith stands between fear and hope'." It may, however, be that the *sihlan* are three great divisions of the Ṣūfīs, viz., the Wāsilan 'The Arrived' the Sālikan or 'The Travellers' and the Muqīman or 'The Stationaries'. See Dabistān III 250. See also the description of the three classes given in Jāmī's *Nafahāt* and translated by DeSacy N. E. XII 326. Cf also Tholuck's Ssufismus, p 320, and Fthé Morgenland Stunden, pp 99 and 100 where the three stages are said to be Tārīkat, Ma'rifat, Haqīqat.

what enchantment will the final refreshing slumber take place Fear has a knot on brow (thinking) that the varied glories of the 38
universe may not enter her house of toil Hope has an open brow (thinking) that she may with joy bear the griefs of mortals on the shoulder of her genius The swift and prudent walker who has abandoned the dunghill of Fear, the petty garden of Hope, the fire-place of Contraction, and the recreation ground of Expansion is not bound by joy or sorrow Every moment an order for residence comes to the station, and ere I have made the place warm, I am summoned from another door.

Verse [1]

I am my own varied world

With such inward struggles, I became by loyalty's command engaged in writing this weighty history The loyalists of devotion's feast do not turn to other work Why should this not be so? And why should it appear strange? After serving the King of enlightenment the world's gauds cease to weigh in the balance of the soul, and the gorgeous spectacle of the outer world has no value in vision's antechamber Of necessity the pen moves in land of the great gift, and praise grows fervid To some extent a fresh lustre is bestowed on my heart for the writing of the tale of truth I do not, like a sensualist,[2] measure water in a sieve or pound air in a mortar It is far better that I do not uncover the lid of my strange soul and that I do not cast out into the open my inward secret It is not proper to proclaim things that do not penetrate the ears of contemporaries, and which the eyes of the conventional do not comprehend

Verse

If I were to tell the thoughts of my heart
You'd either be amazed like me or not believe.

"Abul Fazl, son of Mubārak, why has your wisdom-seeking

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[1] The N K commentator says that A F here refers to the versatility of his disposition

[2] The text has *hawasmandāna*, 'like a sensualist" which is hardly intelligible, Add 27 247 has *hushmandāna* and the lithographs put a *nā* before it so that the meaning is 'like a fool '

heart grown full of whispers of hidden things, and of speech about subjects of silence Are you bringing your characteristics into the hall of publicity, and are you giving the stranger an audit into the secret chamber of your heart? A spring of vision is trickling from your clear, inner chamber What wise man's part is it to let wine flow[1] out? Stand resolutely on the cloth of service and make supplication to God while praising your king Convey holy mysteries in a secular strain." The message of truth brought back my heart from folly Strength was given to my purpose Vigour for work increased, and a fresh glory was bestowed on my nature! The inscription which Fortune wrote on my destiny's portico and which impawned this slave of Gratitude was that I should be tied to the saddlestraps of eternal dominion and become a historian of marvels This constellation of intellect's horizon and this star of a spiritual heaven (the Akbar nāma) was from its glorious ascension day by day presented for the auspicious hearing (of Akbar) as it came to the tongue of the pen and was transferred to paper and was welcomed by him Happy the slave whose service is approved by the Shāhinshāh, and who gets a mark of approbation from his Court!

Verse

God be praised! This first narrative
I have made right in an excellent way,
During the period of this composition
The word was mine, the inspiration the Shāh's
Should genius make me hopeful
Heaven grant leisure and Fortune courage
I shall by the motion of the heavens traversing pen
Carry to an end this lofty writing[2]

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[1] Sharab Which may mean wine or any liquid It is also used in a mystic sense like the pure milk of the word

[2] The Khātima or conclusion of the second volume the one just finished being the conclusion of the first volume appears in the Inshā and also in B M MS 27 247 fol 237a, and in other MSS of the A N but does not occur in the Bib Ind edition It belongs to the account of the 48th year In reality however Abul Fazl did not live to the end of the second qarn, i e Akbar's 60th year of life Akbar

was born on 15 October 1542 and A.F was killed on 12 August 1602 in the 47th year of A.'s reign or two months before the second *qarn* was completed And his history was not brought down by him beyond the end of the 45th year, *i.e.*, March 1602 The 2nd Khātima is much shorter than the first, and A F must have written it in anticipation of the completion of the cycle; that is, if he counted by solar years If, however, he reckoned by lunar years the second cycle was completed on 5 Rajab 1009 (Akbar having been born in 949), about 20 months before A F 's death, 4 Rabī I (1011) From the position of the Khātima in the first volume it appears that A F meant to reckon the *qarn* according to solar years for he puts it in the middle of the 17th year Now that year began on 25 Shawwāl 979 or 11 March 1572, *i.e.*, three months and more after the completion of thirty lunar years, *i.e.*, after 5 Rajab 979 A.F 's language in the beginning of the 2nd Khātima perhaps implies that the *qarn* was not finished, for he says that a portion of the events of the 2nd *qarn* has been described But this may only mean that he has not recorded every thing that occurred. It appears from A N III. 3, that A.F got orders to date the commencement of the second cycle with reference to the birth of Akbar

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TO THE

SECOND VOLUME

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